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THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

On the 26th of January 1857, the Master of the Rolls submitted to the Treasury a proposal for the publication of materials for the History of this Country from the Invasion of the Romans to the reign of Henry VIII.

The Master of the Rolls suggested that these materials should be selected for publication under competent editors without reference to periodical or chronological arrangement, without mutilation or abridgment, preference being given, in the first instance, to such materials as were most scarce and valuable.

He proposed that each chronicle or historical document to be edited should be treated in the same way as if the editor were engaged on an Editio Princeps; and for this purpose the most correct text should be formed from an accurate collation of the best MSS.

To render the work more generally useful, the Master of the Rolls suggested that the editor should give an account of the MSS. employed by him, of their age and their peculiarities; that he should add to the work a brief account of the life and times of the author, and any remarks necessary to explain the chronology; but no other note or comment was to be allowed, except what might be necessary to establish the correctness of the text.

The works to be published in octavo, separately, as they were finished; the whole responsibility of the task resting upon the editors, who were to be chosen by the Master of the Rolls with the sanction of the Treasury.

The Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury, after a careful consideration of the subject, expressed their opinion in a Treasury Minute, dated February 9, 1857, that the plan recommended by the Master of the Rolls "was well calculated for the accomplishment of this important national object, in an effectual and satisfactory manner, within a reasonable time, and provided proper attention be paid to economy, in making the detailed arrangements, without unnecessary expense."

They expressed their approbation of the proposal that each Chronicle and historical document should be edited in such a manner as to represent with all possible correctness the text of each writer, derived from a collation of the best MSS., and that no notes should be added, except such as were illustrative of the various readings. They suggested, however, that the preface to each work should contain, in addition to the particulars proposed by the Master of the Rolls, a biographical account of the author, so far as authentic materials existed for that purpose, and an estimate of his historical credibility and value.

Rolls House,
December 1857.

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HENRICI ARCHIDIACONI HUNTENDUNENSIS HISTORIA ANGLORUM.

HENRICI ARCHIDIACONI HUNTENDUNENSIS HISTORIA ANGLORUM.

THE

HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH,

BY

HENRY, ARCHDEACON OF HUNTINGDON,

FROM A.C. 55 TO A.D. 1154,

IN EIGHT BOOKS.

EDITED

BY

THOMAS ARNOLD, M.A.,
OF UNIV. COLL., OXFORD.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

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CONTENTS.

	Page
Introduction - - - - -	i–lxvi
Errata - - - - - -	lxvii
Prologus - - - - - -	1
Lib. I. De Regno Britannorum - - -	5
„ II. De Adventu Anglorum - - -	37
„ III. De Conversione Anglorum - - -	66
„ IV. De Regno Anglorum - - -	103
„ V. De Bellis Dacorum - - - -	137
„ VI. De Adventu Normannorum - - -	173
„ VII. De Regno Normannorum - - -	213
„ VIII. - - - - - -	255
Appendix :	
A. Passages in the Hengwrt MS. relating to the Descendants of Edmund Ironside -	295
B. Epistola ad Walterum de Contemptu Mundi	297
Glossary - - - - - -	323
Index - - - - - - -	327

INTRODUCTION.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE *Historia Anglorum* of Henry of Huntingdon was first printed by Sir Henry Savile in 1596, in the volume entitled, *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores post Bedam præcipui.* Since that time no complete edition has appeared in this country. Savile's collection was reprinted at Frankfort in 1601. In the *Monumenta Historica Britannica* (1848) Mr. Petrie, who, as a rule, did not print any portion of the chronicles contained in that volume which passed the limit of 1066, reproduced, out of the eight books published by Savile, the following:—Books i., ii.; Book iv. (except the proceedings of the Council of Heathfield with which it opens); Book v.; Book vi., to the end of the battle of Hastings. Mr. Petrie omitted the third book, which is hardly more than an abridged re-arrangement of portions of Beda's *Historia Ecclesiastica,* as not possessing sufficient historical value to be printed. Had Mr. Petrie lived to complete his design, the remainder of our author's history would doubtless have appeared in the second volume of the *Monumenta.* As it was, the *Monumenta Historica Britannica* remained a colossal fragment, incorporating a number of other fragments; but the profound and patient investigation, of which the results are embodied in the Preface and Prolegomena, can never cease to command the gratitude and merit the attention of students.

Previous editions of the *Historia Anglorum.*

§ 2. Wharton in his *Anglia Sacra* (1691) printed the epistle to Walter, *De Contemptu Mundi,* which Henry included in the eighth book of the later editions of his

History. The same epistle is printed in D'Achery, *Spicilegium*, viii. 178. Portions of the History, as printed by Savile, extending to nearly the entire work, are to be found in Bouquet (Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France, 1786; vols. xi. and xiii.). Finally the Abbé Migne, using Savile's text, has reprinted in his *Patrologiæ Cursus Completus* (vol. 195, 1854) the eight books of the History, and also the epistle *De Contemptu Mundi*.

The present edition.

§ 3. The present edition does not contain more than has been printed by the Abbé Migne. In order to explain and justify the exclusion of two books (all but the epistle *De Contemptu*), numbered in some MSS. viii. and ix., in others ix. and x.—Book ix. being in every case that which treats De Miraculis—which undoubtedly formed part of the work according to the author's final plan, it will be necessary to distinguish between the different editions which he brought out in his lifetime, and also to examine the contents of these two books with some minuteness.

§ 4. In an able paper on Henry of Huntingdon by Dr. F. Liebermann, of Berlin, in the *Forschungen zur Deutschen Geschichte* for 1878, a paper characterised by true German thoroughness, much light is thrown on all points connected with the various editions of the *Historia Anglorum*. Henry, who had been made an archdeacon by Robert Bloet, bishop of Lincoln, some years before his death in 1123, was requested, or rather bidden, ("jussu tuo,") by the new bishop, Alexander of Blois, to write a history of the English nation from the earliest period, founding it on the Ecclesiastical History of Beda and the native chronicles ("chronica in antiquis reservata librariis,") and bringing it down to modern times. Henry was probably engaged on the work between the years 1125 and 1130, and the project seems to be glanced at by William of Malmesbury in a well-known passage at the end of his *Gesta Regum*, where he says, "Si quis,

" sicut jam susurrari audio, post me scribendi de tali-
" bus munus attentaverit, mihi debeat collectionis
" gratiam, sibi habeat electionis materiam."

§ 5. This first edition was brought down to the end of 1129 (vii. § 40); it is represented by two MSS., one known as the Hengwrt MS., in the possession of Mr. Wynne, of Peniarth, Merionethshire, the other, a much later copy, in the library of All Souls College, Oxford. In these MSS. the mention of Carlisle among the English bishoprics (i., § 5), which occurs in all the other copies, is wanting, and the dioceses are accordingly reckoned at sixteen instead of seventeen. The see of Carlisle was founded in 1133; this edition must therefore have come out before that date. The Prologue to Bishop Alexander ("Cum in omni," etc.), which heads nearly all the later copies, is wanting in these two; yet it must not be supposed that it was a later addition. For in the Epilogue ("Hic est annus qui," etc.), which they both contain, the exact words of a passage in the Prologue ("ad ipsam morum puritatem . . . . . resilivimus,") are quoted. The absence of the Prologue must therefore be due to some other cause, perhaps to the "abbreviating" spirit which was so powerful in transcribers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The author's first publication of his History.

§ 6. The next edition came down to 1135, that is, to the end of the reign of Henry I.; it is named in various MSS., but not now, so far as I can ascertain, exactly represented by any. One of the Cottonian MSS. in the British Museum (Vesp. A. xviii.) does indeed stop at this point; but the initial rubric names 1145 as the date of composition; moreover the scribe, after giving the passage ("Scripsit autem," see below, § 13) designed to introduce, and which in other MSS. does actually introduce, the three epistles of the book *De Summitatibus*, breaks off short with the words "Primæ igitur [epistolæ] exemplar hoc est," and here the MSS. ends. It seems clear therefore that Vesp. A. xviii. is merely an unfinished

The edition of 1135.

copy of the edition of 1145, and does not represent that which originally stopped at 1135. For one of the three epistles described in the paragraph "Scripsit autem," that to Warinus, was, as internal evidence shows, written in 1139, and could not have been noticed in an edition of the History dated in 1135. Yet that such an edition did appear, the rubric date, 1135, prefixed to at least four MSS. (A^5, C^2, C^3, F), of which one is in the British Museum, two at Cambridge, and one at Paris), seems to render certain; although in point of fact these MSS. carry the history down to various dates between 1139 and 1154. They are probably, as to the earlier portion of them, copies from MSS. of the edition of 1135 which do not now exist. In that edition, the Prologue and Epilogue, as I conceive, continued to appear without variation, the Epilogue being only removed to the end of the additional matter inserted in Book vii. between the years 1130 and 1135, and the words "annus tricesimus" altered to "annus tricesimus quintus."[1]

The edition of 1139.

§ 7. A third edition appeared in 1139, bringing the narrative of events down to the end of 1138. This is represented by a MS. in the Museum (Addit. 24,061) and another in the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh.[2] But no change appears as yet to have been made in the plan of the work; Book vii. was merely enlarged by the addition of a few pages, bringing down the narrative to the consecration of Archbishop Theobald in January 1139, which afterwards formed the opening portion of Book viii. The second of the MSS[3] above mentioned does not contain the books *De Summitatibus* and *De*

[1] For a description of the Epilogue, see below, § 12.

[2] Marked 33. 5. 4.

[3] MS. Addit. 24,061 does contain them, but as it is of late date, and avowedly a compilation, I am inclined, though with some hesitation, to the belief that it was made up from several copies of the History, representing various editions, and does not faithfully represent the edition of 1139, which in my judgment did not contain those books.

Miraculis. The Epilogue seems to have been omitted in this edition, probably in consideration of the increased length of the seventh book.

§ 8. Some years now elapsed, and before the next appearance of the History, the archdeacon had resolved to increase its bulk by incorporating with it several letters, on subjects more or less historical, which he had addressed within the last ten or twelve years either to the king or to personal friends, and adding a new book on Miracles, which would in a certain sense be supplementary to his third book, *De Conversione Anglorum.* This fourth edition may have been prepared in 1145 ; I know not how otherwise to account for the appearance of this rubric date in a number of MSS. (A^2, A^4, A^6, S, F^3), not one of which terminates exactly with that year. There is indeed a MS. in the Advocates' Library, which Dr. Liebermann (*Forschungen*, p. 277, *note*) names as terminating in this year ; but I am inclined to think that he is mistaken.[1] The point to which he really brought this fourth edition on its first appearance, I believe to have been that indicated by the Paris MS. 6042, and several others, namely, a period in the twelfth year of Stephen's reign when the country was enjoying comparative peace, and when in the Lincoln diocese, bishop Alexander, who had happily returned from his journey to Rome in the previous year (1146, had just re-opened his minster after the repairs made necessary by the fire of 1124, arrayed now in such beauty, that "nullius ædificii structuræ "circa fines Angliæ cederet." According to this view the original last words of this edition were "animi peri-

That of 1145.

[1] The MS. (Adv. Libr. A., 5. 38) certainly at present terminates with the words "circa fines Angliæ ce- "deret" at the end of Henry's annal for 1145. But the writing comes down to the foot of the verso of the last leaf, which itself is but an isolated fragment, being preceded by a hiatus extending to five or six folios ; there is therefore no reason to suppose that the MS. is not defective after this leaf as well as before it.

"cula non reformidantis fuerit," (Book viii., § 25). The various copies which extend a little beyond this date, ending either with the notice of the English crusading expedition of 1148, ("venerat ex Anglia," viii., § 27), or with the account of the installation of the new bishop of Lincoln ("jucunditate spirituali," viii., § 28), may all be considered as belonging to the fourth edition. In framing it the archdeacon proceeded thus. He increased the number of historical books from seven to eight, making the last book commence at the death of Henry I., and eking out its otherwise slender dimensions by putting long speeches, after the manner of Livy, in the mouths of leading generals on either side before the battle of Lincoln. But between this last book and the seventh, he now inserted two new books, viii. and ix. The first was made up of the old Epilogue to the History, which, if our conjecture in a previous paragraph be right, had not appeared since the edition of 1135, followed by three "Epistolæ," one to Henry I. on the succession of kings and emperors in the various monarchies of the world; the second to "Warinus a Briton," giving a brief account of the British kings from Brutus to Cadwallader, taken from Geoffrey of Monmouth; the third to one "Walterus," in which he descants on the emptiness of human greatness, illustrating his theme by not uninteresting biographic notices of a number of eminent persons, in church and state, whom they had both known. The ninth book, "De Miraculis," is a narrative of miracles of English saints, culled out of Beda's Ecclesiastical History, followed by a list of sanctuaries where intelligence might be obtained, and books read, respecting the miracles of saints who had lived since the time of Beda, and ending with an account of a miracle said to have been performed by an anchorite then living, St. Wulfric.

The two additional books,

§ 9. From this description it must be evident that Henry, when he incorporated this mass of new matter in his *Historia Anglorum*, was acting rather in the

interest of his own literary reputation than in that of historical science. He had written the three Epistles at various times, and rightly thought that if they were inwoven into the tissue of his *Historia*, they would be more likely to go down to posterity than if each were allowed to stand alone on its independent merits. As to the ninth book, it is a piece of what we now call "book-making." To collect and put together scattered notices from Beda, and to arrange them in regular order, was a piece of light and pleasant labour, better suited to the easy-going temper of the archdeacon than the serious and independent researches which had charms for the robust intellect of a Malmesbury or a Matthew Paris. That the composition of this book formed part of his original plan there is no reason to doubt; for the same prolusive references to it which occur in copies of the later editions are found also in *All Souls*, xxxi., a MS. representing the edition of 1130, and recognizable (although itself a late transcript) as faithfully representing that edition by the non-mention in it of incidents, such as the erection of the see of Carlisle, which happened after that date. There is, however, no evidence, manuscript or other, which should induce us to believe that this book was ever actually annexed to the History before the appearance of the edition of 1145. Nor, though it be granted that it entered into the original plan of the History, should the fact make us question the discretion of Sir Henry Savile the first editor, who, on account of their slight historical importance, excluded the ninth as well as the eighth book from his *editio princeps* of the author's chief work. Mr. Petrie, if he had lived to edit the remainder of Henry of Huntingdon, would certainly have taken the same course; he even forebore to print Book iii., which Savile allowed to stand in his edition, on the ground that it was almost wholly borrowed from Beda. No part of the eighth book has been ever printed but the epistle to Walter; this, on

account of its curious descriptions of contemporary persons, has been, as we have seen, printed by Wharton, D'Achery, and recently by the Abbé Migne.

The last edition, that of 1154.

§ 10. Finally, a fifth edition of the *Historia* brought the narrative down to 1154, so as to make it terminate with the death of Stephen. There is, as may be seen on reference to the passage, some evidence that the author did not intend to stop here, but contemplated the addition of a new book, which would have probably embraced the events of the first five or six years of the reign of Henry II. As this design, if entertained, was never carried out, it seems reasonable to infer that Henry, who must have been at least seventy years old at the time of Henry's accession, died soon after the event which he had so enthusiastically welcomed. This last edition is represented by the excellent MS. at Corpus College, Cambridge (C^3), which is in a hand of the twelfth century, by another Cambridge MS. in the Public Library, and by the well-written, though late text in the British Museum, Reg. 13. B. vi. Other MSS., *e.g.*, All Souls, xxxvi., and Arundel, 46, are named by Dr. Liebermann as representing the fifth edition. These, however, as I shall presently show, belong to a class apart: they are copies of a historical work, intermediate in point of time between Huntingdon and Hoveden, which some unknown writer compiled towards the end of the twelfth century out of the Durham book[1] and the *Historia Anglorum*, and called "a chronicle of Marianus Scotus."

§ 11. In order to show exactly what a reader loses by the omission of Books viii. and ix. (always excepting Epistle iii., which will be found at page 297,) from an edition of the *Historia*, I proceed to give an analysis of their contents, in the course of which, when I come upon any passage which seems to possess independent value, I shall quote it in Henry's own words. There is, how-

[1] See below, § 36.

ever, one other point connected with editions that must be first considered, namely, whether the arrangement of the books seen in the Lambeth MS. No. 118 may be considered to have been made by Henry himself, or with his authority. In that MS., which is on good parchment and well executed, and in a hand of the early thirteenth or late twelfth century, the eight historical books succeed each other without interruption; they are followed by the two books "De Miraculis" and "De Summitatibus," after which follow two books of "Epigrams," which are numbered xi. and xii. It might appear at first sight that the archdeacon aimed at securing immortality for his poetical Epigrams, as for his prose epistles, by incorporating them in one work with his History. But on closer examination this notion is found not to be tenable. In the prefatory remarks introducing each book of Epigrams, Henry speaks of the division of the work, "hoc opus," into eight books, as in the case of his work "De Amore;" he gives a mystical reason for the adoption of the number eight; but adds that the present two books, as consisting of "Epigrammata Seria," may well be distinguished from the preceding six, "a sex precedentibus," which contained his "Epigrammata Jocunda." Now we know from Leland[1] that Henry wrote eight books of Epigrams, eight books "De Amore," and eight books "De Herbis,"[2] though not one of the three works has reached us in its entirety. It seems, therefore, that the compiler of this MS., a man who had his own views as to the editorial function, in pursuance of which he has inserted the "Laws of Canute," filling nearly eleven folios, in the sixth book (§ 16) of Henry's History,—having the volume

The right arrangement of the books.

[1] *Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis.*

[2] Of these three works, so far as I can ascertain, nothing now remains but the two books of Epigrams contained in the Lambeth and other more recent MSS. The first of these two was edited by Mr. Wright from the Lambeth MS. for the Master of the Rolls among the works of the "Satirical "Poets of the Twelfth Century."

of Epigrams by him, and taking the hint from Henry's own words ("Nonnullos tamen a sex præcedentibus hos "duos disjuncturos scio,")—subjoined the two books of Epigrammata Seria to the ten books of the History, and included them in a common numeration. All other MSS. which have the same arrangement derive it, I believe, at more or fewer removes, from the Lambeth MS.

Analysis of Books viii. and ix.

§ 12. But to return to the books De Summitatibus and De Miraculis. The former begins with the Epilogue, reduced to the form which it bore in the edition of 1135. "Hic est annus qui comprehendit scriptorem, annus "tricesimus quintus regni gloriosi et invicti regis "Anglorum Henrici, annus LXIX. ab adventu Norman-"norum, gentis temporibus excellentissmæ nostris, in "Angliam; annus ab adventu Anglorum in Angliam "DCCII.; ab adventu Britannorum ad hauc eandem "insulam inhabitandam II. M. et CC. et LXV.; annus ab "initio mundi V. M. et CCC. et XVII.; annus gratiæ "MCXXXV.[1] Hic est igitur annus ille a quo scriptor "historiæ suam voluit ætatem a sequentibus compu-"tari. Quia vero librum ingredientibus nos ad morum "puritatem quandoque resilituros promisimus,[2] ex hac "etiam computatione quanti simus inspiciatur." With some eloquence of language he proceeds to ask, what has become of the kings, nobles, bishops, &c., who lived in the first millenary after Christ, "circa CXXXV.[3] annum," *i.e.* in the age of the Antonines? What do we who live now know or care about any of them? Addressing the bishop his patron, he says, "Dic et tu, laudabilis "præsul Alexander, ad quem historiam præsentem "dirigimus, de pontificibus qui tunc temporibus fue-"runt, quid tibi videatur." Then turning upon him-

[1] *MCLXIII.*, H. O².

[2] See the Prologue, p. 3 of this edition.

[3] *CLXIII.*, H. O².

self,—"Dic, Henrice, dic, hujus auctor historiæ, qui fue-
" rint illius temporis archidiaconi. Quilibet eorum,
" sive fuerit nobilis vel ignobilis, clarus vel fama
" obscurus, laudabilis vel infamis, elatus vel oppressus,
" sapiens vel indiscretus, quid refert? Si aliquis eorum
" causa laudis et gloriæ aliquid laboris præsumpserit,
" cum jam nulla possit super eo esse memoria, major
" quam super equo vel asello suo, cur in vanum miser
" animum suum afflixit?" And you, he proceeds, who will be living at the same period of the third millenary, *i.e.* A.D. 2135, what will you think of us? Will you know or care (for instance) about Henry the Archdeacon, and this history which he wrote? Some might object that it was idle to look forward to another millenary, since the end of the world was near at hand. But this view he combats, relying on the opinion of Herbert de Losinga, bishop of Norwich, whom he had heard say, that according to the best judgment he could form, "the " truth would last longer than the type, the light than " the shadow, the thing signified than the indication, " the time of grace than the time of law." Those who firmly believed that the world would last not more than a thousand years after Christ's passion, had been proved to be in error. The author finally comes to the pious conclusion that the only true glory is "in Deo;" "hanc " cum adeptus fueris, habes; mundanam cum adeptus " fueris, ut aqua vase terebrato defluit, et nihil habes."

§ 13. So far the old Epilogue, now become the Introduction to the eighth book. In the paragraph which follows, beginning "Scripsit autem," the archdeacon describes his three Epistles, and adds that the insertion of them here would be neither incongruous nor useless, while to read them would be neither a waste of time nor disagreeable. The first Epistle follows, addressed to Henry I.; it must have been written between 1131 and 1135, for it contains an allusion to the meeting between the king and pope Innocent II. at Chartres, which took

Epistle i.

place in the first-named year. Beginning with Peleg the son of Eber he traces the line of patriarchs to Abraham; then passing on through legislators, judges, and kings, he ends with Zedechias, with whom he says the "kingdom of the Jews" terminated. The successions of kingsin the four great monarchies mentioned by the prophet Daniel are then given. The Babylonian monarchy ended with Baltasar, the Persian with Darius; the Grecian monarchy, beginning with Alexander, he traces through the line of the Ptolemies down to Cleopatra. The succession of emperors in the Roman monarchy he takes to have commenced with Julius Cæsar, and ended with Constantine Copronymus in the middle of the eighth century, under whom Rome became decrepit, and could no longer help either herself or others; "domina gentium "facta est ancilla barbarorum." The thread of sovereignty then passes to the Franks, in the person of Pippin the deliverer of Rome; whence it is traced through Charlemagne to Henry the Fowler and the Othos, then to the succeeding emperors ending with Conrad of Hohenstaufen. No mention is made of the new foundation of the "holy Roman Empire," through the coronation of Otho I. Of Conrad, it is said, "Vixit annos II., nondum tamen "Romam venit." Conrad succeeded Lothair the Saxon in 1138; this notice of him could not therefore have been in the original epistle, but was first inserted in 1140. The letter then concludes with some moral reflexions.

Epistle ii.

§ 14. The second epistle, to Warinus, can be regarded from two different sides, an advantage not often enjoyed in the case of mediæval writings, from the side of the writer, and from that of the literary friend at whose suggestion and with whose aid it was written. Henry's own account is given at the opening of the epistle itself; it is as follows:[1]—"Quæris a me, Warine Brito, vir

[1] MS. Arundel, 48, f. 129.

" comis et facete, cur patriæ nostræ gesta narrans, a " temporibus Julii Cæsaris inceperim, et florentissima " regna quæ a Bruto usque ad tempus Julii fuerunt " omiserim. He pleads in reply that when he wrote the History this gap was unavoidable, from the lack of materials, but proceeds: " Hoc tamen anno, qui est ab " incarnatione Domini MCXXXIX., cum Romam proficis- " cerer cum Theobaldo Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, apud " Beccum, ubi idem archiepiscopus abbas fuerat, scripta " rerum prædictarum stupens inveni. Siquidem Ro- " bertum de Torinneio, ejusdem loci monachum, virum " tam divinorum quam sæcularium librorum inquisi- " torem et coacervatorem studiosissimum, ibidem con- " veni. Qui cum de ordine historiæ de regibus Anglo- " rum a me editæ me interrogaret, et id quod a me " quærebat libens audisset, obtulit mihi librum ad " legendum de regibus Britonum, qui ante Anglos nos- " tram insulam tenuerunt; quorum excerpta, ut in " epistola decet, brevissime scilicet, tibi, dilectissime, " mitto." [1]

§ 15. Robert de Thorigny, then a monk at Bec, afterwards abbot of the famous monastery of St. Michel *du Peril de Mer*, describes his dealings with Henry in his own way. In the preface to the Chronicle, coming down to 1186, which he wrote as an Appendix or continuation to that of Sigebert of Gemblours,[2] Robert,

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[1] This passage is here printed as it stands in the MSS. of Robert de Monte's Chronicle, one of which (Bod. 212) is in the Bodleian Library. See Pertz, *Germania*, vol. vi. But in several English MSS. (*e.g.*, A, A^5, A^3), and possibly in all, the passage stands as follows:— " Hoc tamen anno, cum Romam " proficiscerer, apud Beccensem " abbatiam scripta rerum prædic- " tarum stupens inveni, quorum " excerpta, ut in epistola decet . . . " mitto." It will be observed that the words " quorum excerpta " suit the abridged better than the extended form of the passage. Can the more precise and detailed account of the meeting have been inserted by Robert himself?

[2] Pertz, *Germania*, vol. vi.

who was at the time a simple monk of Bec, says that, finding the work of Sigebert to be extremely defective, so far as the history of England and Normandy was concerned, he had resolved to do his best to supply the omissions. But a part of the history of England, that which related to the ancient kings of the Britons before the time of Julius Cæsar, ran back, according to the testimony of recent historians (he was thinking of the *Historia Britonum* of Geoffrey of Monmouth), into such a remote antiquity, that if he were to intercalate it according to chronological sequence in the chronicle of Sigebert, it would come in amongst the writing of Eusebius and St. Jerome, which Sigebert had utilised for the early portion of his work. This was not to be thought of; so to treat writers of such high authority would be indecent in the highest degree, yet how otherwise could the desired knowledge about the British kings be given to his readers? A letter which had been written by his friend Henry the Archdeacon some years before furnished a way out of the difficulty:— "Ut satisfaciam curiosis, huic prologo subjiciam unam "epistolam Henrici archidiaconi, in qua breviter enu- "merat omnes reges Britonum a Bruto usque ad Cad- "wallonem, qui fuit ultimus potentum regum Britonum, "fuitque pater Cadwalladri, quem Beda Cedwallam "vocat. Quam epistolam, sicut in ea reperitur, cum "Romam idem Henricus pergeret, me ei præbente "copiam exemplaris totius historiæ Britonum, apud "Beccum excerpsit." It is needless to remark that this epistle, which is a brief epitome of the famous work by Geoffrey of Monmouth, has not the smallest historical value. In his mania for abbreviation, Henry even cuts down the fourteen rather fine lines in the original, which give the prayer of Brutus and the oracular answer of Diana, to six! He concludes with these words:—"Hæc sunt quæ tibi brevibus

" promisi. Quorum si prolixitatem desideras, librum " grandem Galfridi Arturi,[1] quem apud Beccum inveni, " quæras; ubi prædicta diligenter et prolixe trac[ta]ta " videbis. Vale." Geoffrey's " liber grandis," which the dedication to Robert Earl of Gloucester, in which Henry I. is spoken of as dead, proves to have been published after 1135, may have appeared not more than a year, or even less, before Henry's visit to Bec in 1139 yet it is singular that it should have remained wholly unknown to him till then; for it would seem natural that one of the earliest copies should have found its way to the Bishop of Lincoln, Geoffrey's early patron;[1] and the bishop might be expected to place it at once in the hands of Henry, his chosen historiographer. That our author should peruse the " speciosa miracula " of the *Historia Britonum* with amazement (" stupens inveni "), is not surprising; Robert de Monte, a man of far shrewder and sounder judgment, must have shared in the feeling; yet in neither was it coupled with the least incredulity. The time was come for the passion and imagination of the Celtic race to take captive its rough Teutonic conquerors; Leir and Gorboduc were thenceforth to be held for as veritable kings as Alfred or William Rufus; the name of Britain and all things British were to be rescued from opprobrium; and the former domination of British kings to be held as part of a predestined scheme of providential guidance, under which one wave of conquerors succeeded another, not by virtue of any inherent

[1] The addition of " Arthur " to the name of Geoffrey of Monmouth is thus explained by William of Newbury, writing about the end of the twelfth century: " agnomen " habens Arturi pro eo, quod fabu- " las de Arturo, ex priscis Britonum " figmentis sumptas et ex proprio " auctas, per superductum Latini " sermonis colorem honesto his- " toriæ nomine palliavit." Giraldus Cambrensis also (quoted in Morley's *English Writers*, i. 498) mentions Geoffrey with the same addition to his name in his *Wallicæ descriptio*. This passage in Henry's epistle to Warinus is, I believe, the earliest instance of the use of the by-name.

race-superiority, but in punishment for the "sins" of their predecessors. It was in vain that William of Newbury and other writers protested against this readiness to accept fiction for history. The literary creations of the Celtic genius, though unsatisfactory to the dry intellect, made many of the deepest chords in the moral and spiritual nature of Normans, Franks, and Englishmen thrill responsively; and the results were gradually seen in a political fusion and a moral equality, which no effort or formed design on the part of the Celtic bards could ever have accomplished.

Epistle iii. § 16. Concerning the third Epistle, as it will be found in print in the Appendix, nothing need be said here. With it Henry closed his eighth book.

Book ix. § 17. Book ix. opens with a list of the nineteen saints whose miracles are related in it, beginning with S. Oswald and ending with S. Wilfrid. All these names occur in Beda. The short preface which follows contains a kind of protest against false miracles, or miracles not supported by sufficent evidence. "Mihi autem si narrentur "hujusmodi miracula, nec aperte contradixero, nisi "aperte frivola sint, nec constanter affirmavero, nisi "notissimis indiciis et probatissimis personis ad plenum "roborari perspexero." This caution, he proceeds, has induced him to admit hardly any other miracles than those related by the Venerable Bede, "cujus auctoritas "firmissima est;" not that many wonderful and glorious saints had not lived in the succeeding times, but because "eorum gesta vel auctore carent certo, vel, "quantum Dei servus Beda, probato." After referring to a few passages, scattered over the first six books of his History, in which he had spoken of the miracles of St Alban, St. Germain, and others, he proceeds to treat of the miracles of the nineteen saints above referred to in a series of short articles, the materials for which are almost wholly taken from Beda. In the notice of S. Etheldreda, the patron saint of Ely, the following passage

occurs :—"Temporibus autem nostris cum ibidem Symeon " abbas ecclesiam mirandi operis incepisset, transtulit " corpus ejus sanctissimum in novam ecclesiam Ricar- " dus susceptor ejus, ultimus abbatum ejusdem loci;" (the see of Ely was founded in 1109) "exinde enim " statuti sunt ibi episcopi. Tunc igitur inventa est a " viris probatissimis integra corpore et pulcherrimi " coloris. Quod verum esse constanter affirmamus. " Dicitur etiam quod hominem quendam qui ad eccle- " siam ejus causa religiosi habitus suscipiendi confuge- " rat, cum regis placitatores eum inde extractum causa " pecuniæ in carcere posuerunt apud Londoniam, ipsa " virgo præsens, compedibus ubi grossiores erant scis- " sis, mirande liberavit. Nullus autem viventium eo " modo compedes confringere poterat. Susceptus igi- " tur homo ille, nomini Bricstan, cum compedibus suis " mirificatis a venerabili Matilde regina et ab omni " clero et populo Londoniæ, cum processione trium- " phali. Ille autem rediens honorifice susceptus est in " ecclesia beatæ virginis. Compedes autem ejus pen- " dent impresentiarum coram altari, ingredientibus visu " et tactu admirandæ." The story of this Bricstan is related at greater length in the sixth book of Ordericus Vitalis. In a previous sentence of the same article Henry describes Cambridge as, "civitatula desolata quæ " vocatur Grantecestre."

§ 18. What follows, to the end of the book, relates to more modern saints, and is of considerable interest. The chief portions of this passage are here subjoined :— Modern saints.

"Igitur omnia fere miracula quæ Beda magnus auc- " tor suo inseruit operi, disperse quidem secundum " temporis distinctionem, nos coagulata continuavimus. " . . . . . Nec minus antiquiori- " bus effulsere moderni, quod si quis libratim exami- " nare pertentet, petat ecclesias ex eorum nominibus

" dedicatas, ubi mirabilium virorum mirabilia gesta [1]
" videbit. Quis enim Cantuariæ metropolis ecclesiam
" venerabilem petens, et Dunstani patris sanctissimi
" numerosa legens magnalia magnopere non miretur?
" et in laudes Sancti Sanctorum gratulabundus non
" erumpat? Clarissima gesta, clarissima dicta tanti
" patris amplectens eructare poterit: Mirabilis Deus
" in sanctis suis.

" Quis Wintoniensem videns ecclesiam, et patris Adel-
" woldi lucidissima gesta revolvens, non laudet Patrem
" qui solus per se et suos operatur miracula? O quot
" ecclesias præsul iste Deo instituit! quot congrega-
" tiones regularibus disciplinis insignivit! quot im-
" pietatis incendia rore Sancti Spiritus extinxit! Illic
" quoque sancti patris Swithuni laudes videbis. Qui
" fortissimi regis Egbricti assidens et pius Adelwulfi
" filii ejus ædificator fuit; Adelwulfus vero de clericatu
" translatus ad regnum, concessu Leonis papæ, pontifi-
" cavit eum feliciter. Tertio anno vero Adelberti regis-
" filii Adelwulfi vir sanctus decessit cum gloria. Ibi
" etiam Birini præsulis Dorkecestriæ, quæ modo sedes
" ad Lincolniam translata est, miracula magna videbis.

§ 19. " Sireburnam vero petens Aldelmi ejusdem loci
" episcopi miracula cernes, quæ modo sedes ad Sales-
" biriam translata est. Cernes ibi magnos magni patris
" triumphos, et in Dei laudes triumphatoris erumpes.

" Kynelmi vero martyrium clandestinum leges apud
" Winchelescumbe.[2] Hic fuit filius regis Merciorum
" Kynulfi, qui cum XXIIII. annos regnasset, anno gra-
" tiæ DCCCXIX. decessit. Martyrium vero Kenelmi filii
" ejus revelatum est cœlitus Romæ Silvestro juniori
" papæ.

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[1] " Gesta " seems to be equivalent to the " scripta gloriosa," preserved in the different churches, of which he had spoken at the commencement of the book.

[2] *Winkelescumbe*, G.

"Mylbergæ vero virginalem videbis vitam apud
" Winlocam ; quæ fuit filia Merwaldi filii regis Pendæ
" et Domneve[1] filiæ Eormenredi filii regis Eadbaldi
" Cantuariæ. Milgitha[2] vero soror ejus in finibus Nord-
" himbrorum quiescit. Mildrithæ vero tertiæ sororis
" cœlibem vitam in insula Teneth reperies.

"Rumaldi vitam videbis mirandam apud Bukinge-
" ham super flumen Use.

§ 20. "Neoti vero vitam laudabilem videre poteris
" super flumen prædictum, scilicet Use, decurrens usque
" in Huntendune-syra, ubi corpus ejus sanctissimum
" pausat. Splenduit tempore regis Aluredi et Marini
" papæ.

"Yvonis autem super idem flumen procurrens vitam
" vises[3] venerandam. Ibi namque gloriosum corpus
" revelatum est lustris post obitum ejus, tempore regis
" longævi Adelredi, qui XXXVII. annis regnavit. Nec
" longe distat a nostræ memoriæ temporibus.

"Rameseye vero, quæ super paludes sita est, ex præ-
" dicto flumine progedientes, et corpora et vitam Edel-
" redi[4] et Edelbricti reperies. Qui filii Ermenredi, filii
" Ebaldi regis Cantuariæ, clam martyrizati sunt, et
" magno miraculo inventi.

"Apud Burgum vero, quod super easdem pulcherrimas
" paludes situm est, pausant duæ sanctæ virgines ger-
" manæ, Kyneburga, Kyneswitha,[5] sorores regum Pedæ
" et Wlferi et Adelredi. Tibba virgo sancta præ-
" dictarum cognata quiescit ibidem.

"Sanctus vero Gutlacus in eadem palude vernantis-
" sima quiescit apud Croilande. Hic in diebus fuit
" IIII. regum Merce, scilicet Ethelredi filii Pende et
" Kenredi cognati ejus, qui utrique monachi effecti
" sunt, et Chelredi filii Adelredi fortissimi regis, et
" tempore Adelbaldi. Obiit anno gratiæ DCCC. et XV.

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[1] *Winneve*, G.
[2] *Milghitha*, G.
[3] *vides*, G.
[4] *Aelredi*, G.
[5] *Kynethytha*, G.

§ 21. "Sancta Werburga apud Cestriam quiescit. " De qua cum multa dicantur, unum quod egregium
Cf. Malm. Gest. Pont. p. 308. " est et inauditum non tangere non possum. Scribi- " tur enim quod aucas silvaticas, quarum copia gran- " dis frumentum suum virens depascendo exterminabat, " includi fecerit in domo quadam quasi domesticas. " Quas cum mane vocatas emittere pararet, vidit unam " deesse. Quam cum a famulis comestam rem per- " quirens audisset, 'Afferte,' inquit, 'mihi plumam et " 'ossa comestæ.' His allatis, præcepit Domini excelsi " sponsa ut integra esset et viva, et factum est ita. " Anseribus igitur applaudentibus et acclamantibus " pro sociæ amissæ reditu, præcepit ne in sempiter- " num introiret in campum illum aliqua spem illarum " participans. Recesserunt omnes incolumes, et quod " virgo præcepit observatum est usque in hunc diem.

"Sancta vero Wlfilda, filia regis Eadgari, spretis " sponsalibus pro Deo sponso, Berkinge fuit abbatissa, " et ibidem sepulta, ubi virgines sanctæ miracula ejus " videntes sponsum laudant virginum. De sancta qui- " dem Edelburga loci ejusdem abbatissa prædiximus " quanta Beda.

"Sancta Editha filia regis Edgari Wiltoniæ pausat, " et ibidem splendida virginis leguntur miracula.

"Hos de multo sanctorum numero brevitati studen- " tes perstrinximus, qui per loca distincta splendorem " salutiferum Britanniæ Magnæ quasi cœli luminaria " decentissime administrant. Multos namque præteri- " mus, quorum nomina et gesta in ecclesiis ex eorum " nomine Deo dicatis luculenter irradiant. Felix An- " glia, tantorum patrum tantis insignita splendori- " bus!

§ 22. "Sed quæret aliquis, Cum priscis temporibus " tot sancti tot innotuere miraculis, miramur obnixe " quod temporibus nostris nec aliqua miraculorum in- " terlucet scintilla, nec famæ tenuis aliqua super his " agilitas intervolat. Unde videtur, vel quod plura

" dicantur quam fuerunt, vel omnino mundus a Deo
" jam sit aptatus. Cui respondemus: Omnino quidem
" a Deo aptata tempora non concedimus nostra, sed
" valde pejorata, et vitiorum caligine flebiliter obnu-
" bilata. Novit tamen Deus qui sunt ejus, et in hu-
" milibus, qui paucissimi sunt, Excelsus habitat. Fiunt
" igitur miracula tempore nostro rarissima, sed quoque
" clarissima. Unde de quodam cui adhuc vitalis super-
" est spiritus memoriale sanctissimum et clarissimum
" communicabo.

§ 23. "In provincia quæ vocatur Dorsete, apud vil- The anchorite of Haselberge.
" lam quæ vocatur Haselberge, degit quidam Dei ser-
" vus Wlfricus nomine, officio sacerdos, conversatione
" anachorita. Hic loricam carni proximam semper ad-
" hibens, ut ejus motus intempestos cohiberet, a domino
" suo terreno novam poposcit, quia sua sudore suo
" jam pæne demollita et dissarcita videbatur. Quam
" cum eo præsente induisset, longitudini ejus infensus,
" ne sub veste quiddam compareret, arrepta forcipe,
" sub giris et in manicarum vestibulis ferrum com-
" paginatum quasi lineam texturam dissecuit; rursus-
" que forcipem apponens, si quid inæquale erat, sine
" mora, sine difficultate, Dei servus abscidit. Quod
" videns dominus ejus, inestimabili gaudio repletus ad
" pedes sancti corruit. Vir Domini pudibundus erec-
" tum conjuravit, ne alicui visa revelaret. Res tamen
" celari non potuit. Nam plerique religiosi ejusdem
" loricæ sanctissimæ annulos habere se gaudent, et
" fama celebris regni totius partes circumquaque per-
" lustravit. Quod miraculum huic operi cauto et ex-
" quisito non interposuissem, nisi qualiter Sanctus
" Papa Gregorius quæ de patre Benedicto vel aliis
" sanctis narrat; partem ab aliquo fratre religioso se
" audisse commemorat, partem se a pluribus valde
" probatis. Hoc autem non solum testantur hi qui

[1] *demolita*, A[5].

" loricæ sectiones viderunt, vel qui ejus sermonem ap-
" tabilem præsentiamque delectabilem petierunt, vel
" qui vitam religiosorum libenter et ipsi religiosi per-
" quirunt, verum omni populo divulgatum est, et om-
" nium commune notorium.

" Et jam hic de gloriosis operibus Dei liber nonus
" explicit."

The above extracts contain all of the eighth and ninth books that could be deemed on any ground worthy of preservation; and the analysis just given is sufficient perhaps to account for the judgment passed upon them by all previous editors, no less than by the present one, that they do not deserve to be printed *in extenso*.

§ 24. The contents of the present volume, together with the reasons why they are neither more nor less bulky than they are, having been stated, it is time to inquire what particulars have come down to us concern-
Life of the the author. ing the life of the author, and to see whether a comparison of documents will furnish us with any additional light. The life of Henry of Huntingdon has been written by Capgrave in the fifteenth century, by Leland, Bale, and Pits in the sixteenth, by Cave in the seventeenth, and lastly by Tanner in the eighteenth. An article by Mr. Wright in the *Biographia Litteraria* (Norman period), though it evinces a greater acquaintance with Huntingdon MSS. than had been possessed by previous writers, does not add materially to our knowledge. The life by Capgrave, who was the nearest to the time, is the most meagre of all. It is in the work *De Illustribus Henricis*, edited some years ago for the Master of the Rolls. After citing from the eighth book the passage " Hic est annus " qui comprehendit scriptorem," Capgrave extracts from the epistle " De Contemptu Mundi " the account of the manner in which Bishop Remigius organized the diocese of Lincoln into seven archdeaconries, adds Henry's speculations as to the probable duration of the world, and that is all.

§ 25. The evident predilection with which Henry speaks of the fen country ("pulcherrimæ paludes"), his exact acquaintance with the churches that lay on and near the river Ouse (above § 20, and Book v., § 25), and his knowledge of the traditions of the district (vi., § 6), make it almost a certainty that he was a native either of Cambridgeshire or Huntingdonshire. As he speaks of Aldwin, the abbot of Ramsey, as "dominus meus," it may perhaps be inferred that his father, whose name was Nicholas, held land of the abbey; if so, Henry was probably born on some part of the abbatial domain The date of his birth cannot well be fixed later than 1084.[1] That his father was not settled in Lincoln before 1092, the year in which bishop Remigius died, may be inferred from Henry's explicit statement that he had never seen that prelate. But Nicholas must have gone to Lincoln soon after the accession of Robert Bloet, for Henry was still a little boy, "puerulus," when first taken into Bloet's household. Remigius had removed his see from Dorchester, near Oxford, to Lincoln about 1080, being moved to make the selection by the populousness, wealth, and importance of the town, as an "emporium hominum terra "marique venientium."[2] With great energy he had organised his large diocese from its new centre, dividing it into seven archdeaconries, creating a chapter of dean and canons consisting of the most learned and able men whom he could find, appointing many other officials, and building a cathedral on the castle hill.[3] Some encouragement held out to Nicholas by bishop Remigius may very likely have been the cause of his removing to Lincoln. He was in holy orders, and when recording his death in 1110 Henry calls him "the star of the "clergy," stella cleri. It is impossible to say whether

Energy of bishop Remigius.

[1] He mentions archbishop Lanfranc, who died in 1089, among those whom "oculis nostris inspexi-"mus," and who flourished "temporibus nostris." (*De Contemptu*, § 15.)

[2] Malm., *Gesta Pontif.*, § 177.

[3] See below, Book vi., § 41.

he was a married priest, or only took orders after his wife's death. The latter is perhaps the more probable supposition, considering the decided stand taken both by Lanfranc and St. Anselm against the marriage of clerics, and the unlikehood that a married priest could have held the, not tolerated merely, but distinguished position at the time of his death which Henry's words seem to assign to his father. If his mother were dead and his father a priest, Henry's introduction at a very early age into the household of bishop Bloet would be naturally accounted for, and might be compared with the act of the priest Odelirius in giving up his boy, the little Ordericus, to the monks of St. Evroult, to be brought up by them.

§ 26. The wealth of the see of Lincoln at this time was very great, and the palace of Robert Bloet was more like the court of a princely feudatory than the modest abode of a primitive bishop. Henry admits that he was dazzled by the brilliant scenes which daily passed under his eyes, and drank in deeply the spirit of worldliness. Seeing from his boyhood worldly splendour and luxury studied and displayed in bishop Bloet's household, how, he asks his friend Walter, was he in youth likely to despise them? Among the inmates of the palace was Richard, a natural son of Henry I., whose education had been entrusted to the bishop; Henry intimates that, in spite of the slur on his birth, he was the object of much deferential homage to himself and others.[1] This Richard was afterwards drowned in the White Ship. Henry was probably taught to regard himself as already enrolled in the ranks of the clergy from the time when he entered the episcopal household. If our conjecture as to the date of his birth be accepted, it may be further assumed that he was ordained priest before the end of the first decade of the twelfth century.

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[1] *De Contemptu*, § 5.

In 1110 his father Nicholas died.[1] It has been thought that he might be the same Nicholas who is mentioned in the *De Contemptu* as having been succeeded by Henry himself in the archdeaconry of Huntingdon, nor is the supposition wanting in plausibility.[2] Of his life for the next twelve or thirteen years, to the death of bishop Bloet, one single fact is recorded; it is that, once when, in the last year of Bloet's episcopate, Henry was sitting next him at dinner, he observed the bishop weeping, and, upon asking the cause, was told that he wept to see his servants clad now in woollen, not as formerly in silken, garments, owing to the poverty which the fines unjustly levied upon him in the king's court had occasioned.

Henry is appointed archdeacon of Huntingdon.

§ 27. Alexander of Blois, who succeeded Bloet in the see of Lincoln in 1123, was a prelate of considerable learning; it was to him that Geoffrey of Monmouth dedicated his version of the Prophecies of Merlin, declaring at the same time that the task could have fallen into no fitter hands than the bishop's own, were it not that the important duties which his station

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[1] *Hist. Angl.* vii., § 27.

[2] Henry says (*De Cont.*, § 4) that about the time when Nicholas the archdeacon died, Cambridgeshire was transferred from his jurisdiction, and included in another see. The transfer was consequent on the erection of the diocese of Ely, which was finally accomplished in 1109, Hervé the Breton having been consecrated the first bishop of the see in that year. The objections to the view that Henry succeeded his father in 1110 are, that he must have been rather young for such a post, and that his own words ("ego "jam archidiaconus ejus," *De Cont.*, § 2), when describing an incident which took place in 1122, seem more naturally to refer to a recent appointment than to one dating so far back as 1110. On the other hand, bishop Bloet may have had such confidence in and affection for a clerk brought up from boyhood in his household, as to overlook the immaturity of his age; and it is unquestionable if we closely examine the words used in § 4, that the curtailment of the archdeaconry (which certainly happened in 1109), the death of Nicholas, and the appointment of Henry to succeed him, are described as events connected together in point of time.

imposed upon him left him no leisure for such occupations. The new bishop was the nephew of Roger the powerful bishop of Salisbury, and deeply engaged like his uncle in the plots and counterplots which filled the turbulent reign of Stephen. Bale and Pits aver that Henry accompanied the bishop to Rome; they refer probably to his visit in 1144, but as Henry says nothing about it, and they give no authority for the statement, it is probably unfounded. It is certain that the bishop encouraged Henry to write his history, as has been already mentioned. In 1139, when Theobald, who had just been consecrated to the see of Canterbury, went to Rome for his pall, Henry accompanied him, under what circumstances, or with what objects, we are wholly ignorant. On this occasion he visited Bec, where Theobald had been abbot, made the acquaintance of Robert de Monte, whom he probably supplied with a copy of the edition of his History which terminated in 1135, and obtained materials for his Epistle to Warinus. From this point, beyond the evidence which his History supplies that he was living at the accession of Henry II. in 1154, not a tittle of biographical information has come down to us. The concluding words of the Corpus MS., "Explicit liber X^{us}, hic incipit liber undecimus de "Henrico juniori," coupled with the preceding sentence (which is found also in Reg. 13. B. vi.) "Et jam regi "novo novus liber donandus est," make it probable that he lived far enough into the reign of Henry II. to contemplate the addition of a new book to his History. No author has recorded the year of his death. What looks like positive evidence that he was living in 1155, and has been so accepted by Dr. Liebermann, cannot, I think, be safely relied upon.[1]

He visits Rome.

[1] In § 15 of the Epistle to Walter, Henry names the bishops of fourteen sees who were sitting at the time at which he wrote, and also their predecessors, so far as they came within his remembrance.

§ 28. As an author Henry distinguished himself in his youth by writing epigrams and poetry of various kinds. Leland[1] speaks of a poem, *De Amore*, in eight books, and another of equal length, *De Herbis*, as being still extant in the sixteenth century. To these Henry seems to allude in the lines— His works.

Henricus tibi serta gerens, epigrammata primum,
Prælia mox Veneris, gramina deinde tuli.[2]

The Epistle was written in 1135, and in the copy of it contained in the Corpus MS. all the episcopal notices correspond with that date; that is, not one bishop is named as sitting whose election took place after 1135. When, however, this Epistle was incorporated in the History, on the appearance of the edition of 1145, Henry thought fit to revise the episcopal notices, so that in their altered form they correspond to the year 1145. Many new names occur which we had not in the list of 1135, but no bishop (with one apparent exception) is named as sitting who was elected after 1145. Thus "William" (of Santa Barbara) is named as the sitting bishop of Durham, who, having been elected in 1143, did not appear in the earlier list; on the other hand, not Robert de Chesney, who was elected in 1148, but Alexander, figures as the sitting bishop of Lincoln. The apparent exception is in the case of Exeter, of which Henry says, "Excestriæ "vero sedit Robertus nuper mor- "tuus et pridem cæcus; nunc vero "nepos ejus." The entry in the earlier version is, "Excestriæ vero "sedet Robertus, qui nondum est "mortuus, sed pridem cæcus." The bishop of Exeter, who became blind, was William de Warlewast; his nephew Robert, after being dean of Salisbury, was elected bishop of Exeter in 1155; if this Robert, therefore, is the person referred to, Henry cannot have written this notice earlier than 1155. But it seems to me simpler to suppose that Henry confounded the two Roberts, who were both about this time deans of Salisbury and bishops of Exeter. The first Robert was elected to the see in 1138, and died in 1155. He was *not* the nephew of the blind bishop; but Henry, who had already misnamed the latter Robert, and whose information about what happened so far west, was probably liable to much inaccuracy, may easily have fallen into the error of supposing that the bishop Robert sitting in 1145 was Robert Warlewast. If we take a different view, how can we account for the occurrence of the name of no *other* bishop who was elected after 1145? The conclusion to which I come, this being the only trace of a presumably later date that can be found in his writings, is, that we have no evidence whatever as to the duration of Henry's life after the accession of Henry II.

[1] *Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis.*

[2] Page 320.

Leland also credits him with books *De Aromatibus* and *De Gemmis*, in which he imitated, with no great success, "a certain modern poet Macer;" and with a little treatise *De Ponderibus et Mensuris;* finally, with a volume *De Lege Domini*, addressed to the monks of Peterborough. Bale[1] further credits him with a "Historia perbrevis," which is perhaps the "Abbreviatio," of which there is a copy in Reg. 13. A. xviii. All the works above named, with the exception of two books of Epigrams, and (possibly) of an abridgment of his History, which is valueless, appear to have perished. In Harl. 64, between the paragraph "Scripsit autem" (*ante*, § 13), and the epistle to King Henry, occurs a fragment (inc. "Orbis a rotunditate," expl. "appellavit Adam"), which the 17th century editor and supplementer of that MS. calls "Fragmentum libri Henrici Huntingdonensis De Creatione et Distinctione Mundi." It is written in a hand of the 14th century, and fills only three columns of the MS. It is of no importance in itself, and there is but slender ground for attributing it to Henry.

Manuscripts of the *Historia Anglorum.*

§ 29. The following, it is believed, is a complete list of the extant MSS. of the *Historia Anglorum*, arranged according to their age. I have retained the designation A for the MS. (Arundel, 48), which Mr. Petrie took as the basis of the edition published in the *Monumenta*, and have given it to all MSS. of the work preserved in London libraries, distinguishing them by numbers. Similarly MSS. kept at Oxford are designated O; at Cambridge, C; in Scottish libraries, S; in French libraries, F.

1. C^3. - C.C.C.C. 280[2] - XII. cent.

[1] *Summarium*, f. 83.

[2] This interesting MS. is in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, to which institution it was bequeathed by archbishop Parker. It is probable that it formerly belonged to the monastery of St. Augustine, Canterbury. It is accurately and clearly written; a good working copy, in short, of a

2.	- Savile [1] -	- XII. cent.
3. F.	- Bibl. Nat. Paris, 6042 [2]	XII. cent.
4. H.	- Hengwrt, 101 [3]	- A.D. 1196.

book which a great monastery, while it set no special store upon it, would desire to have on its shelves. It bears the rubric date 1135, and was doubtless copied, as to its earlier portion, from a MS. of the edition of that date; it contains, however, at the end all that the latest edition of the History contained.

[1] I have not succeeded in tracing this MS., which passed to a purchaser giving the—perhaps fictitious—name of "Huntingdon" at the Savile sale in 1862 for the sum of 240*l.* I am inclined to suspect that as Sir T. D. Hardy made two MSS. out of one in the case of Nos. 15 and 21, so he has done in the present case, and that the MS. Phillipps, No. 31, is identical with this MS. Savile. In the Savile sale catalogue the MS. is said to end in 1174, and to be a 'contemporary MS. on vellum, finely written by an English scribe, with painted capitals . . . . . sæc. XII."

[2] There are some inaccuracies in the account given by the late Sir Thomas Hardy of this MS. in his *Descriptive Catalogue, &c.* (ii. 273). M. Delisle, in his excellent work on "Robert de Torigny," has shown that this is not, as Sir Thomas Hardy supposed, the identical copy of the History sent by Henry to Robert de Monte. That reached only to 1135, according to Robert's own statement in the preface to his Chronicle; subsequently, however, he must have obtained a copy coming down to 1147, for to this point the extracts from Henry given in his work (Pertz, vol. vi.) extend. Of this later copy Robert, after he became abbot of Mont St. Michel, in 1154, caused a transcript to be made for the library of that monastery; and it is this transcript, according to M. Delisle, which we possess in No. 6042. This MS. ends with the words "non reformidantis fuerit" (Book viii., § 25). It is a mistake to say that "the narrative ends at the foot of a page;" there is a not inconsiderable blank space on the page below the words just quoted; hence there is no ground for thinking that the MS. is imperfect. Like all representative copies of the editions of 1145 and 1154, it contains, between the reigns of Henry I. and Stephen, the *De Summitatibus* and the *De Miraculis*, as Books viii. and ix.

[3] This curious MS. represents (above, § 5) the first edition. It is thus dated at the end, "Ab incarnatione Domini annus MCXCVI., ab invasione Normannorum CXXX., ... a martirio beati Thomæ XXVI." It is written in a fine bold hand, with initial letters showing much taste and beauty of execution, yet it abounds in clerical errors to an unusual degree. Between the fourth and fifth books is a copy, in a hand of the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century, of the Epistle of Prester John to Manuel, the emperor of Constantinople; it is a better and older text than that printed by Oppert (*De Presbyter Johannes in Sage*

5. F^4. - Bibl. Pub. Rouen [1] - XII. or XIII. cent.
6. A. - Arundel, 48 [2] - XII. or XIII. cent.
7. A^6. - Lambeth, 118 [3] - XII. or XIII. cent.
8. A^7. - Lambeth, 327 [4] - XII. or XIII. cent.

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und Geschichte. Berlin, 1864). After the colophon is a list of archbishops of Canterbury, which originally ended with "Willelmus" [Curbuil]. A later hand has added "Teodbaldus, Thomas, Ricardus, "Baldewinus, Hubertus."

[1] Of this MS., which I have not been able to examine, there is an account in Hardy's *Descr. Catalogue*, ii. p. 270. It was probably a copy made for the abbey of Jumièges (to which it formerly belonged) of Paris 6042. It ends at the same point as that MS.

[2] This MS. has been used as the basis of the present edition (as of that in the *Monumenta*) down to its termination in 1148 with the words "jocunditate spirituali." On p. 2 an ancient footnote says, "Hic "liber est ecclesiæ Sanctæ Mariæ "de Suwica." Hence it may be identified with the copy used by Leland, from which extracts are given in his *Collectanea*, vol. ii. p. 306. For Leland's copy ended, as Arundel 48 ends, with the consecration of Robert de Querceto as bishop of Lincoln, and he tells us that it was lent to him by the "ca-"nonici Sudovicani," near Porchester. A priory of Augustinian canons was founded by Henry I. at Porchester in 1133, and soon after removed to Southwick, which is called "Suwyka" in an inspeximus dated in the fifty-third year of Henry III. Their church was dedicated to St. Mary (*Monasticon*, vi. 243). It is a good text, though not written with quite so much care and accuracy as the Corpus MS. The scribe appears to have had a curious fancy for changing the order of the words where it could be done without altering the sense; scores of instances of this might be detected on a careful comparison of this with other leading MSS. There is a change of hand at f. 161*a*, near the beginning of the tenth book.

[3] This MS. is in the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth. It is wrongly described in the catalogue as of the 14th century; I should be disposed to date it at the end of the 12th or quite early in the 13th century. It ends at the same point as Arundel 48. The date assigned to the composition of the history in the initial rubric is 1145. This is a fine MS., written and ornamented in a superior manner. The *Historia Anglorum* is followed by the "Decreta Willelmi Regis," and these by the "Leges Sti. Edwardi "Regis;" a genealogy of the dukes of Normandy concludes the volume, and the scribe writes—

"Complevi, totum scripsi, librum-
"que peregi,
"Et solus totum; sit summo gra-
"tia Regi."

The History is in twelve books; ix. and x. being *De Miraculis* and *De Summitatibus*, and xi. and xii., the serious Epigrams.

[4] An ill-used and much discoloured MS., also at Lambeth.

9. G.	- Grosvenor [1]	- -	XIII. cent.
10. S.	- Adv. Libr. Edinb. A. 5. 38.[2]		XIII. cent.
11. S^2.	- Adv. Libr. Edinb. 33. 5. 4.[3]		XIII. cent.
12. C.	- Cambr. Univ. Libr. G. g. II. 21.[4]		XIII. cent.

It has ten books, arranged in the order of Arundel 48, not that of Lambeth 118. It ends in the middle of 1148, at the words "venerat "ex Anglia."

[1] This text, the property of the Duke of Westminster, who has kindly placed it in my hands during the preparation of the present edition, is evidently a copy of Arundel 48, all the clerical errors of which it reproduces with curious fidelity. Like its prototype, it contains a drawing of Baldwin Fitzgilbert addressing Stephen's troops before the battle of Lincoln; but this has fewer figures than the other.

[2] This MS. is somewhat poor in execution; it bears the rubric date 1145, and ends with that year; though, as we have seen (§ 8), it is impossible to be certain, in the absence of a definite *explicit*, that it did not once extend further. There is a hiatus from the words "leges apud Winchelcumbe" in the ninth book (see above, § 19), to "In eo quippe termino," Book viii., § 20.

[3] This MS. seems to be of about the same age as the last. At the top of the first page a fifteenth century hand has written, "Chronica "Anglorum optime abreviata per "Henr. Hunt. Archid." Then follows, in an earlier hand, "Liber "patris domini Johannis Exoni-"ensis episcopi, qui eum celaverit, "anathema sit." This text was included in the precious collection of MSS. made by Sir John Balfour in the seventeenth century, and given by him to the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh. It is important as being one, and the best, of the two extant MSS. which represent the edition of 1139. The copyist must have been a great lover of brevity, or rather his employers must have been so; for the quotations from Eutropius in the first book, and several of the poetical effusions in the seventh, are omitted. The eighth and ninth books of later editions are of course wanting, because their incorporation in the history did not take effect till the issue of the edition of 1145. There is no foundation for the statement respecting this MS. in Sir T. Hardy's *Descriptive Catalogue* (ii. 271), that "a portion of "the seventh book and the whole "of the eighth are wanting."

[4] This MS. represents the edition of 1145; it has no special feature of interest. It ends at the same place as Paris 6042, in 1147.

13. C^2.	- Cambr. Univ. Libr. I. i. ii. 3.[1]		XIII. cent.
14. C^4.	- St. John's Coll. Cambr. G. 16. 6.[2]		XIII. cent.
15. A^5.	- Addit. 24,061[3]	-	XIV. cent.
16. A^8.	- Lambeth, 179[4]	-	XIV. cent.
17. O.	- Laud, 564[5] -	-	XIV. cent.
18. A^2.	- Reg. 13. B. vi.[6]	-	XIV. cent.

[1] The volume which contains this copy of the *Historia* begins with and principally consists of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum*. The *Historia* is written in a small but compact and well formed hand of the thirteenth century. This MS. contains the entire work down to 1154, including Books viii. and ix. It is possible that this may be a copy of the Corpus MS. (C^3.).

[2] This MS., which I have not examined, is said to be of the thirteenth century, and to terminate in 1145.

[3] A poorly executed text, in folio, with the rubric date 1135. It closes with the election of Theobald to the primacy at the end of 1138, and is hence considered by Dr. Liebermann to represent the edition of 1139. After "Expliciunt chro- "nica Henrici Huntindonensis," the scribe proceeds, "Incipit con- "tinuatio . . . . a diversis compi- "latoribus extracta." The continuation fills about thirty-four folios, and comes down to 1202. With great deference for the opinion of Sir Thomas Hardy, I should judge this to be a text of the early fifteenth, not the fourteenth century.

[4] This is a MS. written late in the fourteenth century; I believe it to be a transcript, with abridgments, of Lambeth 118. As in that MS., the eight historical books succeed each other continuously; the history ends with the election of Robert de Querceto; Book ix. is entirely omitted, while of Book x. the Epistle to Walter alone is given, as if the transcriber thought the other Epistles not worth copying.

[5] This MS. is defective at the beginning to the extent of two lines, besides the Prologue. It begins with the words, "multi et "diversi generis terra et mari." At the end it is damaged, and the leaves become progressively illegible. There is a great hiatus towards the middle of the volume; it extends from the words "institu- "tione formatus rex" (Book iii., § 36) to "Sidroc senem," in the middle of the sixth section of the fifth book. This MS. ended in 1148, but whether at "venerat ex "Anglia" or at "jocunditate spi- "rituali" is a point which, owing to the damaged condition of the last leaves, it is scarcely possible to determine. Of Book viii. it contains only the Epilogue and the paragraph, "Scripsit autem." Book ix. is wanting.

[6] This is a useful and intelligently written text. It formerly belonged to a Dominican friar, as appears from an entry in a fifteenth

19. S^3.	- Hunt. Libr. Glasg.[1]	-	XIV. cent.
20. A^4.	- Vesp. A. xviii.[2]	-	XV. cent.
21.	- Savile[3] -	-	XIV. cent.
22. C^5.	- Trin. Coll. Cambr. R. 5. 42.[4]		XIV. cent.

century hand on the spare leaf at the end, "Thomas Neuwark frater "Prædicatorum ordinis." Like the Corpus MS. it contains the entire history to 1154, and has the same words at the end of the tenth book, "Etiam regi novo," &c. (see above, § 27). It bears the rubric date, 1145. After "jocunditate "spirituali," Book viii., § 28, a fifteenth century writer has inserted the words "Multi libri non habent "plus." A short epitome of the later history down to Edward IV. follows the work of Huntingdon; it ends thus:—

"Edwardus quartus modo reg-
"nat, filius hujus,
"Belliger, invictus, in scripturis
"quoque doctus."

[1] This is one of the MSS. collected, chiefly in England, by the celebrated surgeon, John Hunter, and bequeathed to his museum, which is now in the charge of the University of Glasgow. It is a text of little importance, and contains many bad and impossible readings. It omits Books viii. and ix., and ends in 1147, like C. and F., at the words "non reformidantis fuerit."

[2] This MS., which must have been omitted by inadvertence from the list of Huntingdon MSS. in Hardy's *Descriptive Catalogue* (ii. 269), might perhaps be of the end of the fourteenth, but I am more inclined to assign it to the fifteenth century. It is unfinished, having only the first seven books to the death of Henry I., and the opening of the eighth, breaking off at the end of the paragraph, "Scrip-"sit autem." (See above, § 13.) It bears the rubric-date, 1145.

[3] This is described in the sale-catalogue of the Savile MSS. as being a "fine MS. on vellum by an "English scribe," and as having a continuation to A.D. 1200. It was bought by Mr. Boone for 175*l*. [A recent examination of Addit. 24,061 (No. 15) shows that it was bought at the Savile sale. It cannot be doubted, therefore, although Sir Thomas Hardy enters them separately in his catalogue, that No. 21 and No. 15 refer to the same MS.]

[4] Mr. W. Aldis Wright has kindly examined this MS. for me. It is in a hand of the fourteenth century. The rubric-date is 1145. After the rubric occur the words, "Liber fra-"tris Roberti de Populton, precii "10. *s*." This friar Populton, or Popiltoun, as has been well pointed out by Dr. Liebermann, was probably the friar of the same name who lived in the early part of the fourteenth century, and wrote, or caused to be written, a considerable portion of the volume, Paris 4126, described at p. 170, vol. ii. of Hardy's Catalogue. It contains eleven books, the last consisting of Epigrams, arranged in the same order as in Lambeth 118. The History, as in Arundel 48 and many other MSS., ends in 1148, with the installation of Robert de Querceto.

23.	O^2.	- All Souls, xxxi.[1] -	XV. cent.
24.		- Vatican, Christina, 587.[2]	XV. cent.
25.		- Harl. 64 [3] - -	Two hands.
26.		- Bibl. Nat. Paris, 6043 [4]	XVI. cent.

[1] This MS. belongs to the second half of the fifteenth century. It would be of no importance but for the fact that it is the only text, besides Hengwrt 101, which represents the edition of 1130. Its readings agree so exactly with those of Hengwrt 101, that I am inclined to think it is a transcript of it. This agreement is the more striking when it is found to extend to a curious version of the Epilogue (noticed above, § 12 note[1]), according to which, after the writer has spoken of the year, "qui compre- "hendit scriptorem," as the "*tri- cesimus*" of Henry I., *i.e.*, 1130, he proceeds to designate it as "the "year of grace 1163," to which date he adheres in several subsequent mentions of the year which occur in the same passage. I do not see how this can be otherwise explained than as the freak of a copyist, who, being engaged in 1163 on a transcript of the edition of 1130, chose to insert the date at which he hinself was writing, instead of that which he found in his original. It is perplexing, however, to find Edmund the chaplain, who seems to have been the writer of the Hengwrt MS. (see the end of Book iv.), copying this absurd date without comment in his own transcript, which, as we have seen, was made in 1196. It is less difficult to understand how the writer of the All Souls MS., supposing him to have had Hengwrt 101 before him, a text already two centuries and a half old, might have copied exactly what he found there, without caring to correct by other copies the inconsistency of the dates.

At the end of the Epilogue there is a rubric, "Hæc sunt nomina "regum Christianorum in An- "glia." A short historical epitome follows, ending with the death and burial of Henry III. in 1272.

[2] The contents of this MS. appear to agree with those of Lambeth 118. *See* Hardy's *Catalogue.*

[3] This is a copy of the History, more or less abbreviated; the earlier books are bound up confusedly. The first part of the MS. is in a hand of the fourteenth century, the remainder in one of the seventeenth.

[4] This text, which is on paper, is perhaps a copy of the Rouen MS. No. 5. It has the book, "De "Summitatibus," but when the scribe comes to Book ix., after giving the list of saints (*ante*, § 17), he says, "Ista miracula omisi "brevitatis causa, tum quia longe "clariora et admirabiliora perlegi "in Gallia." The MS. ends, like Paris 6042, in 1147; a continuation to 1159 follows, by Robert de Monte, or, perhaps, abridged from his Chronicle. The colophon is as follows:—"Robertus abbas hys- "toricus Henrici regis familiaris "causam ejus perfectius egit et "scripsit similiter, et monachus "Andreas ejus temporis equalis "author."

27.	- Bibl. Nat. Paris, 6044 [1]		XVI. cent.
28.	- Addit. 21,088 [2]	-	XVI. cent.
29.	- Routh [3] -	-	Paper, XVI. cent.
30. A[3].	- Reg. 13. C. ii.[4]	-	Paper, XVII. cent.
31.	- Phillipps, 8079 [5].		
32.	- Sidn. Suss. Coll. Cambr., 733.[6]		
33.	- Stonyhurst.[7]		

[1] This is a large folio, on paper, in a hand of the early sixteenth century. It exactly resembles Lambeth 118 in every point, and was, I have no doubt, transcribed from it. For instance, the Laws of Canute occur at the same place in the Sixth book (§ 17); the work is in twelve books, succeeding each other in the same order; and the same mistake ("spiraculi" for "spirituali") occurs in the concluding words.

[2] This text, beautifully written on paper in a hand of the late sixteenth century, "is a transcript "made by a Frenchman for Daniel "Rogers, a friend of Camden," (Hardy's *Catalogue*). Its contents and arrangement appear to be precisely the same with those of Lambeth 118 and Paris 6044, from one or the other of which it was probably transcribed.

[3] Of this MS., which now belongs to the University of Durham, the description in the Routh sale-catalogue agrees almost exactly with that which Sir T. D. Hardy gives of Addit. 21,088.

[4] An exquisitely written copy, in a hand of the seventeenth century. It arranges the books in the same order as Lambeth 118, and its contents appear to agree exactly with those of that MS., of which it was probably a transcript.

[5] The date of this MS., of which I know nothing but from the description in Hardy's *Catalogue*, is not there given; probably it is of the fourteenth or fifteenth century. It ends in 1147.

[6] This MS. is written in a hand of the first half of the fifteenth century. According to information received, it appears to be incomplete, having only the first seven books and part of the eighth, down to the end of the Epistle to Henry I.

[7] This text, unknown to Sir T. D. Hardy, is described in the Appendix to the Second Report on Historical Manuscripts, p. 145. It appears to be in a hand of the thirteenth century. At the end of Book vii., "a note follows in an "early hand to the effect that three "chapters are here wanting." By these are probably meant the Epilogue and Epistles i. and ii. of the eighth book. Epistle iii., that to Walter, is given entire, and also Book ix. This MS. ends at the words, "jocunditate spirituali," (viii., § 27).

Rejected MSS.

§ 30. Fifteen MSS., which are reckoned among Huntingdon MSS. in Hardy's Catalogue, are excluded from the above list for various reasons. Two (Gray's Inn 9, and Reg. 13. A. xviii.) are abridgments of the "Historia," not the "Historia" itself; six are merely copies of one or other of the Epistles in the book, "De Summitatibus," and three are fragments. Four MSS. remain (Bodl. 521, All Souls XXXVI., Arundel 46, and Cambr. Univ. Libr. D. d. 17), which have always been hitherto accounted Huntingdon MSS., and of which even the penetrating eye of Dr. Liebermann (doubtless for want of sufficient time for their complete investigation) did not detect the true character. These are not texts of the *Historia Anglorum*, but of a composite work, compiled probably in some northern monastery about 1180, and called a "Cronica Mariani Scoti." It is difficult to fix the precise meaning of this expression. Marianus, the Irish recluse, had, in the solitude of his cell, first at Fulda, and afterwards at Mentz, written a *Chronicon Universale* from the beginning of the world nearly to his own death, in 1082 or 1083. This work immediately attained to great popularity. Recognising this fact, Florence of Worcester, when he undertook to write a Latin history of Britain, thought it his best plan to insert notices of British affairs at the proper dates in the chronicle of Marianus to the point where it terminates; after which he continues it in his own way for nearly 40 years. The work now in question is simply a compilation, of which the beginning and end are taken from Henry of Huntingdon, while the intervening portion is the Durham book, the "Historia post Bedam," which forms the basis of the Pars Prior of Hoveden. The compiler calls it a chronicle of Marianus Scotus, perhaps merely as a testimony of respect to an eminent historian; possibly, however, because a considerable portion of the Durham book is

extracted from Florence of Worcester, whose work was as yet regarded only as an enlargement and continuation of the Chronicon of Marianus.[1]

§ 31. This Durham book is a strange piece of patch-work, of which Professor Stubbs, in the preface to his edition of Hoveden, has unravelled the method of composition. Both it, and the Marianist work just mentioned, are important links in the chain of historical writing which connects Beda's great work with the *Historia Major* of Matthew Paris. The confusion which has hitherto prevailed between the Marianist work and Huntingdon's history is enough to justify the following attempt to exhibit clearly the lines along which the annalistic energy of the country developed itself in the four centuries and a half following the death of Beda.

The filiation of Chronicles.

1. The *Historia Ecclesiastica*, terminating in 731.

2. The *Northumbrian Annals*. The proper name of these seems to have been[2] *Gesta veterum Northanhymbrorum*. They were intended as an attempt to supply a continuation of Beda, particularly as regarded northern affairs, and were probably compiled by a Northumbrian writer early in the ninth century; but whether he wrote at Hexham, York, or Lindisfarne we have no means of determining.[3] It has been thought that he derived most of his information about continental affairs from the letters written by Alcuin from the court of Charlemagne to his English friends. These annals terminate abruptly in 803.

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[1] "Our early writers," says Sir T. D. Hardy, "frequently refer to "Marianus Scotus, meaning Flo- "rence of Worcester, and some- "times the continuation of Flo- "rence, as low as the middle of the "twelfth century, nearly 100 years "after the death of Marianus." Florence says himself, under the birth-year of Marianus, A.D. 1028, "Eodem anno natus est Marianus "Hibernensis probabilis Scotus; "cujus studio et labore *hæc chro-* "*nica præcellens* de diversis libris "est coadunata."

[2] See *Richard of Hexham* (edited by Canon Raine for the Surtee Society), p. 60.

[3] *Hoveden* (Stubbs), p. xxix.

3. The Winchester Chronicle, represented by the well-known manuscript A belonging to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. An early edition of this Chronicle terminated at A.D. 855, and another at A.D. 891. See Mr. Earle's Introduction (*Two Saxon Chronicles*).

4. Asser's Life of Alfred. This biography by the bishop of St. David's covers the period from 849, the year of Alfred's birth, to 893, where it suddenly breaks off. It is based, as to the public events recorded in it, on the Winchester Chronicle.

5. A continuation of the Northumbrian annals, made in the tenth century by a monk of Chester-le-Street (see a. 899 and a. 934 in Simeon of Durham) at the time when the body of St. Cuthbert rested there, and brought down to A.D. 957. This writer makes large use of Asser, and when Asser's notices of public events fail him, in 877, he resorts, but very sparingly, to the Winchester Chronicle.

6. The Chronicon ex Chronicis of Florence, a monk of Worcester. This excellent writer drew the materials for that portion of his work which relates to English affairs from Beda, the Worcester Chronicle, the Lives of Saints, and Asser's Life of Alfred. He brought down his Chronicle to 1117, the year before his death.

The Hexham book.

§ 32. 7. The Hexham book. Some canon of Hexham, writing about 1120 or even later, took a copy of the Northumbrian Annals (No. 1), and interpolated large additions in it, his chief object being to glorify the saints of Hexham, Acca, and Alcmund. Thus we have a long account of the miracles of the former under the year 740, and of the apparitions of the latter under the year 781. In addition to these, the Hexham writer prefixed to his work a legend of southern origin, composed, there is reason to believe, at Wakering in Essex,[1]

[1] The burial of the young princes at Wakering is mentioned (M.H.B. p. 648), and miracles are related as having been performed at their tombs. But their relics were translated from Wakering to Ramsey in

which relates the "Passio Sanctorum Ethelberti atque Ethelredi," the great grandsons of Æthelbert the first Christian king of Kent. Some hagiological connexion between Hexham and Wakering could probably be discovered by careful search, which would account for the incorporation of this southern legend in a work representing northern feelings and northern interests. Long excerpts from Beda, relating to the abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow and to the state of things in Northumbria shortly before his death, are also inserted. To these is added his poem on the Day of Judgment, perhaps because it was addressed to Acca, a Hexham bishop. The original rubric of the Northumbrian Annals, which may be read in the Pars Prior of Hoveden, and was to the following effect, "In exordio hujus operis genealogiam "regum Northanhymbrorum libet demonstrare," was altered rather clumsily by the Hexham writer, in order to make it refer to the Kentish legend which he prefixed to his work; it now ran, "In exordio h. o. genea-" logiam regum [Cantuariorum strictim prælibavimus; " nunc] Northanhymbrorum, etc."

§ 33. 8. The *Historia de Regibus Anglorum et Dacorum* by Simeon of Durham. In this work Professor Stubbs (Preface to Hoveden, p. xxxi) is inclined to trace the handiwork of yet another labourer, some Durham monk namely, who compiled the work as it stands down to 1120, leaving to Simeon only the few years of contemporary history from 1120 to 1129. But, with deference to so high an authority, I cannot but think that the hypothesis of successive editions, stopping at various dates, will sufficiently explain the fact that the compiler of the "Durham book" presently to be described knew nothing of Simeon's history beyond the year 1121, without our being forced to evoke a phantom

991 (Preface to M. H. B. p. 89); this "Passio," therefore, which seems to have been one of a series of saints' lives, and was perhaps used as a sermon, must have been written before that date.

writer from the monastic cemetery of whom absolutely nothing is known. But there is another very perplexing question, namely, whether Simeon really incorporated the Hexham book (that is, the Northumbrian Annals recast and enlarged) in his Historia, or only those Annals in their original and genuine form. The rubric in the sole existing MS. (C.C.C. Cambr. 139), ascribing the Historia in the form in which it has come down to us, (that is, as incorporated with the Hexham book,) to Simeon, is not sufficient evidence to make us feel certain on the subject. On the whole it seems to me more likely that an ecclesiastic, like Simeon, thoroughly identified with the church of Durham and St. Cuthbert, would have used the simple form of the Annals for his compilation, than that he would have gone out of his way to use a version swollen and padded out, so to speak, with the praises of the saints of Hexham. It is perhaps significant that in the volume containing this unique MS. the piece that follows it is John of Hexham's continuation of Simeon, and among those that precede it is Richard of Hexham's chronicle. The volume is redolent of Hexham influences, and I strongly suspect that some Tyneside hand substituted, when making a copy of Simeon's work, the Hexham version of the Annals for the simpler form which Simeon himself had used.

§ 34. Whether we assume that Simeon made use of the Hexham book (No. 7) or the Annals pure and simple (No. 2) for the first part of his compilation, the course which he pursued in the remainder of his work is plainly discernible. He joined the Annals to the continuation by the monk of Chester-le-Street (No. 5), thus bringing down the history to A.D. 957. To these he added a chronicle of his own compiling, borrowed for the most part from the recently published work of Florence of Worcester, and coming down, in the latest edition of it, to 1129. He did not, however, commence at 957, but went back to 848, the year of the birth of Alfred, a

course which involved a great deal of repetition, since Florence (on whom he relied) drew the facts of Alfred's career, no less than the monk of Chester-le-Street, from Asser's biography. Why Simeon pursued a plan so very inartistic, it is perhaps now vain to inquire. There are, however, some curious additions, which are neither found in the older chronicle nor in Florence, *e.g.*, the account of John Scotus Erigena, borrowed from Malmesbury's Life of St. Aldhelm, and some insertions bearing on the possessions of St. Cuthbert, and the circumstances under which they were first granted.

9. Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*, the editions of which appeared at various dates between 1130 and 1154.

§ 35. 10. The Durham book, or the "Historia Saxonum "vel Anglorum post obitum Bedæ." Professor Stubbs, in the preface to his edition of Hoveden, has minutely analysed the composition of this work, which forms the basis of Hoveden's Pars Prior. It would seem that the monks of Durham, desiring to have a handy and compendious chronicle of English affairs from the death of Beda to their own time, and not being entirely satisfied either with the work of their own Simeon, or with that of Huntingdon, commissioned one of their number between the years 1150 and 1160[1] to compile from the above-named writers such a work as would suit their purpose. They did not care for the British portion of the History, nor even for the English part of it antecedent to Beda; hence the first three books of Huntingdon and part of the fourth were to be eschewed. The compiler began with the Northumbrian Annals (No. 2), and followed them from 734 to 803. Then he turned to Henry of Huntingdon (iv., § 18), whose narrative he

The Durham book.

[1] Under the year 1074, Severinus, abbot of St. Mary's, York, who died in 1161, is spoken of as alive at the time of writing. (Hardy, ii. 253, *note.*)

borrows almost verbatim from 752[1] to the notice of the sack of Winchester by the Danes in 860. Being now close upon Alfred's reign, it seems to have occurred to him that Henry's narrative was somewhat too meagre for a period so important; he accordingly abandons it, and takes to the second part of Simeon's compilation, that from 848 to 1129, in which not only the life of Alfred, but the whole tissue of events for the next two hundred and sixty years, is given with considerably greater fulness of detail than Henry allows himself. At the same time he does not confine himself to Simeon's second part, but combines with it many details taken from No. 5, corrects his narrative by reference to Asser, Eadmer, and Florence, adds to it various contributions of his own, chiefly relating to Durham and St. Cuthbert, and brings this part of his work down to 1121. The edition of Simeon's history which he was using evidently went no farther. Then he returns to Huntingdon, and annexes his narrative almost word for word from 1121 (vii. § 33), to 1148, stopping in the middle of the year at the words "Pars autem eorum maxima venerat ex "Anglia." His edition of Henry must have ended at this point. The Durham book is represented by several MSS., among which are one in the King's library, and St. John's Coll. Oxf. 97.

The Marianist book.

§ 36. 11. The Marianist work.—That the Durham book just described was worked up entire into the texture of

[1] He goes back to 752 for this reason. With the exception of an incidental mention of Brihtric, no king of Wessex had figured in the Annals which he has been copying from 754 till just before its termination; they are devoted to the acts of Northumbrian and Mercian kings. To give greater completeness to his work, therefore, the Durham writer resolves to annex from Henry the story of the reigns of the kings of Wessex during the same period. He returns, therefore, to the West-Saxon king last mentioned in the Annals, namely, Cuthred, and takes up his story as told by Huntingdon in the eleventh year of his reign, apparently because it contains the highly coloured narrative of the battle of Burford.

Hoveden's history, was made clear by Prof. Stubbs; but that it also entered largely into the composition of another historical work, earlier than Hoveden, has not hitherto been observed. This is the work claiming the name of Marianus, of which, as mentioned at a previous page,[1] at least four MSS. exist. Speaking generally, it is an amalgam of Henry of Huntingdon and the Durham book. The compiler probably wrote between 1170 and 1180, that is, after the appearance of the Durham book, but before Hoveden. If one may judge from his method of procedure, he thought that as a general history the Durham book still left much to be desired, and he resolved to amend it. He seems to have regarded Henry as too diffuse for general purposes in the earlier portions of the Anglo-Saxon history, but in other places too concise. At the same time he does not approve of beginning at the death of Beda, as if the country had had no history before then. Accordingly he takes up the first book of Henry (omitting the prologue), so as to commence with Julius Cæsar, and transcribes it pretty faithfully. Books ii. and iii. he greatly abridges, incorporating parts of the latter in the former. Proceeding to Book iv., still abridging, he comes to the reign of Cuthred of Wessex, and his contest with the rebel Edelhun in 750. He has now arrived at the point where the Durham writer began to make use of Henry, as already explained; and he would probably consider that by his method of condensation he had preserved the flower of the early history, as given by Henry, while rejecting the refuse; whereas the Durham man, till 750, would not profit by him at all. The Marianist now, taking up the Durham book, which only obliges him to a slight recoil, namely to 732, uses it up from end to end without contraction, taking or leaving Henry or Simeon just as his model does. But as he intends to bring down

[1] p. xliv.

his work to the end of the reign of Stephen, he does not stop at 1148, but, omitting only the paragraph about the election of Robert de Querceto, proceeds with the last edition of Henry from "Anno xiv. Henrico nepoti" (§ 29) to the end of the work at "intrante revixi." Thus beginning and concluding his compilation with Henry, it is no wonder that the Marianist has hitherto been confounded with the historian. Roger of Hoveden also used the Durham book, but not having, it would seem, access to the latest edition of Henry, inserted for the years 1148–1154 only a few meagre notices, some of which he took from the Chronicle of Melrose.

Henry's orthography.

§ 37. *Orthography.*—Henry used no particular pains to spell the Saxon names which occur in his history correctly or consistently. The copy of the Saxon chronicle which he habitually used was one resembling E. (the Peterborough Chronicle); where E. failed him, as in the royal genealogies, he used a copy resembling either C. (Abingdon MS.) or G.[1] His proper names resemble in form those in G. more than those in any other MS. Sometimes, not often, Henry preserves more correct forms than some or all of the MSS. of the Chronicles can show. This arises where he has not been led astray by that frequent source of error, the confusion of *p* with the Anglo-Saxon character for *w*. These characters are so alike, or became so alike after the Conquest, that the copyists and translators of Saxon MSS. were continually confusing them. Thus so careful

[1] Mr. Earle thinks that this MS. (of which only three leaves now survive, but which is fortunately preserved to us in Wheloc's edition Cambridge, 1643) is only a servile reproduction of A, copied from it "in the eleventh century at Christ "Church, Canterbury, at the time "they received A from Winches-"ter." But, if so, it would surely have contained the fine annal 1070, not to speak of other Kentish notices, instead of which G. ends at 1001, where the Winchester Chronicle originally ended. It seems to me far more likely that G. is a copy made from A at Winchester, *before* the latter was removed by Lanfranc's order to Canterbury.

a writer as the scribe of C.C.C.C. 280, writes "Cedes "Cadpallensium" (iii., § 34), though he had written "Cadwallam" just before, because he mistakes the Anglo-Saxon *w* that he is copying for *p*. The same explanation accounts for the "Pybba" (Penda's father), of most of the Chronicles, whereas Henry has "Wibba" (ii., § 31), which is the true reading. Again the *w* is probably right, and the *p* wrong, in "Wincanheale" (Finchale), where the Chronicles have "Pincanheale," and in "Wettelmus," the "Pechthelm" of Beda. The mistake, however, occasions erroneous readings in Henry oftener than in the Chronicles; thus he has "Picciorum," "Plenting," "Meamparorum," "Eapa," "Speon," for "Wicciorum," "Wlencing," "Meanwarorum," "Eawa," "Sweon."

Sources of his history

§ 38. *Sources.*—There is not often much difficulty in tracing the sources whence Henry drew his information. In the First book he relies on Eutropius, Aurelius Victor, Nennius, and Beda (*De Ratione Temporum* and *Hist. Eccles.*); he also shows some acquaintance with the works of St. Jerome and Gregory the Great. In the Second book he has scarcely anything that cannot be traced to Nennius, Beda, or the Chronicles. After parting with Beda, he relies on the Chronicles almost exclusively. At first sight he appears to borrow certain statements from Geoffrey of Monmouth, *e.g.*, the paternity of Helena, the mother of Constantine (I. § 37). But an examination of dates shows this to be impossible. The *Historia Britonum*, as is evident from expressions used in the prologue addressed to Robert of Gloucester, did not appear till after 1135. But all the passages which we might be inclined to attribute to an acquaintance with Geoffrey occur in the earliest, no less than in the later editions of the *Historia Anglorum;* that is, Henry wrote them before 1133, at a time when it is most improbable that he should have even heard of the "liber grandis Galfridi Arturi." There is indeed no reason for

our scrupling to believe that he saw the book in 1139 for the first time, which is the natural meaning of his words; see above, § 14. When therefore we find Henry naming Coel, king of Colchester, as the father of Helena, and meet with the same statement in Geoffrey of Monmouth, we must not infer any communication between the two, but suppose that both had access to the same local tradition.[1] To local tradition also, as embodying a dim recollection of the fact which had struggled on through the mouths of men across seven centuries, may possibly be ascribed the statement (ii. § 1), not found elsewhere, that Hengist soon after his landing advanced against the Picts and Scots, and defeated them at Stamford. Stamford lies within that fen-district which was Henry's native country, and about which whatever he says is usually vivid and precise. The story about the brave man of Balsham (a village near Cambridge), who defended himself against a whole Danish army (vi., § 6), may much more confidently be considered a genuine local tradition, since it happened less than 80 years before Henry's birth.

The Chronicles.

§ 39. From the death of Beda to 1125 or 1126 Henry's great authority is the Saxon Chronicle. "Chronicles" is, of course, a more correct expression, because, along with a large common store of records, the chronicle kept at each great monastery had much that was peculiar to the part of England where it was situated, or to the interests of the monastery itself. Henry seems to have

[1] Dr. Liebermann was good enough to draw my attention to a *Historia fundationis* of the monastery of St. John at Colchester, printed in Dugdale's *Monasticon* (iv., p. 607), and written (if an appreciation of the internal evidence founded on a hasty perusal may be relied on) not long after 1130, in which, though Coel is not named, Helena is identified with Colchester, "Traditur Helenam . . . . . "ex hac civitate natam et educa- "tam, quæ quanti fuerit vel eo "conjicitur, quod Constantius Con- "stantini magni genitor triennio "dicitur hanc obsedisse, nec ob- "tinuisse nisi . . . . . per "Helenæ nuptias."

been familiar with several of these varying versions, for he speaks of "compiling," that is, laying under contribution "chronica in antiquis reservata librariis," and of what he had been able to find "in scriptis veterum diligenti scrutinio collectis." Connecting these statements with what he says in Book ix. of the numerous monasteries where men might read legends of the saints, implying, as I think, that he had himself visited many of them, we may perhaps conjecture that his *modus operandi* was, to visit monasteries which contained chronicles, (Peterborough, Abingdon, Worcester, perhaps also Canterbury and Winchester,) and excerpt what each had peculiar to itself. However this may be, it is certain that the chronicle which he ordinarily used was the Peterborough redaction, represented by the MS. E.; of this he very likely had a copy. It is difficult to decide what date he made use of E. According to Mr. Earle,[1] that MS. is written in one hand down to the end of A.D. 1121; the second hand takes up the events of the next ten years, stopping at the end of 1131. Where the resemblances between Henry and the chronicler, in the history of these ten years, are too close to be the result of accident, which was the original authority and which the copyist? Henry brought out his first edition in 1130; the work of the second writer in E. includes 1131; it might seem therefore that the notices which they have in common must have been taken by the Peterborough writer from Henry. But this does not seem to me very likely; the historical labour of compiling a new chronicle seems to have been undertaken at Peterborough about 1121,[2] some years

[1] *Two Saxon Chronicles*, p. xliii.

[2] It was rendered necessary, according to the reasonable and probable theory of Mr. Earle, by the destruction of the monastery of Peterborough by fire in 1116. The library perished along with the other buildings, and it is exceedingly probable that a copy of the Chronicle was then lost.

before Henry began his history, and having been once undertaken, it seems likely that it would be continued year after year for some time. If Henry, while working at his history in 1128 and 1129, had a transcript of E. before him, that transcript would probably come down to 1125 or 1126; and so far the close resemblances between the two works actually extend. After 1126 there is not, I think, any agreement between the two narratives so close as to force us to believe that one is anywhere taken from or founded upon the other, In the few passages from the chronicles which Henry could not have found in E., *e.g.*, in the genealogies of kings, he seems to have consulted either C. or G. The former he might have seen at Abingdon, the latter at Winchester A certain resemblance in forms (*e.g. Wyba*, to Henry's *Wybba*, where A. has *Pybba*; a. 755) tends to support the inference that G. rather than A. itself was consulted by Henry; but the presumption is slight; and as he was sufficiently well acquainted with Archbishop Theobald in 1139 to travel in his company to Rome, it is possible that he may have been often at Canterbury, and had free access to the library, in which A then was. Compare what he says of Canterbury in Book ix. (above, § 18.)

Other sources.

§ 40. Other sources may be—

1. A historical work, now lost, compiled at St. Albans; compare iv. 21, *note*, and § 23, *note*.

2. Some Franco-Norman annals, now lost. Extracts from a work of this nature, in Latin, are scattered through E. from 769 to 1062. Some notices which E. did not use, but which occasionally meet us in extant annals similar to the compilation here supposed, were adopted by Henry; such is the "Carolus eo anno Romam ivit" of 780 (iv., § 14), compared with the "Karolus Romam vadit" of the *Chronica S. Steph. Cadomensis* (Duchesne, *Script. Norm.*, p. 1015). Compare also the Rouen Annals, printed in Labbe's *Bibliotheca*, vol. i., p. 364.

3. The *Historia Ramesiensis*.—A connexion may be traced between this work and the *Historia Anglorum* (*e.g.* in the use of the remarkable phrase "cæde despecta" in both narratives when describing the battle of Assingdon, and in their agreement respecting the banquet at York (vi., § 28) after the battle of Stanford-bridge); but to decide positively which writer borrowed from the other would require a closer examination of the *Historia Ramesienses* than I have been able to give it. If, as may be inferred from the notice in Hardy's Catalogue (vol. i., p. 632), the Ramsey monk wrote his entire work during the rule of abbot Walter, then we may feel certain that he borrowed from Henry, and not *vice versâ*; for Walter was abbot between 1133, and 1160; and Henry's first edition, as has been so often stated, appeared in 1130.

4. *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolymitanorum, seu Tudebodus abbreviatus*.[1] Tudebodus (Tuebœuf), a priest of Civray, in Poitou, accompanied the Christian army on the first crusade, and wrote an account of what he saw, which terminates at the victory of Ascalon in August 1099. His work seems to have appeared about 1110. It was followed almost immediately by the work bearing the above title, which, though by an unknown writer, was far more successful than the book which it abbreviated. This work, and no other, was Henry's authority for his brief sketch of the Crusade. Use was also made of it by Robert le Moine, Baudry, and Guibert de Nogent, all historians of the Crusades. It is not wholly an abbreviation, for it gives the full names of many Christian knights (*e.g.*, Everardus de Puisat, Achardus de Mont-Merloy, Robertus de Ansa, Usuardus de Nulsione, &c.), who are not specified in the work of Tudebodus. Henry's sketch is a meagre abridgment of

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[1] *Recueil des Historiens des Croisades*, published by the Academie des Inscriptions (*Historiens Occidentaux*, vol. iii.).

the *Gesta Francorum*, and does it great injustice. A MS. of the Gesta is in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

5. A list and genealogy of the kings of France, from Antenor to Louis VI.; this is inserted in Book vii., § 38.

It would be difficult to prove that Henry had been indebted for any statement in his history to the writers who immediately preceded him, *e.g.*, to Simeon, Florence, Malmesbury, and Eadmer. Yet there are statements under the years 1123, 1124, and 1125 relating to the deaths and elections of bishops of Bath, Worcester, and Chichester, all of which, not being found in the Chronicle, he *might* have taken from the continuator of Florence. On the whole, it seems to me probable that he did so take them. Dr. Liebermann will not allow him (p. 283, *Forschungen*) to have had any knowledge of the Norman historians; but this is slightly overstated. The definite historical allusions to antecedent events which Henry inserts in the speech which Duke William is supposed to deliver before the battle of Hastings certainly imply some acquaintance with one or both of the works by Dudo of St. Quentin and William of Jumièges. On the other hand, he seems to have had no acquaintance whatever, though he often travels over the same ground, with the voluminous chronicle of Ordericus.

§ 41. The remaining sources from which Henry derived his materials may be classed as,—1, personal experience; 2, oral information; 3, floating popular talk; 4, imagination. At the beginning of the seventh book he tells the reader that he is now about to treat of matters "which either we saw ourselves, or heard from "those who saw them." But this promise is scantily fulfilled. The Peterborough Chronicle is still his main reliance through four-fifths of the seventh book; and when we come to the eighth, the narrative of nineteen

eventful years, in the course of which he must have seen and suffered so much, is compressed within disappointingly narrow limits. The only events which he appears to describe as an eyewitness are those connected with great ecclesiastical solemnities at Lincoln (viii., §§ 23, 28, &c.), and the vexatious proceedings of Stephen while residing at Brampton, near Huntingdon, in 1136. From oral information he must have derived nearly everything contained in the eighth book (except the long speeches!) and a good deal in the seventh book. From the floating tales and legends which passed from mouth to mouth, he picked up the celebrated story about Canute commanding the tide to rise no higher, and the striking anecdotes about Siward the great Earl of Northumbria. Lastly, he drew upon his own imagination for the details of numerous battles, of which he found the mere result, and not always that, stated in his authorities. For examples of this embellishing turn, see the account of the battle in which Labienus fell (i., § 12), or of the battle at Stamford (ii., § 1), or Crayford (ii., § 4), or of the siege of Anderida (ii., § 10). The apparent circumstantiality of the narrative formerly misled historical inquirers, but the worthlessness of such additions is now recognised. A good case in point is at Book iv., § 5. Two lines in the Chronicle, saying that Mul was burnt in Kent, and twelve men with him, and that afterwards, in the same year Kent was ravaged by Ceadwalla, are expanded by Henry into twenty-one lines. At first sight it looks as if something new were obtained; for Henry says that Mul was sent by Cedwalla on a raid into Kent, with some very brave youths as his followers, at his own request. But when we look further into the matter, and observe that every precise naked fact is taken from the Chronicle, and that Henry supplies not one which was not there already, we see that such details as the above are the mere figments of Henry's imagination,—fruits of his mode of conceiving about given circumstances,—and that he

Personal experience.

Invention.

had really no other source of information than we have. Dr. Liebermann supports a similar conclusion by an array of fifteen considerations, the cumulative effect of which is overwhelming.

§ 42. But may there not be sources which lie beneath the surface of the history, and betray their presence by a certain colouring in particular passages, or by the occasional mention of a pregnant fact not vouched for elsewhere? It has been thought that Henry, who cites—but not, unfortunately, in the original—many tags of Saxon verse, and sayings current in his day,[1] might have had before him considerable popular poems,—*Volkslieder*,—in the vernacular, which have long since perished, and that by help of these he worked in the decorative details with which his battle-narratives abound. Dr. Liebermann examines this view carefully, but in the end decisively rejects it. Henry's knowledge of Latin is far superior to his knowledge of Anglo-Saxon; the stylistic ornamentation of his battle-pieces is, therefore, naturally of classic, not Teutonic origin; and this fact is enough by itself to demonstrate its unreality. With greater probability it has been urged that in Henry's statement (Book iv., § 25.) that Ecgferth, the son of Offa of Mercia, was consecrated in 785 to be king "Kentensis provinciæ," while the Chronicles only say that he was "to cyninge gehalgod,"—there appears a trace of an independent source, whence we derive the knowledge of an important fact. But when we examine this statement, and test it by other accounts, its improbability becomes evident. Malmesbury (*Gesta Regum*, i. 1) says distinctly that a native king, Alric the son of Wihtred, was reigning in Kent from 760 till 794. He speaks in the same place of his defeat by the Mercians, clearly referring to the battle of Otford in 774. Moreover in the *Vita Offæ II.*, ascribed to Matthew Paris,

[1] Book ii., §§ 30 and 34; Book iii., §§ 34 and 39.

which certainly does rest on ancient records and other sources of information now lost, Kent is not named among the twenty-three shires which were included within Offa's dominions, and it is expressly said that Ecgferth was consecrated "rex Merciorum," and aided his father in his government to the end of his life. Again, with regard to the anecdotes about Siward, and the versions given by Henry of the death of Godwin and the quarrel between Harold and Tosti, there is no need to assume that he derived or cared to derive them from any more trustworthy source than popular rumour.

Henry's chronology.

§ 43. *Chronology.*—For the portion of his history anterior to the Conquest, Henry, though he takes care to locate his facts in a chronological framework, gives himself less than ordinary trouble to make it accurate. His blunders and confusions are continual; hence it is not worth while to investigate his dates seriously, because the historical student cannot, at least in this part of the history, rely on one of them, unless confirmed by more accurate writers. In order to illustrate this, and at the same to clear up what appears, until his manner of proceeding has been detected, as tangled a chronological skein as can anywhere be found, I shall examine his arrangement of the events of the reign of Edward the Elder (Book v. §§ 14–17).

As far as A.D. 906, the fifth year of Edward, all goes smoothly. "In the following year," anno sequente, says Henry, the king sent a West-Saxon and Mercian army into Northumbria; but this expedition really took place in 910. The events of two other successive years are recorded, and then the entry for 913 is dated "in the ninth year of Edward." Why? Simply because Henry has only taken account of the events of three years between 906, Edward's fifth year, and the end of 912; hence he calls the next year, 913, Edward's ninth year. Again (§ 16) 918 is called the eleventh year of Edward,

because the events of only one year were recorded in the chronicle which he was here copying between 913 and 918. But all this is nothing compared to the entanglement which follows. Two Chronicles, B. and C., after following the course of events, in company with the other chronicles, as far as 918, return to 896, and, after entering blank years from that date to 901 inclusive, commence at 902 a series of notices relating exclusively to the affairs of Mercia and the career of Æthelfleda, Alfred's daughter, the energetic "lady" of that province. These they carry down to 919. Henry, who must have been using B. or C., or a MS. resembling them (E. being remarkably meagre for the reign of Edward), comes to the place where the chronicler retraces his steps, and, not observing the fact, goes on with the Mercian narrative, as if it was entirely subsequent to the events of 918. He therefore calls 902 (the first year named in the episode) the twelfth year of Edward, because he had erroneously called the last year described, 918, the eleventh year. He then gives the events entered under five years, and, treating these five entries as if they were equivalent to five regnal years (whereas in fact they are spread over eight years), he calls 911, the year of the sixth entry, the *eighteenth* year of Edward. Proceeding then regularly with the entries which he found in B. or C. for each of the eight years terminating with 919, he consistently calls the last-named year the twenty-sixth year of Edward; and yet he had himself (§ 14) given the length of his reign as twenty-four years! But this "reductio ad absurdum" does not strike him, so slight is the tenacity of his mind. After this analysis it must be obvious that Henry is not to be deemed an authority on a question of dates, unless with regard to events which were within the range of his own memory. Where these were concerned he does not seem to have been prone to confound the order of their occurrence; his chronology of the reigns of Henry I. and Stephen

is sufficiently accurate; we only desire that the material to which it is applied were more copious.

§ 44. If, in consideration of so much carelessness and inaccuracy, such extreme brevity, so evident a disposition to flinch from the research and fulness of statement which become a historian, the reader is disinclined to rate the merits of Henry and the *Historia Anglorum* very highly, I know not that I should be able to differ from him. Henry had some of the qualifications of a good historian, but lacked others. He was ambitious, but not laborious; literary, but not exact; intelligent, but not penetrating. He formed large projects, but was too indolent to execute them satisfactorily. His knowledge of the course of events, even in his own day, seems to have been very scanty. When it comes to moralizing he is copious enough; it is when he ought to describe a complex transaction in full detail, so as to make it live before his readers, that he is so terribly curt and perfunctory. It is probable that as archdeacon of Huntingdon, immersed in the endless petty details and often trivial if not harassing proceedings of an archidiaconal court,[1] he was less favourably placed for obtaining information than if, like Malmesbury or Ordericus, he had been a studious monk in a large, wealthy, and hospitable monastery. At these great houses men were always coming and going, princes, envoys, bishops, monks, artists, poets, soldiers; for, as has often been observed, they were the hotels of the middle age. In the "fraitour" at recreation time the talk must often have been of the most animated and instructive character, such as might supply a thoughtful and capacious mind with historical material in abundance. On the other hand, Henry's duties must have often taken him

General estimate.

[1] For a humorous sketch of the duties of an "arcedeckne" in the fourteenth century (they must have been much the same in the twelfth), see the opening of the Freres Tale in Chaucer's Canterbury Tales.

to Lincoln, a place of relatively great importance in those days, as a centre of culture and civilizing effort.

Poetical pieces.

§ 45. The poetical pieces scattered up and down in the History, and becoming almost inconveniently numerous in the seventh book, were probably considered by the author to improve and embellish his work greatly. Modern readers peruse these effusions with indifference or pass them by altogether. Henry's hexameters are not always without spirit und polish; take, for instance, those on the death of Alfred, which, though we might have preferred a critical discussion of the great king's life and character, are written with vigour and good taste. Yet even here his besetting carelessness manifests itself, for we have the first syllable of *jugi* ("jūgis aquæ fons") twice made short.

Henry's national and political feelings.

§ 46. Like Malmesbury, Henry appears to be without race prejudice; he shows no scorn of the vanquished with the Normans, and no bitterness against the conquerors with the English. He must have been Norman on the father's side, for both Henry and Nicholas are names which came to England from Normandy. The Anglo-Norman kings were in his eyes the legitimate heirs and appointees of the Saxon Bretwaldas; thus, after naming Edgar (Book ii., 23) as the tenth Bretwalda, he adds, "et hæredes ejus post eum usque ad "hunc diem." His political notions were simple, and suggested by the circumstances of the time; a strong monarchy, aided by a council of loyal earls, and bishops full of the ecclesiastical, not the secular, spirit, was his ideal of government; in no other way, he thought, than through the grasp of a firm hand on the reins of power could the centrifugal tendencies of the Norman barons, who would each have liked to make himself a little king on his own fief, be effectually repressed. Stephen's hand was not firm, nor his title sound; the deplorable anarchy which resulted paints itself to some extent in our author's eighth book, though in more

vivid colours in contemporary historians; hence the joy and exultation with which he hails the prospect of a strong government under Henry of Anjou. Constitutioual ideas, theories of popular representation, of check and counter-check, had not yet emerged; the present grievance was, not that the regal power was abused, but that it could not be freely and vigorously used.

Henry's Latinity, though not without solecisms, such as "repudiata . . , sorore, . . . *aliamque ducens*" (ii., § 37) "gratia legendi," "causa brevitatis," &c., is perhaps above the average Latin writing of his time. There is in him little of the pedantry which disfigures the style of Malmesbury, or of the clumsiness with which Simeon and the monk of Ramsay express themselves. He is not seldom, it must be owned, tumid and rhetorical; yet, on the whole, he writes with the freedom and good sense of an experienced man of the world.

In conclusion, I have to express my thanks and acknowledgments for effectual aid freely given me by many persons, while the work of this edition has been in progress. From Dr. Liebermann I have received many valuable suggestions, independently of the light thrown on the whole subject by his article in the *Forschungen zur Deutschen Geschichte*. To the Rev. S. S. Lewis of Corpus College, Cambridge, and Mr. Garnett of the British Museum, with whom, while consulting the chief MSS. of our author, I have come frequently into contact, I am indebted for repeated acts of furtherance and co-operation. Every facility was afforded me by Mr. Bradshaw, the university librarian at Cambridge, by the authorities of the Advocates' Library at Edinburgh, and by Dr. Dickson, professor of Divinity at the university of Glasgow, when I sought to collate or examine the MSS. of Huntingdon's history preserved in the public libraries of those cities. M. Leopold Delisle, the guardian of the MSS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale, treated me with similar courtesy, when with the same object in view

I visited Paris. My thanks are due on the same ground to Mr. Buchanan, fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, and Mr. Kershaw, the librarian at Lambeth Palace. It is with pleasure that I make this acknowledgment of information and assistance received on various points from the Rev. H. O. Coxe, Bodley's librarian, Professor Stubbs, and Mr. W. A. Wright, fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Finally, I have to thank the Duke of Westminster for granting me the use of his MS. of Henry of Huntingdon, and Mr. Wynne of Peniarth for allowing the curious Hengwrt MS., of which he is the owner, to remain at the Bodleian Library for the full time required to make a complete collation.

ERRATA.

The following various readings should have been noted on pages 9 and 10 :—

Page 9, line 4, *triginta tres*, H, O^2.
,, 10, ,, 10, *quinta* . . . . *Carluil*, desunt in H. et O^2.
,, ,, ,, 12, *sexdecim*, H., O^2.
,, ,, ,, 17, *quatuor*, H., O^2 ; *Una*, H., O^2.
,, ,, ,, 18, *alia*, H., O^2 ; *tertia*, H., O^2.
,, ,, ,, 19, Post *Clamorgan* addunt H. et O^2, *quarta apud Sanctum Assaf.*
,, ,, ,, 21–23, *Tempore autem* · · · · *amisit* desunt in H. et O^2.

,, 199, margin, for *Harfagr* read *Hardrada*.

HENRICI ARCHIDIACONI HUNTENDUNENSIS

HISTORIÆ ANGLORUM

LIBRI OCTO.

Prologus ad Alexandrum Episcopum Lincolniensem.

Hor. Od. i. 32, 14. Cum in omni fere literarum studio dulce laboris lenimen et summum doloris solamen, dum vivitur, insitum considerem, tum[1] delectabilius et majoris prærogativa claritatis historiarum splendorem amplectendum crediderim. Nihil namque magis in vita egregium, quam vitæ calles egregie indagare et frequentare. Ubi autem floridius nitescit virorum fortium magnificentia, prudentium sapientia, justorum judicia, temperatorum modestia, quam in rerum contextu gestarum? Audivimus quidem quid Homericam laudans historiam Flaccus intimaverit, dicens:

Epist. i. 2, 2.

> " Qui quid sit pulchrum, quid turpe, quid utile,
> " quid non,
> " Plenius et melius Chrysippo et Crantore dicit."

Crantor siquidem et Chrysippus, circa doctrinam morum philosophantes, multis codicibus desudaverunt: Homerus autem velut spectaculo[2] eliquans prudentiam Ulissis, fortitudinem Agamemnonis, temperantiam Nestoris,

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[1] *tamen*, A.

[2] *speculo*, A. A[2].

justitiam Menelai; et e contra imprudentiam Ajacis, debilitatem Priami, intemperantiam Achillis, injustitiam Paridis, honestum et utile, et his contraria, lucidius et delectabilius philosophis historiando disseruit. Sed quid in alienis moramur? Vide quo modo Sancta doceat Historia morum instituta, dum Abrahæ justitiam assignat, Moysi fortitudinem, Jacob temperantiam, Joseph prudentiam: et contra, dum Achab injustitiam, Oziæ invalitudinem, Manasse intemperantiam, Roboam imprudentiam demonstrat. Præsertim, O Deus bone, quantæ humilitatis fax est, quod sanctus Moyses, Deum se protegentem et ulciscentem ut ab hostibus suis averteret, thuris odorationem cum fratre admovens, in medium periculi terribilis se injecit, et pro Maria se blasphemante lachrymas effudit, et pro malevolis semper orando sudavit! Quantæ benignitatis lux est, quod David maledictis, injuriis Simei, et blasphemiis læsus, et irritatus ab eo vehementer, unum et persequentem et debilem, armatus et comitatus et fortissimus contra feriri prohibuit; et postea, victor et regno restitutus, ultionem fieri in eum non permisit? Sic etiam in rebus gestis omnium gentium et nationum, quæ utique Dei judicia sunt, benignitas, munificentia, probitas, cautela, et his similia, et contraria, non solum spirituales ad bonum accendunt et a malo repellunt, sed et[1] sæculares ad bona sollicitant et in malis muniunt. Historia igitur[2] præterita quasi præsentia visui repræsentat; futura ex præteritis imaginando dijudicat. Habet quidem et præter hæc illustres transactorum notitia dotes, quod ipsa maxime distinguat a brutis rationabiles: bruti namque homines et animalia unde sint nesciunt, genus suum nesciunt, patriæ suæ casus et gesta nesciunt, immo nec scire volunt. Quorum, homines quidem illos infeliciores judico; quia quod

Numer. xvi. 46. Numer. xii. 13.

1 Reg. ii. 8.

The uses and dignity of history.

[1] *etiam*, A. A^2.

[2] A. A^2.; deest, Sav.

bestiis ex creatione, hoc illis ex propria contingit inanitione; et quod bestiæ si vellent non possent, hoc illi nolunt cum possint. Sed de his jam transeundum est, quorum mors et vita sempiterno dotanda est silentio. Hæc ergo considerans, hujus regni gesta et nostræ gentis origines jussu tuo, præsul Alexander, qui flos et cacumen regni et gentis esse videris, decurrenda suscepi: tuo quidem consilio Bedæ venerabilis Ecclesiasticam, qua potui, sequutus Historiam, nonnulla etiam ex aliis excerpens auctoribus, inde chronica in antiquis reservata librariis compilans, usque nostrum ad auditum et visum præterita repræsentavi. In quo scilicet opere, sequenda et fugienda lector diligens dum invenerit, ex eorum imitatione et evitatione, Deo cooperante, melioratus, mihi fructum afferet exoptabilem; plerumque etenim ad ipsam morum puritatem juxta callem directum historiæ resilivimus. Nihil autem sine divina invocatione incipientes, Deo invocato incipiamus:

The author undertook the work at the request of the bishop of Lincoln: statement of his authorities.

Adonai, Opifex, Pastor, Susceptio nostra,
Principium rerum, Vegetatio, Finis earum,
Hoc opus aspira, deduc finique, precamur.
Hoc opus in patribus quod es ipse Parens operatus,
Judicio grandis, et regna levansque premensque,
Judicio nunc occulto, nunc vero patenti;
His pœnas dum complerent sua crimina tardans,
His pœnas cum complessent sua crimina librans.
Quicquid enim reges, quicquid populi meditantur,
Ut faciant, si perficiunt, fieri facis illud,
Pacificansque malumque citans[1] testante propheta,
Esa. xlv. 7. Ens solus, tantusque manens, quantus voluisti:
Ex quo, per quem sunt, in quo sunt omnia solo.
Tuque pater patriæ, princeps a rege secundus,
Præsul Alexander, si quæ perscripsimus apta,

[1] *creans*, A. A^2.

Laude tua niteant, minus apta precamur ut aptes.
Hic reges populosque vides, quos alea fati
Extulit et pressit, sed ab his metire futura.
Aspice, magne pater, quo devenere potentes:
Aspice quam nihili sit honor, lux, gloria mundi.

HENRICI HUNTENDUNENSIS
HISTORIA ANGLORUM.

Lib. I. De Regno Romanorum in Britannia.[1]

Bed. i. 1. § 1. Brittannia igitur beatissima est insularum, fœcunda frugibus et arboribus, copiosa rivis et nemoribus, jucunda volucrum et ferarum venatibus, ferax avium multi et diversi generis terra et mari, et fluviis; alendis autem mira pecoribus et jumentis, ut Hibernia.[2] Unde c. 22. Solinus: "Ita pabulosa in quibusdam locis est Brit- "tannia, ut pecua, nisi interdum a pastibus arceantur, "ad periculum agat satietas." [a] Fluviis vero abundat valde piscosis, fontibus præclara copiosis: et quidem præcipue isicio redundat et anguilla; abundat et vitulis marinis; nec non et halecia et ostrea mire in ea redundant, et varia conchyliorum genera: inter quæ sunt et musculæ, quibus sæpe inclusam margaritam omnis quidem coloris optimam inveniunt, rubicundam scilicet et hyacinthinam, purpuream et prassinam, sed maxime candidam: nec desunt cochleæ, quibus tinctura coccinei coloris conficitur; cujus rubor pulcherrimus nullo unquam solis ardore, nulla valet injuria pluviarum pallescere; sed quo vetustior, eo solet esse venustior. Capiuntur et sæpe delphines et balenæ: unde Juvenalis, Description of Britain.

Sat. X., 14. "Quantum Delphinis balæna Britannica major."

Venis etiam metallorum æris redundat, ferri scilicet, stanni, et plumbi, nec non et argenti, sed rarius. Advehitur autem argentum a proxima parte Germaniæ per Rhe-

[1] Titulus hic in F. reperitur. | [2] A. A^2.; desunt hæc verba in Sav.

[a] Solinus says this of Ireland, not of Britain.

num pro mira fertilitate piscium et carnium, lanæ pretiosissimæ et lactis, armentorumque absque numero; ut major ibi videatur copia argenti, quam in Germania: unde omnis moneta ejus argento puro conficitur. Gignit etiam lapidem gagatem plurimum optimumque. Est autem nigrogemmeus et ardens: igne accensus serpentes fugat, attritu calefactus adplicita detinet æque ut succinum. Fontes etiam salinarum habet: adsunt et fontes calidi, et ex eis fluvii balneorum calidorum omni ætati et sexui, per distincta loca juxta suum cuique modum, accommodi. "Aqua "enim," ut S. Basilius dicit, "fervidam qualitatem recipit "cum per certa quædam metalla transcurrit, et fit non solum "calida sed et ardens."[a] Hexæmeron, Homil. in, iv. 6.

§ 2. Hæc autem insularum nobilissima, cui quondam nomen Albion fuit, postea vero Brittannia, nunc autem Anglia, inter Septentrionem et Occidentem sita est: octingentis millibus longa, et ducentis millibus lata, exceptis duntaxat prolixioribus diversorum promontoriorum tractibus, quibus efficitur ut circuitus ejus quadragies octies septuaginta quinque millia compleat. Habet autem ab Oriente Germaniam et Daciam, ab Occidente Hiberniam, a meridie Galliam Belgicam; cujus proximum littus transmeantibus aperit civitas quæ dicitur Rutubi portus, a gente Anglorum nunc corrupte Reptacester vocata, interposito mari a Gessoriaco Morinorum gentis littore proximo, trajectu millium quinquaginta, sive, ut quidam scripserunt, stadiorum quadringentorum quinquaginta. Gallia autem Belgica a Belvaci nobilissima quondam urbe Galliæ dicta est: quæ provincia nunc in duas divisa videtur; in eam scilicet quæ vocatur Pontica, et in eam quæ vocatur Normannia, ubi modo Normanni, gens nova sed validissima, degunt. Habet autem a Septentrione, unde oceano infinito patet, Orcadas insulas novem, de quarum ultima, Thule,[1] dictum est: "Tibi serviat ultima Thule." Cum autem plurimas insulas habeat Brittannia, tres majores habet; Virg. Georg. i. 30.

[1] *Tile*, A.

[a] ἤδη δὲ καὶ θερμοτέρας ἐκ μετάλλων ποιότητος κατὰ τὴν διέξοδον προσλαβόυσα [θάλασσα], ἐκ τῆς ἀυτῆς τοῦ κινοῦντος ἀιτίας ζέουσα γίνεται, ὡς τὰ πολλὰ, καὶ πυρώδης.

unam Orcadas, de quibus dictum est; aliam Man, vel Euboniam, quæ in umbilico maris inter Hiberniam et Brittanniam sita est: tertiam Wicht, quæ australis est, et vergit contra Normannos et Armoricos, qui nunc Brittanni dicuntur: sicut in proverbio dicebatur antiquo, quando de judicibus et regibus sermo fiebat: "Judicabit Brittanniam cum tribus insulis."

Bed. i. 1. § 3. Erat autem et civitatibus quondam viginti octo nobilissimis insignita, præter castella innumera, quæ et ipsa muris, turribus, portis, ac seris erant instructa firmissimis. Civitatum autem nomina hæc erant Brittannice: Kair-Ebrauc, id est, Eboracum; Kair-Chent, id est, Cantuaria; Kair-Gorangon, id est, Wigornia; Kair-Lundene, id est, Lundonia; Kair-Legion,[1] id est, Leiceastria; Kair-Collon, id est, Coleceastria; Kair-Glou, id est, Glouceastria; Kair-Cei, id est, Ciceastria; Kair-Bristou; Kair-Ceri, id est, Cirenceastria; Kair-Guent, id est, Winceastria; Kair-Grant, id est, Granteceastria, quæ modo dicitur Cantebrigia;[2] Kair-Lion, quam vocamus Carleuil; Kair-Dauri, id est, Doreceastria; Kair-Dorm, id est, Dormeceastre, quæ sita in Huntendonensi provincia super flumen quod vocatur Nen, penitus destructa est; Kair-Loitchoit, id est, Lincolnia; Kair-Merdin, quæ nunc quoque sic vocatur; Kair-Guorcon; Kair-Cucerat; Kair-Guortigern; Kair-Urnac; Kair-Celemion; Kair-Meguaid; Kair-Licelid; Kair-Peris, id est, Porcestre; Kair-Legion,[3] in qua fuit archiepiscopatus tempore Brittonum, nunc autem vix mœnia ejus comparent ubi Usca[4] cadit in Sabrinam; Kair-Draiton; Kair-Mercipit; Kair-Segent, quæ fuit super Tamesin non longe a Redinge, et vocatur Silcestre. Hæc erant nomina civitatum tempore Romanorum et Brittannorum.[a]

Its chief cities.

[1] *Lirion*, A.
[2] *Grantebrigia*, A.
[3] *Lerion*, A.
[4] *Osca*, A.

[a] Nennius first names the 28 towns of Roman Britain mentioned by Beda. From one or other MS. of Nennius, (including in the list

It has been visited with the plagues of five invasions,—by the Romans, the Picts and Scots, the English, the Danes, and the Normans.

§ 4. Quinque autem plagas ab exordio usque ad præsens immisit ultio divina Brittanniæ, quæ non solum visitat fideles, sed etiam dijudicat infideles: primam per Romanos, qui Brittanniam expugnaverunt, sed postea recesserunt; secundam per Pictos et Scottos, qui gravissime eam bellis vexaverunt, nec tamen obtinuerunt; tertiam per Anglicos, qui eam debellaverunt et obtinent; quartam per Dacos, qui eam bellis obtinuerunt, sed postea deperierunt; quintam per Normannos, qui eam devicerunt, et Anglis impræsentiarum dominantur. Quando autem Saxones hanc terram sibi subjugaverunt, reges septem statuerunt, regnisque nomina pro libitu imposuerunt. Primum regnum vocatum est Cent: secundum Sudseax, in quo sita est Ciceastria: tertium Westseax, cujus caput erat Wiltonia, quæ nunc data est sanctimonialibus,[a] in quo sunt urbes Winceastria, Salesburia, et plures aliæ: quartum regnum Estseax, quod non diu [1] duravit, sed cæteris regnis subjugatum est: quintum Eastangle, in quo sunt provinciæ quæ vocantur Nordfolc et Sudfolc:

The Saxon Heptarchy.

[1] A.; deest, Sav.

the Vatican codex which bears the name of Marcus Anachoreta,) Henry has taken all the names in his list but four,—Kair-Cei, Kair-Grant, Kair-Dorm, and Kair-Licelid. These four seem to have suggested themselves to his mind as the names of places where extensive Roman remains were still visible in his day; viz., Chichester, Cambridge, Castor, and Lichfield (?). He may have purposely altered the Grauth or Graut of Nennius to Grant, in order to identify it with a place so familiar and so close to him as Grantchester or Cambridge. The remains of the great Roman station at Durobrivæ on the Nen (Itiner. Anton.), now Castor, but called Dormeceaster in the 12th century, must have often been seen by him; similarly on visits to Lichfield he may have noticed the ruins of the Roman station at Etocetum. Six of the towns named by Nennius, Manchguid, Pensavelcoith, Guintwig, Luadiit, Custeint, and Grauth (unless the last be Grant,) Henry has omitted, apparently because he could make nothing of them. His "Cucerat" appears to be miswritten for Caratauc, *i.e.*, Cair-Caradoc, or Salisbury. See Geoff. of Monm., vi. 15; viii. 9.

[a] The famous nunnery of Wilton was founded in the time of Egbert, and enriched by Alfred and Edgar.

sextum Merce, in quo est Lincolnia, et aliæ complures: septimum Nordhumbre, in quo est Eboracum. Postquam autem reges Westseax cæteris prævaluerunt et monarchiam obtinuerunt, terras per triginta quinque provincias sibi diviserunt; quarum situs et nomina, quamvis inhabitantibus notissima sint, non tamen pigeat subscribere. Deveniet enim forsitan, ut quemadmodum nomina civitatum prædicta, quæ olim grata et excelsa erant, modo in barbariem et risum vertuntur, ita et[1] decursu temporum, quæ modo notissima sunt, incognita et incredibilia fiant. Unde patet quam misere et frustra nominis nostri famam incolæ provinciarum appetamus, cum nec ipsarum urbium vel provinciarum nomina durare possint.

Names of the English counties and bishoprics.

§ 5. Prima igitur provincia est Cent, in qua est archiepiscopatus Cantuariæ, et episcopatus Rovecestriæ; secunda est Sudseax, in qua est episcopatus Ciceastriæ; tertia Suthrie; quarta Hamtesyre, in qua est episcopatus Winceastriæ; quinta Bercsyre; sexta Wiltesyre, in qua est episcopatus Salesberiæ; septima est Dorsete; octava Sumersete, in qua est episcopatus Badhe, vel Acemanecestriæ; nona Devenesyre, in qua est episcopatus Exceastriæ; decima Cornuallie;[2] undecima Eastseax; duodecima Midleseax, in qua est episcopatus Lundoniæ; tertiadecima Sudfolc; quartadecima Northfolc, in qua est episcopatus Norwiciæ; quintadecima Cantebrigesyre,[3] in qua est episcopatus Ely; sextadecima Lincolesyre, cujus caput est Lincolnia, cui subjacent septem aliæ provinciæ, scilicet provincia Leiceastriæ, et Hamtoniæ, et Huntendoniæ, et Herteford, Bedeford, Bukingeham, Oxeneford; extenditur enim episcopatus Lincolniæ a magno flumine Humbræ usque

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[1] *etiam*, A.

[2] *Cornugalliæ*, A.

[3] *Grantebrigesyre*, A.; *Kantebrigesire*, A^2.

ad flumen Tamesis; vigesima quarta est Glouceastresyre; vigesima quinta est Wireceastresyre, in qua est episcopatus Wigorniæ; vigesima sexta Herefordsyre, in qua est episcopatus Herefordiæ; vigesima septima Salopsyre; vigesima octava Ceastresyre, in qua est episcopatus Ceastriæ; vigesima nona Warewic; trigesima Stafford; post trigesimam, prima est Dereby; secunda Notingeham; tertia Everwicesyre, in qua est archiepiscopatus Eboraci; quarta est Northumberland, cui præest episcopus Dunolmiæ;[1] quinta, illa regio in qua est novus episcopatus Carluil. "Syra" vero Anglice, Latine dicitur provincia. Igitur septemdecem episcopatibus insignita nostro tempore florescit Anglia. Urbes vero multo plures sunt quam episcopatus, ut Glouueceastria, Leiceastria, Oxenefordia, et aliæ plures episcopis carentes. Sed in occidentali parte Brittanniæ, quæ vocatur Wallia, tres supersunt episcopatus. Unus apud Sanctum David; alius apud Bangor;[2] tertius apud Clamorgan. Sunt tamen hi tres nullarum urbium episcopi propter desolationem Walliæ, quæ sola devictis remansit Brittannis. Tempore autem nostro recepit episcopus S. David pallium a papa, quod scilicet fuerat olim apud Kairlegion; sed statim tamen amisit.

The Welsh bishoprics.

§ 6. Urbes autem prædictæ amœnis insitæ locis super flumina coruscant fertilia et pulcherrima. Sunt autem duo flumina cæteris clariora, Tamesis et Sabrina, quasi duo brachia Brittanniæ, per quæ sibi suas et alienas effert et infert divitias. Proprie vero proprium Brittanniæ est, ut incolæ ejus in peregrinationem tendentes, omnibus gentibus cultu et sumptu clariores, ex hoc unde sint, dignosci possunt. Cum autem tot rebus abundet Brittannia, vineæ quoque fertilis est, sed raro; ut habeant, qui divitias ejus emendas appetunt,

British rivers.

[1] *Dunhelmiæ*, A. | [2] *Pangor*, A.

secum quod inferant. De cujus laude quidam[a] ita scripsit: Panegyric Britain.

" Illa quidem longe celebri splendore beata
" Glebis, lacte, favis supereminet insula cunctis,
" Quas regit ille Deus, spumanti cujus ab ore
" Profluit oceanus."

Et paulo post:

" Testes Londoniæ ratibus, Wintonia Baccho,
" Hereforda grege, Wirecestria fruge redundans,
" Batha[2] lacu, Salesbira feris, Cantuaria pisce,
" Eboracum silvis, Excestria clara metallis,
" Norvicium Dacis, Hibernis Cestria, Gallis
" Cicestrum, Norwageniis Dunelma propinquans.
" Testis Lincoliæ gens infinita decore,
" Testis Ely formosa situ, Rouecestria visu."

Its temperate and agreeable climate.

Nec tacendum arbitror quod temperie gratissima, et ideo inhabitantibus saluberrima sit Brittannia. Cum enim inter Septentrionem et Occidentem sita sit, frigus, quod recipit a Septentrione, temperat calor, quem recipit a sole occidente. Nunquam autem in ea aliquos arripuit ignis sacer, sed a Galliis allati ibi solent sanari. Et quia prope septentrionalem mundi verticem jacet, lucidas æstate noctes habet, ita ut in medio sæpe tempore noctis in inquisitionem veniat intuentibus, utrum crepusculum adhuc permaneat vespertinum, an jam advenerit matutinum; utpote nocturno sole non longe sub terris ad Orientem boreales per plagas redeunte: unde etiam plurimæ longitudinis habet dies æstate, sicut et noctes contra in bruma, sole nimirum tunc Lybicas in partes redeunte, id est, horarum decem et octo. Plurimæ item brevitatis noctes æstate, et dies habet in bruma: hoc est, sex solummodo æquinoctialium horarum; cum in Armenia, Macedonia, Italia, cæterisque ejusdem lineæ regionibus longissima dies sive nox quindecim, brevissima novem, compleat horas.

Bed. i. 1.

Marvels in Britain.

Cf. Nennius, 76.

§ 7. Quatuor autem sunt, quæ mira videntur in Anglia. Primum quidem est, quod ventus egreditur de

[1] *Badha*, A.

[a] Henry himself, apparently.

cavernis terræ in monte qui vocatur Pec, tanto vigore, ut vestes injectas repellat et in altum elevatas procul ejiciat. Secundum est, apud Stanenges; ubi lapides miræ magnitudinis in modum portarum elevati sunt, ita ut portæ portis superpositæ videantur: nec potest aliquis excogitare qua arte tanti lapides adeo in altum elevati sunt, vel quare ibi constructi sunt. Tertium est apud Chederhole;[1] ubi cavitas est sub terra, quam cum multi sæpe ingressi sint, et ibi magna spatia terræ et flumina pertransierint, nunquam tamen ad finem evenire potuerunt. Quartum est, quod in quibusdam partibus pluvia videtur elevari de montibus, et sine mora per campos diffundi.

Roads. Tantæ autem gratiæ inhabitantibus fuit Brittannia, quod quatuor in ea calles a fine in finem construerent regia sublimatos authoritate, ne aliquis in eis inimicum invadere auderet. Primus est ab Oriente in Occidentem, et vocatur Ichenild:[2] secundus est ab Austro in Aquilonem, et vocatur Erningestrete: tertius est ex transverso a Dorobernia in Cestriam, scilicet ab Euroaustro in Zephyrum Septentrionalem, et vocatur Watlingestrate: quartus, major cæteris, incipit in Catenes et desinit in Totenes, scilicet a principio Cornugalliæ in finem Scottiæ; et hic callis vadit ex transverso a Zephiro Australi in Eurum Septentrionalem, et vocatur Fossa, tenditque per Lincolniam. Hi sunt quatuor principales calles Angliæ, multum quidem spatiosi, sed nec minus speciosi,[3] sanciti edictis regum, scriptisque verendis legum. Flor. Wig. a. 1013.

Languages. § 8. Quinque autem linguis utitur Brittannia: Brittonum videlicet, Anglorum, Scottorum, Pictorum, et Latinorum, quæ doctrina scripturarum, cæteris omnibus est facta communis: quamvis Picti jam videantur deleti, et lingua eorum ita omnino destructa, ut jam fabula videatur, quod in veterum scriptis eorum mentio invenitur. Cui autem non comparet amorem cœlestium, et horrorem terres- Bed. i. 1.

[1] *Chedernhole*, A.
[2] *Ikenild*, A^2.
[3] A.; *speciose*, Sav.

trium, si cogitet non solum reges eorum, et principes et populum deperiisse, verum etiam stirpem omnem et linguam et mentionem simul defecisse? Et si de aliis mirum non esset, de lingua tamen, quam unam inter cæteras Deus ab exordio linguarum instituit, mirandum videtur.

§ 9. Huc usque de situ et habitu Brittanniæ, licet de multis pauca dixerimus, dicta sufficiant. Nunc a quibus et quo tempore primum inhabitata fuerit dicendum est: quod in Beda non inventum, in aliis auctoribus reperi. Scripserunt enim a Dardano principium emanasse Brittonum. Dardanus autem pater fuit Troii, Troius autem pater Priami et Anchisæ, Anchises pater Æneæ, Æneas pater Ascanii, Ascanius pater Silvii. Silvius autem cum uxorem duxisset, et prægnans esset; prædixit magus quidam filium, unde prægnans erat, interfecturum patrem suum. Occiso igitur mago pro vaticinatione illa, natus est filius, et vocatus est Bruto, Post multum vero intervallum, dum ipse luderet cum pueris, ictu sagittæ occidit patrem, non industria sed casu. Quamobrem expulsus ab Italia, pervenit in Galliam, ibique condita civitate Turonorum, quæ vocatur Turonis, invasit tractum Armoricanum. De tractu autem Armoricano huc adveniens, australes sibi partes insulæ ingentis vendicavit, et ex nomine suo Brittanniam vocavit, Dicunt autem illi auctores, quod quando Bruto regnabat in Brittannia, Hely sacerdos judicabat Israel, et Posthumus sive Silvius filius Æneæ regnabat apud Latinos, cujus nepos erat Bruto. Post intervallum vero octoginta annorum, contigit gentem Pictorum de Scythia . . . . . oceanum ingressam, circumagente flatu ventorum, extra fines Brittanniæ Hiberniam pervenisse, ejusque septentrionales oras intrasse, atque inventa ibi gente Scottorum, sibi quoque in partibus illis sedes petisse, nec impetrare potuisse. . . . . Dixerunt itaque Scotti: " Nos ambos insula hæc non caperet, sed . . . . . novi- " mus insulam esse aliam non procul[1] a nostra contra ortum

Nennius, 3–5.

The first inhabitants were Trojans, led by Bruto, the great-grandson of Æneas.

Next came the Picts, from Scythia.

Bed. i. 1.

[1] A.; *longe*, Sav.

" solis, quam sæpe lucidioribus diebus de longe aspicere sole-
" mus; hanc adire si vultis, habitabilem vobis facere valetis:
" vel si quis resistere voluerit, nobis auxiliariis utimini." Itaque petentes Brittanniam Picti, habitare per septentrionales insulæ partes cœperunt: nam austrinas Brittones occupaverunt. Cumque uxores Picti non habentes peterent eas a Scottis, ea solum conditione dare consenserunt, ut ubi res veniret in dubium, magis de fœminea regum prosapia quam de masculina regem sibi eligerent: quod usque hodie apud Pictos constat esse servatum.

§ 10. Hæc sunt quæ a scriptis veterum traduntur de adventu Brittonum in partem illam terrarum quæ Brittannia vocatur, et de adventu Pictorum in insulam eandem. Quæ quamvis insula sit, cum maximi sit spatii, non minoris excellentiæ est quod insula est, cum totus mundus insula sit. Sed quia vulgo dicitur, " Vento pluvia, et risus dolori miscetur;" ob prærogativas ipsius Brittanniæ divitias, omnium circumadjacentium in se livorem et invidiam movit. Quamobrem sæpe expugnata, sæpissime vero impugnata est. Proce- *v* Bed. i. 1.

Thirdly, the Scots, from Ireland.

dente namque tempore venerunt et[1] Scotti ab Hibernia in Brittanniam, duce Reuda, qui in Pictorum parte, vel amicitia vel ferro, sedes sibi, quas hactenus habent, vendicarunt: a quo videlicet duce . . . . . Dalreudini vocantur, nam lingua eorum " Dal" partem significat. Dicendum est igitur paucis de Hibernia: quod quamvis de proposito non sit, prope tamen est, et ad laudem Dei Omnipotentis hoc scribere apponam.

Description of Ireland.

§ 11. Hibernia enim post Brittanniam omnium insu- Bed. i. 1.
larum optima est: quæ quamvis Brittanniæ divitiis cedat, latitudine tamen sui status, et salubritate ac serenitate aerum multum ei prestat: quæ sicut contra aquilonem brevior est, ita in meridiem se trans illius fines plurimum protendens, usque contra Hispaniæ septentrionalia, quamvis magno æquore interjacente, pervenit. . . . . Nunquam aut raro ibi nix plusquam triduana remanet. Nemo propter hyemem aut fœna secat æstate, aut stabula fabricat jumentis. Nullum ibi reptile videri solet, nullus serpens vivere valet; nam sæpe illo de Brittannia allati serpentes, mox ut, proximante terris

[1] *etiam*, A.

navigio, odore aeris illius attacti fuerint, intereunt. Quin[1] potius omnia quæ de eadem insula sunt, contra venenum valent: denique quibusdam vidimus a serpente percussis rasa folia codicum quæ de Hibernia fuerunt, et ipsam rasuram aquæ immersam, ac potui datam, talibus protinus totam vim veneni grassantis, totum inflati corporis absumpsisse ac sedasse tumorem. Mirabili igitur dono Deus hanc ditavit insulam, multitudinemque sanctorum ad ejus tuitionem in ea constituit: præterea lacte et melle ditavit, vinearumque non expertem, venatu piscium et volucrum, cervorum et caprearum insignivit. Hæc autem proprie patria Scottorum est. Si quis autem scire voluerit quo tempore primum habitata fuerit, de hoc nihil apud venerabilem Bedam;

Nenn. 9. sed apud quendam auctorem reperi, quod Ægyptiis in Mari Rubro submersis, illi qui superfuerant, expulerunt a se quendam nobilem Scyticum qui apud eos degebat, ne dominium super eos invaderet: at ille expulsus, diu circuiens per Africam, pervenit cum familia ad aras Philistinorum, et per lacum Salinarum venerunt inter Russicadam et montana Syriæ, et venerunt per flumen Malua, transieruntque per Mauritaniam, et ad columnas Herculis navigarunt Tyrrhenum mare, et pervenerunt usque ad Hispaniam, et ibi per annos habitarunt multos, et progenies eorum multiplicata est valde. Inde autem venerunt Hiberniam, post mille et duos annos a transitu Israel per Mare Rubrum. Brittones tamen occuparunt prius Brittanniam; Brittones namque in tertia mundi ætate Brittanniam, Scotti in quarta venerunt Hiberniam. Hæc cum non certissima sint, hoc tamen certum est, quod ab Hispania Hiberniam

Bed. i. 1. venerunt, et inde pars eorum egressa, tertiam in Brittannia Brittonibus et Pictis gentem addiderunt: nam et pars eorum[2] quæ ibi remansit, adhuc eadem utitur lingua, et Navarri vocantur. Est autem sinus maris permaximus qui antiquitus gentem Brittonum a Pictis secernebat, qui ab Occidente in terras longo spatio erumpit, ubi est civitas Brittonum munitissima usque hodie, quæ vocatur Aldclud;[3] ad

The first inhabitants, who were of Scythian extraction, but long settled in Spain, came to Ireland 1,002 years after the Exodus of the children of Israel.

[1] A.; *Cum*, Sav.
[2] A.; deest, Sav.
[3] *Aldclid*, A.

cujus videlicet sinus partem septentrionalem Scotti, quos diximus, advenientes, sibi locum patriæ fecerunt.

A.C. 60. Cæsar's first invasion of Britain.

§ 12. Julius vero Cæsar primus Romanorum Brittaniam bello lacessivit, LX. annos ante Incarnationem Domini nostri, anno ab Urbe condita sexcentesimo nonagesimo tertio. Ipse ergo functus gradu consulatus cum Lucio Bibulo, cum Germanos et Gallos jure prœlii superasset, qui tum Rheno tantum flumine dirimebantur, inde venit ad Morinos, unde in Brittanniam . . . . . brevissimus est transitus. Fecit igitur naves parari octoginta onerarias et actuarias, et ipse cum legionibus in Brittanniam transvolat: nec tamen secundum quod sperabat evenit; egrediens enim de navibus, Brittonum pugnam acerbam plusquam credere posset sensit. Videns ergo suos pauciores, aliosque quam putaverat præstantiores, vi compulsus est naves reintrare. Tunc vero tempestate correptus, magnam classis partem, magnum militum numerum, equites vero omnes pene amisit. Confusus et reversus in Galliam acrius exarsit; legionibusque hyemantibus, sexcentas naves utriusque commodi paravit. Vere autem vix expectato, cum maximis copiis Brittanniam revehitur: egrediens cum exercitu in hostem pergebat. Naves interim anchoris fixæ tempestate corripiuntur, colliduntur, confringuntur. Ex quibus quadraginta perierunt; cæteræ post longum non sine difficultate sunt reparatæ. Dux igitur magnus, spe fugiendi amissa, acrius animos militum hortatur, et in ipso hortatu hostibus commiscetur. Unanimiter utrinque viribus et animis extensis pugnatur, cum Romanis spes fugiendi nulla, Brittannis spes vincendi ex solito certa. Labienus ergo tribunus militum, dum primam aciem in Dolobelli [a] cuneum,

Bed. i. 2.

His second invasion.

Nennius, 14.

[a] *Dolobelli.* This is taken from Nennius. "Liud" or "Luid" must be the Lud of Geoffrey of Monmouth, described by him as the elder brother of Cassibellaunus. Geoffrey (iv. 3) speaks of a town of Dorobellum, and calls Belinus the general, not the brother, of Cassibellaunus. Evidently Henry identifies Lud with the Minocanus of Nennius, the father of Belinus, "qui occupavit omnes insulas Tyrrheni maris."

qui proconsul erat Brittannici regis, acrius immergit, cedentesque cædit, prosternit et prosequitur, regalis acies inter Cæsareas et Labieni phalanges infigitur. Rex autem vocabatur Belinus frater Cassibellani regis, et erat filius Liud [1] regis fortissimi, qui multas insulas maris bellis occupaverat. Circumventum igitur Labienum cum tota acie sua cædunt, subitoque morti transmittunt. Videns Julius diem infaustum, dicensque pugnandum cum Brittannis magis artibus quam viribus, antequam majora detrimenta sustineret, fugæ indulsit: persecuti sunt Brittanni Romanos, multisque peremptis, nemorum vicinitate cohibiti sunt. Tertio Cæsar congressus est Brittannos, taliterque suos exhortatus est:

Cf. Galfr. Monum. iii. 20.

He is defeated by the Britons.

§ 13. Consortes [a] fortissimi, quorum virtuti nec asperitas maris, nec labor terrarum refragari potuit; quorum vires nec audacia Gallorum, nec fortitudo Germanorum perferre sustinuit; non me exhortari vos arbitremini, ut vestram verbis augeam probitatem: quæ enim summa et perfectissima est, et tot in periculis toties probata crescere nequit, decrescere nescit: illa, inquam, virtus, quæ semper in asperrimis clarius refulsit, et ubi alii desperarent, spe certa progrediens, et secura hilaritate confligens. Quid nota vobis, imo cunctis gentibus memorem, quoties victi victores nostros vicerimus, et ira compulsi fortioribus fortiores devenerimus? Debet læsa probitas irasci: nunc igitur, si aliqua laus Romani nominis, nunc disciplinam militarem, quam perfecte didicistis, perfectius exercuistis, perfectissime supremo in periculo demonstretis. Ego certe ex duobus alterum inevitabiliter elegi, aut hodie vincere, quod beatum est, aut mori pro patria, quod securius est: sola fuga miserorum est. Unde si alicui vestrum idem animus est, erigat dextram inexpugnabilem, stupeantque hostes nos detrimentis refocillari, et diminutione roborari.

His address to his soldiers.

[1] *Luid*, A[2].

[a] *Consortes.* This speech appears to be a pure rhetorical invention of the writer.

§ 14. Sic loquutus erexit dextram, cunctusque tollens ad sidera clamorem exercitus, dextris erectis, infrenduit, et in ipso clamore miscentur hostibus; apparuitque virtus Romana, dum sagacius ordinati cautius pugnant, obstinatius perseverant. Fatigatis ergo Brittannis percutiendo, Romanisque studentibus in se protegendo, cum diu prœlium durasset, fessis insulanis, Cæsarei recentes videntur. Tunc igitur, non sine mag-

He gains a victory, and advances to the Thame.

no suorum discrimine, victores fiunt Romani. Inde ad Bed. i. 2.
flumen Tamesim[1] provectus. In hujus ulteriore ripa, Cassibellauno duce, immensa hostium multitudo consederat; ripamque fluminis ac pene totum sub aqua vadum acutissimis sudibus præstruxerat: quarum vestigia sudium ibidem usque hodie visuntur; at videtur inspectantibus quod singulæ earum ad modum humani femoris grossæ et circumfusæ plumbo immobiliter fundo fluminis infixæ perseverant. Sed hoc Romani deprehenderunt, vitantesque, Barbaris irruerunt. Illi impetum legionum non ferentes, silvis se occuluerunt, unde crebris irruptionibus Romanos graviter ac sæpe vexabant. At Trinovantum firmissima civitas, cum Androgeo duce, datis septuaginta[2] obsidibus, Cæsari sese dedit: similiter et aliæ urbes complures in fœdus Romanorum venerunt. Iisdem demonstrantibus, Cæsar oppidum Cassibellauni, inter duas paludes situm, obtentu insuper silvarum munitum, omnibus rebus confertissimum, tandem gravi pugna cepit. Postquam vero Cæsar a Brittannis reversus in Galliam, legiones in hiberna[3] misit; repentinis bellorum curis circumventus, pro legionibus quæ remanserant in Brittannia et in hibernis[4] misit, ut secum Romam irent; de qua re Lucanus:

Fall of Trinovantum and the city of Cassibellaunus.

"Solvuntur flavi longa statione Britanni."[a] Pharsal. i. 402.

Romam vero invitam recipiens, in honorem suum Quin- Nenn. 16.
tilem mensem Julium jussit vocari; siquidem Idibus Martiis in curia dolo perimitur. Sed quia de Cæsare et successoribus ejus qui rexerunt Brittanniam usque ad tempus Marciani, qui fuit quadragesimus quartus a

Cæsar is assassinated in the senate-house.

[1] *Tamense*, A.
[2] *quadraginta*, Beda; *lx.*, C³., S., S².
[3] *Hyberniam*, A., A².
[4] *Hybernia*, A².

[a] *Britanni.* The word in the *Pharsalia* is "Rutheni."

Cæsare, tractandum est; non pigeat laudes eorum perstringere; ut Christianos principes nostros, si moribus non pudeat illis æquiparari, saltem pudeat illos deteriores eis inveniri.

Polyhistor, c. vi.

His eulogy.

§ 15. Authentica laus Cæsaris ex Solino: Quantum fortissimi militum Sergius et Sisinnius cæteris militibus præfulserunt, tantum omnibus ducibus, imo omnis temporis hominibus Cæsar prænituit.[a] Ejus siquidem ductu undecies centena nonaginta et duo millia hostium cæsa sunt: nam quantum bellis civilibus fuderit, noluit adnotare.[1] Signis collatis quinquagies et bis dimicavit; Marcum Marcellum solus supergressus, qui triginta et novem vicibus pari modo fuerat præliatus. Ad hoc nullus celerius scripsit, nemo velocius legit, quaternas etiam epistolas simul dictavit. Tantæ fuit bonitatis, ut quos armis subegerat, clementia magis vicerit.

Nenn. 16.

The reign of Augustus.

§ 16. Augustus Julio Cæsari succedens monarchiam totius mundi tenuit: descripsit autem universum orbem, et a Brittannia, sicut ab aliis regnis, censum accepit, ut Virgilius ait:

Georg. iii. 25.

'Purpurea intexti tollunt aulea Britanni.'

Hoc autem fecit anno imperii ejus quadragesimo secundo, quando Lux vera mundo nata innotuit, per quem omnia regna mundi et insulæ caligine oppressæ cognoverunt Deum unum esse, et viderunt Eum qui creavit eos. Cum autem regnasset Augustus LV. annis et dimidio, legem mortis sequutus est. Laus Augusti

His eulogy.

Eutr. vii. 9.

ex Eutropio: Augustus, exceptis civilibus bellis, in quibus invictus fuit, subegit Armeniam, Ægyptum, Galatiam, Cantabriam, Dalmatiam, ... Pannoniam, Aquitaniam, Illyricum, Rhetiam, Vindelicos, Talassos,[2] . . . . . Pontum et Cappadociam. Dacos et Germanos ita vicit, quod quadringenta millia captivorum ex eis super ripam Rheni in Gallia collocaret. Persæ obsides ei, quod nulli antea, dederunt, et signa Crasso direpta reddiderunt. . . . . Fuit mitis, gratus, civilis animi, ... corpore toto pulcher, sed oculis præcipue; in cives clemens, in ami-

[1] *adnotari*, Sol.

[2] *Talassos.* Salassos, Eutrop.

[a] This first sentence substantially agrees with Solinus, but is differently worded.

cos tantus, ut pene eos sibi coæquaret: nulli genti nisi justis de causis bellum indixit; pessimum ducens causa triumphandi dubios eventus adire. Sic a Barbaris dilectus, ut quidam reges ad ei obsequendum Romam sponte venerint, quidam in honore ejus civitates conderent, ut Juba et Herodes. Omni die legebat, scribebat, declamabat; cibi ac vini multum abstinens: probra sibi dicta non ulciscens, proditionis suæ reis dans veniam: Romam lateritiam invenit, reliquit marmoream.[a]

Reign of Tiberius.

§ 17. Tiberius privignus Augusti post eum regnavit annis XXIII. tam super Brittaniam quam super alia regna totius mundi. Laus Tiberii: Tiberius prudens in armis fortunatusque fuit, unde sub Augusto meruit ut ei succederet: erat literarum scientissimus, sed magis eloquio clarissimus; repentinis responsionibus aut consiliis melior quam præmeditatis: arguebatur autem simultatis,[b] quasi infensus his quos diligebat, his vero quos oderat quasi benevolus apparens.[c] Aurel. Victor.

Reigns of Caligula and Claudius.

§ 18. Caius cognomento Caligula regnavit super orbem terrarum annis fere quinque.

§ 19. Claudius post sexaginta duos annos ab Incarnatione Domini, anno ab Urbe condita septingentesimo nonagesimo octavo imperium suscepit. Quarto anno regni sui Brittanniam adiit, quosdamque rebelles sine ullo prælio vel sanguine citissime in deditionem recepit.[d] Orcadas etiam insulas ultra Brittanniam in oceano positas, de quibus prædiximus,[e] Romano adjecit imperio, et sexto, quo Bed. i. 3.

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[a] The substance of this latter portion of the character is found in Eutropius, but Henry has arranged and expressed it in his own way.

[b] *simultatis*: for *simulationis*.

[c] Henry condenses Victor's short character of Tiberius, leaving out most of what is said to his disadvantage.

[d] Henry desires to represent Britain as having been continuously included in the Roman empire, from Julius Cæsar downwards; he therefore alters Beda's account of the visit of Claudius, by substituting for "plurimam insulæ partem . . . in deditionem recepit," "*quosdam rebelles* . . . in deditionem recepit."

[e] See above, § 2.

profectus erat, mense Romam rediit, sibique et filio suo Brittannici nomen indidit: de quo Juvenalis:

Sat. vi. 124. "Ostendensque tuum, generose Britannice, ventrem."

Bed. i. 3. Quo etiam anno fames gravissima per Syriam facta est, quæ a Luca in Actibus Apostolorum per prophetam Agabum prædicta esse memoratur. Temporibus Claudii Petrus, fidei nostræ princeps, cathedram Romæ suscepit, quam XXV. annis tenuit, id est usque ad ultimum Neronis annum. Ab eodem Claudio Vespasianus . . . . . missus in Germanniam, ac deinde in Brittanniam, trigesies et bis cum hoste conflixit: duas validissimas gentes afflixit: XX. oppida armis cepit: insulam quoque Vectam Brittanniæ adjacentem Romano subjecit imperio. Cum autem regnasset XIII. annis et plusquam dimidio, viam patrum obtinuit. Laus Claudii: Claudius multa gessit tranquillo et moderate, quædam minus caute. Romanum imperium auxit: vir bellicosus fuit. Adeo civilis circa quosdam amicos extitit, ut etiam Paulinum[1] nobilem virum, qui in expeditione Brittannica multa egregie fecerat, triumphantem ipse prosequeretur, et conscendenti Capitolium lævus incederet.

Bed. de Ratione Temporum, a. 4007.

Ibid. a. 4031.

Eutrop. vii. 13.

Eulogy of Claudius.

§ 20. Nero regnavit annis XIII. et plusquam dimidio. [2]Eadem veste nunquam bis usus est.' Hic quamvis juvenis strenuus fuisset, tamen cum imperaret, in re militari segnis factus est: unde inter alia Romani imperii detrimenta . . . . . Brittanniam pœne amisit. Nam duo sub eo nobilissima oppida illic subversa et destructa fuerunt. Hic eo anno quo Petrum et Paulum occidit, ignominiose deperiit.

Reign of Nero.

Bed. i. 3.

§ 21. Vespasianus, qui Jerusalem destruxit, regnavit annis fere decem: ipse scilicet qui Brittanniam sub Claudio adierat, et insulam Vectam Romanæ ditioni subjecerat: quæ habet ob Oriente in Occasum triginta millia circiter passuum, ab austro in boream XII., in orientalibus sui partibus mari sex millium, in occidentali trium, a meridiano Brittanniæ littore distans. Hic etiam vir nobilissimus Colossum erexit, habentem altitudinis C.VII. pedes.

Reign of Vespasian

Bed. i. 3.

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[1] *Paulinum.* Plautium, Eutrop. | [2] ' A.; desunt, Sav.

His eulogy. Laus authentica Vespasiani: Romæ se imperio[1] moderatissime gessit, pecuniæ tantum avidior fuit, ita tamen ut[2] eam nullis[3] injuste auferret: quam cum omni diligentiæ provisione colligeret, tamen studiosissime largiebatur, præcipue indigentibus; nec facile ante eum cujusquam principis vel major est liberalitas comperta, vel justior. Placidissimæ lenitatis erat;[4] ut qui majestatis . . . . . contra se reos non facile punierit ultra exilii pœnam. Hic vicit Judæam, ... Achaiam, Lyciam, Rhodum, Byzantium, Samum, ... Thraciam, Ciliciam, Comagenem. . . . . Offensarum et inimicitiarum immemor fuit; convitia a causidicis et philosophis leniter tulit; . . . . . senatui, populo, ... cunctis amabilis et jucundus. Eutrop. vii. 13.

Reign of Titus. § 22. Titus filius ejus regnavit annis duobus et mensibus duobus; vir omnium virtutum genere mirabilis, adeo ut amor et deliciæ humani generis diceretur. Hic amphitheatrum Romæ ædificavit, et in dedicatione ejus quinque millia ferarum occidit. Laus Titi summa: Titus facundissimus, bellicosissimus, moderatissimus: causas Latine egit, poemata et tragœdias Græce composuit. In oppugnatione Ierosolymorum sub patre militans, duodecim propugnatores duodecim sagittarum ictibus confixit. Romæ tantæ civilitatis imperio[5] fuit, ut nullum omnino puniret; convictos adversum se conjurationis dimisit, et in eadem familiaritate qua ante habuit; facilitatis et liberalitatis tantæ fuit, ut cum nulli quicquam negaret, et ab amicis reprehenderetur; responderit: "Nullum tristem debere ab imperatore "discedere.' . . . . . Pro hoc inusitato favore dilectus est, et tantus luctus eo mortuo publicus fuit, ut omnes tanquam in propria dolerent orbitate. Cum procul a Roma mortuus esset, senatus obitu ipsius circa vesperum nuntiato, nocte irrupit in curiam, et tantas ei[6] mortuo laudes gratiasque congessit,[7] quantas nec vivo unquam egerat, nec præsenti. Eutrop. vii. 14.

Reigns of Domitian, Nerva, and Trajan. § 23. Domitianus frater Titi annos regnavit quindecim, mensibus quinque. Hic secundus post Neronem Christianos persequitur, quem, divina providentia omnibus invisum, senatus coegit ut se ipse perimeret.

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[1] *in imperio*, Eutrop.
[2] *ita ut*, Eutrop.
[3] *nulli*, Eutrop.
[4] *erat*, om. Eutrop.
[5] *in imperio*, Eutr.
[6] A.; deest, Sav.
[7] A.; *concessit*, Sav.

§ 24. Nerva anno uno et paulo plus imperium terrarum tenuit.

§ 25. Trajanus annos regnavit XIX. et dimidium. Hic tam Brittanniam quam cætera regna mirabili vigore rexit. Romanum enim imperium, quod post Augustum defensum magis fuerat quam ampliatum, longe lateque diffudit. Hic est ille qui causa justitiæ oculum sibi et oculum filio eruit: quem Gregorius ab inferis revocavit.[a] Intelligite igitur legentes, quanti sit justitia, quæ nec infidelem tam perfectum amatorem sui relinquere potuit desolatum. Laus Trajani ex Suetonio: Trajanus, inusitatæ civilitatis et fortitudunis, ... Daciam . . . . . subegit, et ea quæ sunt circa Danubium, et Armeniam, quam occupaverant Parthi. . . . . Albanis regem dedit; Hiberorum regem, et Sauromatarum, et Bosphoranorum, et Arabum, et Osdroenorum, et Colchorum in fidem accepit; Corduenos, Marchamedos occupavit; et Antemusium magnam Persidis regionem, Seleuciam, et Ctesiphontem, Babylonem, et Messenios vicit ac tenuit. Usque ad Indiæ fines et mare Rubrum accessit, atque ibi tres provincias fecit, Armeniam, Assyriam, Mesopotamiam, cum his gentibus, quæ Madenam attingunt. Arabiam postea in provinciæ formam redegit. In mari Rubro classem instituit, ut per eam Indiæ fines vastaret. Gloriam tamen militarem civilitate et moderatione superavit, Romæ et per provincias æqualem se omnibus exhibens, amicos salutandi causa frequentans, vel ægrotantes; cum festos dies habuissent, convivia cum eisdem indiscreta vicissim habens; sæpe in vehiculis eorum sedens; nullum senatorem lædens; nil injustum ad augendum fiscum agens; liberalis in cunctis;[1] publice privatimque ditans omnes, et honoribus augens, quos vel mediocri familiaritate cognovisset; orbem terrarum ædificans, multas immunitates civitatibus tribuens; nihil non tranquil-

Joh. Diac. in Vita Greg. ii. 44.

Eutrop. viii. 2.

Eulogy of Trajan.

[1] *cunctos*, Eutr.

[a] *ab inferis revocavit*] John the Deacon, in his Life of Gregory the Great, says, (the reference in the M. H. B. is wrong,) that in the records of the English churches a story was preserved, to the effect that the pope, having heard an anecdote illustrating Trajan's singular love of justice, wept bitterly in St. Peter's basilica over the religious darkness in which this virtuous emperor was plunged, and received on the following night an assurance that the soul of Trajan was delivered from perdition.

lum et placidum agens; adeo ut omni ejus ætate unus[1] senator damnatus sit, atque is tamen per senatum, ignorante Trajano. Ob hoc per orbem terrarum Deo proximus, nihil non venerationis meruit et vivus et mortuus. Inter alia dicta hoc ipsius fertur egregium: amicis enim culpantibus quod nimium circa omnes comis esset, respondit: "Se talem "imperatorem esse privatis, quales sibi imperatores esse "privatus optasset." . . . . . Solus omnium intra urbem sepultus est: ossa collata in urnam auream in foro quod ædificavit sub columna posita sunt, cujus altitudo C.XL. pedes habet. Hujus tantum memoriæ delatum est, ut usque ad nostrum ætatem non aliter in senatu principibus adclametur, nisi "Felicior Augusto, melior Trajano."

Reign of Hadrian.

§ 26. Adrianus rexit orbem terræ annis XXI. Hic Judæos secundo rebelles perdomuit, Jerusalemque reædificavit, Judæisque eam videndi licentiam abstulit. Laus Adriani: Adrianus princeps medius fuit: pacem omni tempore imperii sui habuit: semel tantum per præsidem dimicavit: orbem Romanum circuiit: multa ædificavit: facundissimus Latino sermone, Græco eruditissimus fuit. Hist. Misc. x.

Reign and character of Antoninus Pius.

§ 27. Antoninus Pius monarchiam mundi tenuit annis XXIII. et dimidio. Laus Antonini Pii: Vir honestus et insignis merito Numæ Pompilio confertur, ut Romulo Trajanus æquatur. . . . . Nulli acerbus, cunctis benignus; in re militari moderatus, defendere magis provincias quam amplificare studens; viros æquissimos ad administrandum rempublicam quærens, bonos in honore habens,[2] improbos sine aliqua acerbitate detestans; regibus amicis tam venerabilis, ut . . . . . ad eum controversias deferrent, sententiæque parerent; . . . . . in amicos liberalissimus, ærarium tamen opulentum reliquit; Pius propter clementiam dictus est. Hist. Misc. x.

Reigns of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus.

§ 28. Marcus Antoninus Verus cum fratre Aurelio Lucio Commodo annis XIX. mensibus II. Hi primum æquo jure imperium administraverunt, cum usque ad hoc tempus singuli Augusti fuissent. Bellum deinde contra Parthos admirabili virtute et felicitate gesserunt. Quorum temporibus cum Eleutherius . . . . . pontificatui Romanæ ecclesiæ præsesset; misit ad eum Lucius Brittanniarum[3] rex epistolam, obsecrans ut per ejus mandatum Bed. i. 4.

[1] *unus tantum*, Eutr.
[2] *bonis honorem habens*, Eutr.
[3] *Britannorum*, A.

Christianus efficeretur. Et mox effectum piæ postulationis consecutus est; susceptamque fidem Brittanni usque in tempora Dioclesiani principis inviolatam integramque quieta pace servabant. Laus Antonini Veri ex historia Romana: Hic, Antonio consorte suo per apoplexiam defuncto, supra laudabilis in imperio remansit; quippe qui nunquam vultum vel e gaudio vel mœrore immutaverit. Philosophiæ deditus Stoicæ, summus moribus et eruditione philosophus, literis Latinis et Græcis eruditissimus, omnibus æquus, nunquam elatus, liberalitate promptissimus, provinciis benignus ac moderatus. Contra Germanos feliciter conflixit; bellum Marcomanicum gessit contra Squados, Wandalos, Sarmatas, Suetos et omnem barbariem, quantum nulla memoria tradit, adeo ut Punicis conferatur. Vir igitur divinus tanti prœlii victor cum Commodo . . . . filio . . . . triumphavit. Cum igitur ærario exhausto regics cultus vendidisset, eis qui reddere voluerunt, postea pretia restituit; eis qui noluerunt, immolestus fuit. Hic permisit viris clarioribus, ut convivia eodem cultu, quo ipse, et ministris similibus exhiberent: in editione munerum post victoriam adeo magnificus extitit ut centum simul leones exhibuisse tradatur.

Hist. Miscell. x.

§ 29 Commodus prædicti Commodi filius imperavit annis XIII. Hic adversum Germanos bellum feliciter gessit; Colossique capite sublato, suæ imaginis caput jussit ei imponi.

§ 30. Ælius Pertinax menses sex; qui Juliani jurisperiti scelere occiditur in palatio.

Reigns of Pertinax and Severus.

Bed. i. 5.

§ 31. Severus Pertinax, interfecto Juliano jurisperito, regnavit XVII. annis. Hic genere Afer, Tripolitanus ab oppido Lepti, ... natura sævus, multis semper bellis lacessitus, fortissime quidem rempublicam sed laboriosissime rexit. Victor ergo civilium bellorum, quæ ei gravissima occurrerant, et Clodio[1] Albino, qui se in Gallia Cæsarem fecerat, apud Lugdunum interfecto, ... in Britannias transit; ubi magnis gravibusque prœliis sæpe gestis, receptam partem insulæ a cæteris indomitis gentibus, non ut quidam æstimant muro, sed vallo distinguendam putavit. Murus etenim de

Bed. *De Rat. Temp.* a. 4163.

[1] A.; *Didio*, Sav.

lapidibus, vallum vero, quo ad repellendam vim hostium castra muniuntur, fit de cespitibus; quibus circumcisis e terra velut murus exstruitur altus super terram, ita ut in ante sit fossa, de qua levati sunt cespites, supra quam sudes de lignis fortissimis præfiguntur. Itaque Severus magnam fossam, firmissimumque vallum, crebris insuper turribus communitum, a mari usque ad mare duxit; ibique apud Eboracum oppidum morbo obiit. Reliquit duos filios Bassianum et Getam: quorum Geta hostis publicus judicatus interiit: Bassianus, Antonini cognomine assumpto, regno potitus est. Laus Severi ex Eutropio: Severus . . . . bella multa et feliciter gessit: vicit Parthos et Arabas et Azabenos; unde Parthicus, Arabicus, Azabenicus dictus est. Multa toto orbe ad Romanum decus reparavit. . . . . Severus tamen præter bellicam gloriam etiam civilibus studiis clarus fuit, et literis doctus, philosophiæ scientiam ad plenum adeptus; . . . . Divus appellatus est.

Eulogy of Severus.

Hist. Misc. x.

§ 32. Antoninus Caracalla filius Severi, VII. annis regnum mundi tenuit. Macrinus cum uno anno regnasset, apud Archelaidem, cum filio suo, militari tumultu occiditur. Marcus Aurelius Antoninus IIII. annis dominium terrarum habuit. Aurelius Alexander annis XIII. Hic in Mammeam matrem suam unice pius fuit, et ob id omnibus amabilis. Laus Alexandri: Hic, suscepto adversus Persas bello, Xersen regem gloriosissime vicit, militarem disciplinam severissime rexit, quasdam tumultuantes legiones integras exauctoravit. . . . . Romæ admodum[1] favorabilis fuit; militari tumultu periit in Gallia.

Reigns of Caracalla, Macrinus, Heliogabalus, and Alexander Severus.

Hist. Misc. x.

§ 33. Maximianus prior annis tribus terras et insulas rexit. Hic Germanos bello vicit. Gordianus annis VI. Origines floruit, qui v. millia librorum scripsit, ut narrat Hieronymus.[a] Hic Persas vicit. Philippus cum Philippo filio annis VII. Hic primus imperatorum omnium Christianus fuit; ac post tertium imperii ejus annum, millesimus a conditione Romæ annus expletus est; magnificisque ludis hic augustissimus omnium præteritorum annus a Christiano imperatore celebratus

Names and brief notices of the Roman emperors, from Maximian to Diocletian.

S. Hieron. adv. Rufinum, lib. ii.

[1] *quoque*, Eutrop.

[a] "Sex millia librorum ejus," says St. Jerome, rhetorically, in the passage quoted.

est. Laus Philippi junioris: Hic adeo severi animi fuit,
Hist. Misc. x. ut nullo commento . . . . . ad ridendum solvi potuerit, patremque . . . . cachinnantem vultu averso notaverit; semper vitiis restans, et ad ardua virtutis anhelans.

§ 34. Decius anno uno mensibus III. Hic cum Philippos, patrem et filium, interfecisset, ob odium eorum Christianos persequitur. Gallus cum Volusiano filio annis II. et mensibus IIII. Valerianus cum filio Gallieno annis XV. Hic, in Christianos persecutione commota, statim a Persarum rege capitur: ibique luminibus orbatus, servitute miserabili consenescit. Claudius secundus, anno I. mensibus IX. Iste Gothos jam per annos XV. Illyricum Macedoniamque vastantes superat; ob quod in Curia clipeus aureus ei, et in Capitolio statua aurea collata est.

§ 35. Aurelianus annis V. mensibus VI. Hic cum Christianos persequeretur, fulmen ante eum[1] magno horrore circumstantium ruit; et paulo post a militibus occiditur. Laus Aureliani ex gestis mirabilium viro-
Hist. Misc. x. rum: Cum Alexander annis XIII., Cæsar XIIII., orbem subjugassent, iste triennio tribusque prœliis orbem pacificavit. Iste primus Romanorum diadema sumpsit, gemmisque et aurata omni veste . . . . . usus est; . . . . . disciplinæ militaris et morum dissolutorum . . . . . corrector, sed ferus nimis, et superbus, et sævus omni tempore. Tacitus VI. mensibus; quo apud Pontum occiso, regnavit Florianus III. mensibus, et sic apud Tarsum occiditur. Probus annis VI. mensibus IIII. Hic Gallias jamdudum a Barbaris occupatas, deletis tandem hostibus, ad perfectum liberavit. Laus Probi ex authenticis: Probus
Hist. Misc. x. vir illustris, acer, strenuus, justus: Aurelianum pene militari[2] gloria æquavit, sed morum civilitate superavit. Hic cum bella innumera gessiset, pace parata dixit, "brevi milites necessarios non futuros." Carus annis II. Hic, cum Persas superasset, super Tigride flumine periit.

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[1] *cadens*, A. add.

[2] A.; deest, Sav.

Reign of Diocletian. The rebellion of Carausius in Britain.

§ 36. Diocletianus cum Herculio Maximiano XX. annis: quorum tempore Carausius quidam, genere quidem infimus, sed consilio et manu promptus, cum ad observanda oceani littora, quæ tunc Franci et Saxones infestabant, positus, plus in perniciem, quam in profectum reipublicæ ageret, et[1] ereptam prædonibus prædam nulla ex parte restituendo dominis, sed sibi soli vindicando, accendens suspicionem, quia ipsos quoque hostes ad incursandos fines artifici negligentia permitteret: quamobrem a Maximiano jussus occidi, purpuram sumpsit, ac Britannias occupavit. Quibus sibi per septem annos fortissime vindicatis ac retentis, tandem fraude Allecti socii sui interemptus est. Allectus postea, erepta Carausio insula, per triennium tenuit, quem Asclepiodotus præfectus prætorio oppressit, Brittanniamque post x. annos recepit. Bellis vero coacti prædicti imperatores, Constantium in Occidente, Galerium Maximinum in Oriente assumunt in regnum. Eo tempore persecutio crudelissima ubique terrarum exarsit in Christianos. S. Albanus se Deo sacrificium ea tempestate obtulit, de quo Fortunatus in Laude Virginum scribit: Bed. i. 6.

He is slain by Allectus, who is put down by Asclepiodotus.

The persecution of Diocletian.

Bed. i. 7.

"Albanum egregium fecunda Britannia profert."

History of the martyrdom of St. Alban.

Qui cum civis apud Verolamium esset, et clericum quendam paganos fugientem hospitio recepisset, et per eum latentem conversus interim fuisset, pro eo quærentibus se pœnis obtulit: cumque tormentis affectus excapitandus duceretur, flumen siccatum est per orationem sancti, quia populus tantus per pontem transire nequibat; quod cum inter alios ipse etiam carnifex eum percussurus vidisset, genibus ejus advolutus, fidelis et cum eo martyr factus est: fons etiam martyrio ejus affuit, qui post martyrium ejus reversus est in naturam: oculi autem percutientis eum cum capite sancti in terram deciderunt. Passus est autem juxta Verolamium, id est Wirlamecester, sive Watlingeceaster, ubi post ecclesia mirandi operis . . . . . constructa est, et abbatia nobilissima: ubi etiam usque hodie fit curatio infirmorum et . . . . . operatio virtutum.[a] Passi

[1] *et*, deest in Bed.

[a] This account of the martyrdom of St. Alban is condensed from that of Beda.

sunt quoque eo tempore Aaron et Julius Legionum urbis cives; alii quoque plures utriusque sexus inaudita membrorum discerptione et diversis cruciatibus in testimonium Dei excelsi. Hæc persecutio tam crebra erat, ut intra unum mensem XVII. millia martyrum pro Christo passa inveniantur. Cum autem vigesimo regni sui anno Diocletianus Nicomediæ, Maximianus Mediolani purpuram deposuerunt; cœpit persecutio mitigari usque ad tempus Arrii. Laus Diocletiani:

Hist. Misc. xi.

Diocletianus moratus [1] callide fuit, sagax præterea et admodum subtilis ingenio, et qui severitatem suam aliena invidia vellet explere. Diligentissimus tamen et sollertissimus princeps, quamvis contra Romanam libertatem adorari se jusserit, cum ante eum cætcri salutarentur. Gemmas vestibus calciamentisque indidit . . . . . inusitata virtute usus, ut solus omnium . . . . . ex tanto fastigio sponte privatus fieret. Contigit igitur ei quod nulli post natos homines, ut cum privatus obiisset, inter divos tamen referretur. Maximianus vero vir crudelissimus et vultu fuit horrendus.

Eulogy of Diocletian.

§ 37. Constantius, qui sub prædictis imperatoribus regnaverat super Galliam et Britanniam et Hispaniam XV. annis, uno anno post depositionem eorum imperavit in occidentalibus partibus, Maximino imperante in orientalibus. Condidit autem Constantiam [2] in ea parte Galliæ quæ nunc vocatur Normannia, [a] accepitque filiam regis Brittannici de Colecestre, cui nomen erat Coel, scilicet Helenam, quam Sanctam dicimus, et genuit ex ea Constantinum magnum. Obiit autem Constantius vir summæ mansuetudinis [4] et civilitatis in Brittannia Eboraci. Laus Constantii: Constantius vir præ-

Reign of Constantius.

Ord. Vit. v. 3.

He founds Coutances in Normandy.

Galfr. Mon. v. 6.

Marries Helena, a British princess.

Bed. i. 8.

Hist. Misc. xi.

[1] *morigeratus*, Eutrop.
[2] *civitatem*, A. add.; deest, Sav.
[3] S[2].; *magnitudinis*, cæteri codd.

[a] So far as appears, Henry took this account of the founding of Coutances from Orderic, than whom no earlier authority, explicitly avouching the same thing, was known to the authors of *Gallia Christiana*. We find, however, "civitas Constantia" among the cities of the province Lugdunensis Secunda named in the "Notitia "Imperii," and Ammianus Marcellinus, speaking of the same place, calls it "castra Constantia."

stantissimus, divitiis provincialium ac privatorum studens, fisci commoda non admodum affectavit: dicens, "melius publi- "cas opes a privatis haberi quam intra unum claustrum "reservari." Cultus modici, mitis animi. Hic non modo amabilis sed venerabilis etiam Gallis fuit.

Reign of his son, Constantine the Great.

§ 38. Constantinus flos Brittanniæ regnavit XXX. annis et X. mensibus. Hic igitur Brittannicus genere et patria: ante quem nec post similis est egressus de Brittannia. Duxit exercitum a Brittannia et Gallia in Italiam. Maximianus enim Maxentium filium suum Romæ Augustum constituerat. Contra quem Constantinus adhuc infidelis tendens, vidit angelum Dei ostendentem sibi signum crucis, et hortantem se ut crederet. Credidit ille statim; Maxentiumque Deus flumine submersit. Constantinus igitur potitus imperio, Maximinum bis lege belli superavit, solusque regnum mundi tenuit: et a vulnere lepræ, ut scripta tradunt, per S. Silvestrum in baptismate mundatus, fecit Romæ, ubi baptizatus est, basilicam Joannis Baptistæ, quæ vocatur Constantiniana: item basilicam Petro et Paulo in templo Apollinis, corpus utriusque ære Ciprio circundans v. pedes in grosso: item basilicam in Palatio Sosoriano, quæ cognominatur Hierusalem: ubi de ligno crucis Domini posuit: item basilicam sanctæ martyris Agnetis ex rogatu filiæ suæ: item basilicam B. Laurentio via Tiburtina in agro Verano: item basilicam via Lavicana Petro et Marcellino martyribus: et mausoleum ubi matrem suam posuit in sarcophago purpureo: item basilicam in civitate Hostia juxta portum urbis Romæ: item basilicam in civitate Albanensi S. Joannis Baptistæ: item basilicam in urbe Neapoli. Constantinus urbem sui nominis statuens in Thracia, sedem Romani imperii et totius Orientis caput esse voluit: item Depranam civitatem Bythiniæ in honorem martyris Luciani ibi conditi instaurans, ex vocabulo matris suæ Helenopolim vocavit. Idem statuit, citra ullam hominum cædem, paganorum templa claudi. Helena vero, Brittanniæ nobilis alumna, Londoniam muro, quod adhuc superest, cinxisse fertur, et Colecestriam mœnibus adornasse.[a] Sed et inter alia multa Hierusalem instau-

Apparition of the Labarum.

Constantine sole emperor.

Churches which he built in Rome.

Bed. *De Rat. Temp.* a. 4290.

[a] For the statement that the empress Helena built a wall round London, Henry is the sole authority. He may have picked up some

ravit, mundatamque idolis, basilicis pluribus adornavit.

Hist. Misc. xi. Laus Constantini ex sacris scriniis: Vir primo imperii tempore optimis principibus, ultimo mediis comparandus: innumeræ in eo animi corporisque virtutes claruerunt; militari gloria summus, fortuna par et industria, civilibus artibus et studiis liberalibus deditus, affectator justi amoris, in . . . . . amicos . . . . . egregius; . . . . . verum insolentia rerum secundarum aliquantum ex illa favorabilis animi docilitate tandem immutatus est. Eulogy of Constantine.

Bed. *De Rat. Temp.* a. 4314. §39. Constantius cum Constantino et Constante fratribus annis XXIV. mensibus V. . . . . Hæresis Arriana Constantii regis fulta præsidio, varie et valde catholicos afflixit. Constantius and the Arian heresy.

Hist. Misc. xi. § 40. Julianus Apostata II. annis mensibus VIII. Hic digne a barbaris, Dei hostis, bellando perimitur. Laus Juliani ex Paulo: Fuit Marco Antonino non absimilis, quem etiam æmulari studebat: . . . . . liberalibus disciplinis adprime eruditus, ... memoriæ tenacis et amplæ, facundiæ ingentis et promptæ, ... philosopho propior, ... civilis in cunctos, ... avidus gloriæ, et per hoc animi plerumque[1] immodici. Julian the Apostate.

Bed. *De Rat. Temp.* a. 4317. § 41. Jovinianus bonus et pius VIII. mensibus; cujus læta principia mors immatura corrupit. Valentinianus cum fratre suo Valente XI. annis regnorum jura custodivit. Reigns of Jovian, Valentinian, and Valens.

Hist. Misc. xii. Laus Valentiniani ex historia Pauli: Fuit . . . . . Aureliano similis, vultu decens, solers ingenio, gravis animo, ... severus, vehemens, infestus vitiis, maximeque avaritiæ, doctus pingere venustissime, ... nova arma meditari, fingere simulachra cera seu limo, ... sermone

Bed. *De Rat. Temp.* a. 4332 et 4328. cultissimus, ... prudens et astutus. Valens cum Gratiano et Valentiniano . . . . fratris sui prædicti filiis, regnavit annis IV. Valens ab Arrianis baptizatus, catholicos persequitur, ... legeque data ut monachi militarent, nolentes fustibus jussit interfici. Gens Hunorum diu in inaccessis seclusa montibus, repentina rabie percita, exarsit in

[1] C[3]; *plærunque*, M. H. B.

tradition to that effect in London, where a church still existing, St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, which is said to stand on the site of one dating from the Roman occupation, attests the veneration in which the city held her name from a very early period. Comp. Bollandus, *Acta Sanctorum* (Aug. 18).

Gothos; eosque sparsim conturbatos ab antiquis sedibus expulit.

Irruption of the Goths.

Gothi transito Danubio fugientes, a Valente sine armorum depositione suscepti, mox per avaritiam Maximi ducis fame ad rebellandum coacti sunt; victoque Valentis exercitu, per Thraciam sese miscentes, simul omnia cædibus, incendiis, rapinisque fuderunt.

A.D. 377. Reigns of Gratian and Theodosius.

§ 42. Gratianus cum fratre Valentiniano anno ab Incarnatione Domini trecentesimo septuagesimo septimo regnavit annis VI. quamvis jamdudum cum patruo suo Valente regnaret. Qui cum afflictum et pene collapsum rei- Bed. i. 9.
publicæ statum videret, Theodosium Hispanum virum, restituendæ reipublicæ necessitate, apud Sirmium[1] purpura induit, Orientisque et Thraciæ simul præfecit imperio. Theodosius igitur maximas illas Scythicas gentes, hoc est, Alanos, Hunos, et Gothos magnis et multis prœliis vicit. In-

Reign of Maximus in Britain.

terea Maximus a Brittannia oriundus, vir quidem stre- Bed. i. 9.
nuus et laude dignus nisi contra sacramenti fidem per tyrannidem emersisset in Brittanniam; ibidem imperator creatus, in Galliam transiit, ubi Gratianum Augustum subita incursione perterritum . . . . . interfecit, fratremque ejus Valentinianum Augustum Italia expulit, qui ad Theodosium in Oriente refugit. Laus Gratiani: Fuit Gratianus literis Hist. Misc. xii.
haud mediocriter institutus, carmen facere, ornate loqui, explicare controversias rhetorum more, nihil aliud die noctuque agere quam spiculis[2] meditari, summæque voluptatis divinæque artis credere destinata ferire; parcus cibi, somnique ac libidinis victor.

After his death his British followers settle in Armorica.

§ 43. Theodosius post mortem Gratiani annis XI. regnavit cum Valentiniano, quem regno restituit, clauso videlicet intra muros Aquileiæ et occiso Maximo tyranno. Brittones vero, quos Maximus secum adduxerat, in Gallia Armorica usque hodie remanserunt: unde et Bed. i. 12. Cf. Galfr. Monum. v. 12, 14, 16.
Brittones Armorici vocantur; a quibus spoliata emarcuit Brittannia.

Eulogy of Theodosius.

Laus Theodosii: Theodosius propagator Hist. Misc. xiii.
reipublicæ fuit atque defensor eximius; moribus et corpore Trajano similis, quantum scriptura[3] veterum et pictura[4] docent, a quo et originem traxit: sic eminens status, membra eadem, par cæsaries: . . . . . sed illi non tam ingentes

[1] F.; cæteri codd. *Sirmiam.*
[2] *spiculas*, Paul. Diac.
[3] *scripta*, Paul. Diac.
[4] *picturæ*, Paul. Diac.

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oculi erant; nescio an et tanta gratia tantusque flos in facie seu tanta dignitas in incessu fuit; mens vero prorsus similis, adeo ut nihil dici queat, quod non ex libris in istum videatur transferri: . . . . . misericors, communis, solo habitu differre se cæteris putans, in omnes homines honorificus, verum effusius in bonos: simplicia ingenia diligere, erudita mirari, sed innoxia; largiri magno animo magna. . . . . Illa tamen, quibus Trajanus aspersus est, vinolentiam scilicet et cupidinem triumphandi, usque eo detestatus ut bella non moverit sed invenerit; ministeria lasciva, psaltriasque commessationibus adhiberi lege prohibuit. . . . . Literis mediocriter doctus, sagax plane, multumque diligens ad noscenda gesta majorum; execrabatur, cum legisset superbiam dominantium, præcipue perfidos et ingratos; irasci sane rebus indignis, sed subito flecti, ... et quod est raræ virtutis, post auctam annis potentiam imperialem, auri argentique pondera sublata a tyrannis, multis ex suo restituit. . . . . Patruum pro genitore habuit, nepotes et cognatos pro filiis; elegans lætumque convivium dare, nec tamen sumptuosum, miscere colloquia pro personis . . . . et dignitatibus sermone cum gravitate jucundo; blandus pater, concors maritus: . . . . . regebat valetudinem continentia vescendi, ambulatione moderata. Hujus et apud homines mansuetudo, et apud Deum extitit summa devotio.

Reigns of Arcadius and Honorius. Pelagian heresy.

§ 44. Arcadius filius Theodosii cum fratre Honorio annis XIII. Gothi Italiam, Wandali atque Alani Gallias aggrediuntur. Pelagius Britto et Julianus Campanensis hæresin suam longe lateque seminaverunt, quibus S. Augustinus, sicut et cæteri patres orthodoxi multis sententiarum catholicarum millibus responderunt, nec eorum tamen dementiam corrigere valebant; sed quod gravius est, correpta eorum vesania magis augescere contradicendo, quam favendo veritati voluit emendari; unde Prosper rhetor versificans ait:

Bed. i. 10, 11.

" Contra Augustinum narratur serpere quidam
" Scriptor, quem dudum livor adurit edax.
* * * * * * *
" Aut hunc fruge sua æquorei pavere Britanni,
" Aut hic Campano gramine corda tumet."

§ 45. Honorius cum Theodosio minore fratris sui Arcadii filio annis XV. Cujus temporibus cum Alani, Suevi, Wandali totas sævirent per Gallias, apud Brittanniam Gratianus municeps tyrannus creatur et occiditur. Hujus loco

Constantine reigns in Britain: he is killed at Arles.

Constantinus ex infima militia propter solam spem nominis sine merito virtutis eligitur, qui continuo ut invasit imperium in Gallias transiit: ibi, sæpe a barbaris incertis fœderibus illusus, detrimento magno reipublicæ fuit: inde mox jubente Honorio, Constantinus[1] comes in Galliam cum exercitu profectus, apud Arelatem civitatem eum clausit, cepit, et occidit: Constantemque filium ejus, quem ex monacho Cæsarem fecerat, Gerontius comes suus apud Viennam interfecit. Contigit autem quod Alaricus rex Gothorum Romam invasit et cepit, anno conditionis ejus millesimo centesimo sexagesimo quarto: cumque partem ejus cremasset incendio, deprædata urbe, sexto die egressus est, post annos ferme quadringentos septuaginta ex quo Julius Cæsar sibi Brittanniam subjecit. Habitabant autem Romani intra vallum, quod Severum trans insulam fecisse commemoravimus, ad plagam meridianam, quod civitates, pontes, fari et stratæ ibidem factæ usque hodie testantur; cæterum ulteriores Brittanniæ partes, vel eas etiam quæ ultra Brittanniam sunt, insulas, jure dominandi possidebant. Brittannia igitur militaribus copiis floridaque juventute spoliata, quæ maxime per Maximum tyrannum fuerant abductæ, post etiam reliquiæ per proxime dictum Constantinum, prædæ siquidem tantum patuit Scottis et Pictis, gentibus sævissimis. Hæ quidem remotæ sunt a Brittonibus, duobus sinibus maris interjacentibus, quorum unus ab orientali mari, alter ab occidentali . . . . . longe . . . . . irrumpunt, quamvis ad se invicem pertingere non possint. Orientalis autem habet in medio sui urbem Guidi: occidentalis supra se, hoc est ad dextram sui, habet urbem Aldclyhit: quod lingua eorum significat "petram Clyht;" est autem juxta fluvium nominis illius. Ob harum ergo infestationem gentium, Brittones legatos Romam cum epistolis mittunt . . . . . auxilia flagitantes; . . . . . quibus mox legio destinatur, quæ hostium magnam multitudinem sternens, cæteros a . . . . . finibus expulit; . . . . . sicque domum cum magno triumpho reversa est, indicentes Brittannis ut super vallum Severi murum constituerent, quatenus ubi munitio aquæ deerat, præsidium valli adesset. At Brittanni murum non tam lapidibus quam cespitibus construentes, ... ad nihil utilem

Sack of Rome by Alaric.

Bed. *De Rat. Temp* a. 4377.

The Romans quit Britain.

Bed. i. 11.

Inroads of the Picts and Scots.

Bed. i. 12.

The wall of Severus.

[1] *Constantius*, Bed.

statuunt; vestigia vero valli illius latissimi et altissimi usque hodie cernuntur. Incipit autem ferme duorum millium spatio a loco qui vocatur Peneltune, et . . . . . terminatur in occidentem juxta urbem Aldclyhit. Verum priores inimici, ut Romanum militem abiisse conspexerunt, mox advecti navibus irrumpunt acrius. Unde prece Brittannorum rursum Romani redeunt, et cæsum hostem trans maria fugant; conjunctisque sibi Brittannis, murum non ut ante ex cespitibus, sed ex saxo a mari usque ad mare collocant. Sic et in littore meridiano, quia et inde hostis timebatur, turres per intervalla ad prospectum maris statuunt; sic valedicunt sociis tanquam ultra non reversuri, dicentes ultra se tam laboriosis expeditionibus non posse fatigari. Romanis igitur domum reversis, hostes acrius insultant, insulæque partem usque murum capessunt, deinde murum urbesque appositas sternunt; postea cis murum longe patriam vastant, ut et ipsi Brittanni latrocinio ac rapacitate famem temperarent, donec omnis regio totius cibi sustentaculo, excepto venandi solatio, vacuaretur. Final departure of the Romans.

Hist. Misc. xiv. Laus Honorii: Fuit . . . . . Honorius moribus et religione patri Theodosio non valde absimilis: cujus temporibus quamvis externa multa et civilia bella surrexerunt, vel nullo vel minimo sanguine quievere. Character of Honorius.

Bed. i. 13. § 46. Theodosius secundus, qui vocatur Junior, Brittanniæ potestatem amisit. Imperavit autem Romanis XXVIII. annis: cujus regni anno XXIII. Aetius vir illustris cum Symmacho gessit consulatum. Ad hunc . . . . . Brittonum reliquiæ mittunt epistolam: in processu epistolæ, cujus hoc principium est: "Aetio ter consuli:" ita suas calamitates explicant: "Repellunt barbari ad mare, repellit mare "ad barbaros: inter hæc oriuntur duo genera funerum; aut "jugulamur aut mergimur." Neque hoc tamen agentes quicquam ab illo auxilii impetrare quiverunt; utpote qui gravissimis eo tempore bellis cum Bledda et Attila regibus Hunorum erat occupatus; et quamvis anno ante hunc proximo Bledda Attilæ fratris sui interemptus sit insidiis, Attila tamen ipse adeo intolerabilis reipublicæ remansit hostis, ut totam pene Europam, excisis invasisque civitatibus atque castellis, corroderet. Quinetiam et eisdem temporibus fames Constantinopolim invasit; nec mora, pestis secuta est, sed et plurimi ejusdem urbis muri cum LVI. turribus corruerunt: multis quoque civitatibus collapsis, fames et aerum pestifer odor plurima hominum millia jumentorumque delevit. Brittaniam quo- Reign of Theodosius the younger. Supplications of the Britons for aid. The conquests of Attila.

The Britons rally and drive off the Picts and Scots.

que sicut et cæteras provincias præfata fames affecit: Bed. i. 14. tunc igitur Brittanni videntes humanum deesse auxilium invocant divinum: misertusque est eorum Dominus omnipotens et tentavit eos, immisitque eorum robur brachiis et aciem gladiis. Exiluerunt igitur de montibus et latebris et silvis, irruentesque in Scottos et Pictos undique cœperunt indeficienter cædere et sternere. Hostes vero nec se in ictibus suis cognoscebant, nec in protectione armorum jam confidebant; quæ scilicet jam Brittannorum armis erant quasi vestis: contabuit ergo cor hostium, dissolutisque viribus horrescentes aufugiunt; fit itaque in eis strages innumera. Scotti cum dedecore Hiberniam redeunt. Picti in extrema insulæ parte tunc primum et deinceps quieverunt: deditque Dominus victoriam populo suo, et confusi sunt Bed. i. 13. qui eos confundebant. His temporibus, scilicet anno Theodosii octavo, mittitur Palladius a papa Celestino ad Scottos primus eorum futurus episcopus. Theodosius etiam potestatem Galliæ et Hispaniæ et Africæ amisit: gens quippe Wandalorum et Alanorum et Gothorum omnia ferro, flammis, arripuerant et destruxerant, sed B. Augustinus Hipponensis episcopus, ne civitatis suæ ruinam videret, tertio obsidionis ejus mense migravit ad Dominum, Geiserico crudelissimo eam obsidente.

Palladius sent to preach to the Irish Scots.

Death of St. Augustine.

Prosperity and consequent moral deterioration of the Britons.

§ 47. Brittannis ergo victoribus et quieti datis, misit Bed. i. 14. Dominus ineffabilem frugum abundantiam, quantam nulla ætas retro meminit: ut sicut confusiones ante habitas triumpho relevaverant, ita famem præfatam opulentia relevarent: probavitque Deus utrum omnimoda prosperitas redderet gratiosos, quos nulla adversa reddiderant correctos. Illi tunc vero omnia scelera transacta superantes, in luxuria furere, et in omnium lue scelerum sine respectu Dei cœperunt. Ita vero demum crudelitas . . . . . et odium veritatis[1] amorque mendacii in eis exarsit, ut si quis eorum mitior et veritati aliquatenus propior videretur, in hunc, quasi Brittanniæ subversorem,

[1] A.; deest, Sav.

omnium odia telaque sine respectu contorquerentur. Et non solum hoc sæculares viri, sed et ipse grex Domini ejusque pastores egerunt; ebriositate, animositate, litigio, contentione, invidia, cæteris hujusmodi facinoribus sua colla, abjecto levi jugo Christi, subdentes. Respexit ergo Dominus, et in iram concitatus, corruptæ mentis homines acerba peste contrivit, quæ in brevi tantam ejus multitudinem stravit, ut n sepeliendis quidem mortuis vivi sufficerent. Sed nec morte quidem suorum, nec timore mortis, hi, qui supererant, a morte animæ, qua peccando sternebantur, revocari poterant. Justo itaque et patenti judicio constituit Deus exterminare gentem illam, mandavitque statim stimulos iræ suæ, Scottos scilicet et Pictos, qui cædes suas vindicaturi iracundius solito adveniunt, irruuntque Brittannis, quasi lupi in agnos; cognoveruntque se in ictibus suis, et Brittannos in fuga sua. Rursumque igitur ex more Brittanni latebras et silvas et saltus repetunt: postea vero inierunt consilium quid agendum, ubi quærendum esset præsidium[1] ad evitandas vel repellendas tam feras tamque creberrimas gentium aquilonalium irruptiones: placuitque omnibus cum rege suo Vortigerno, ut Saxonum gentem de transmarinis partibus in auxilium vocarent. Quod Domini nutu dispositum esse constat, ut veniret contra improbos malum, sicut evidentius rerum exitus probavit.

Being again harassed by the Picts and Scots, they resolve to call in the Saxons.

Lib. II.—De Adventu Anglorum.

§ 1. Tractatum est in superioribus de xlv. imperatoribus qui tam Brittanniam quam cæteras mundi partes rexerunt: quorum si aliqui gloria potiuntur in cœlis, illam tantum habent, quia jam hic nullam habent. Viluit enim sermocinatio de eis, et prolixior confabulatio de actibus eorum videtur amara, tædii scilicet et odii generatrix. Quapropter excogitemus ex eorum comparatione, quorum potentiæ et majestati vix sufficiebat universus mundus, quam nihil sit gloria nostra, potentia nostra, tumor noster, quorum de causa laboramus, sudamus, insanimus. Si autem gloriam

The nothingness of human greatness.

[1] *auxilium*, A.

cupimus, ut humane loquar, concedo; cupiamus, sed veram: si famam, illam quæ non evanescit: si honorem, illum qui non deflorescit; non qualem prædicti imperatores, quorum omnis gloria jam non est nisi viles reliquiæ fabularum: veram autem gloriam et famam et honorem habebimus, si Ei, qui solus verus est, cum jucunditate et lætitia innitamur, si spem nostram et fiduciam omnem in Deo ponamus, non in filiis hominum, sicut Brittanni, qui Deo abjecto et magnificentia timoris ejus, auxilium petierunt a paganis, habueruntque; sed quale decebat. Gens namque Saxonum vel Anglorum, invitata a rege præfato, Brittanniam tribus longis navibus advehitur, anno gratiæ quadringentesimo quadragesimo nono, cum Marcianus et Valentinus,[a] quorum imperium septem annis duravit, imperarent: vigesimo quarto anno postquam regnum Francorum inchoaverat; quorum primus rex fuit Pharamundus. Saxones igitur in orientali parte insulæ, jubente eodem rege, locum manendi, quasi pro patria pugnaturi, re autem vera hanc expugnaturi, susceperunt. Inierunt autem certamen contra Pictos et Scottos, qui jam venerunt usque ad Stanfordiam, quæ sita est in australi parte Lincolniæ, distans ab ea quadraginta miliariis. Cum igitur illi pilis et lanceis pugnarent, isti vero securibus gladiisque longis rigidissime decertarent, nequiverunt Picti pondus tantum perferre, sed fuga saluti suæ consuluerunt: Saxones victoriosi, triumpho et præda potiti sunt. Quod ubi Saxoniæ nuntiatum est, simul et insulæ fertilitas ac segnities Brittonum, mittitur confestim illo classis prolixior, armatorum ferens manum fortiorem: quæ præmissæ adjuncta cohorti invincibilem fecit exercitum. Susceperunt ergo qui advenerant, donantibus Brittonibus, locum habitationis inter eos: ea tamen conditione, ut hi pro patriæ pace et salute contra adversarios militarent, illi militantibus debita stipendia conferrent. Advenerunt autem de tribus Germaniæ populis fortioribus, id est, Saxonibus, Anglis, Jutis: de Jutarum origine sunt Cantuarii, et Victuarii; hæc est ea gens quæ Vectam tenet insulam; et ea, quæ usque

Arrival of the Saxons. A.D. 449. Bed. i. 15.

They defeat the Picts at Stamford. Local tradition?

Their countrymen come over in great numbers.

The newcomers belong to three German tribes, the Jutes, the

[a] *Valentinus*] It should be Valentinianus.

Bed. i. 15. hodie in provincia Occidentalium Saxonum Jutarum natio nominatur, posita contra ipsam insulam Vectam: de Saxonibus, id est, ea regione quæ nunc Antiquorum Saxonum cognominatur, venere Orientales Saxones, Meridiani Saxones, Occidui Saxones: porro de Anglis, hoc est, illa patria quæ Angulus dicitur, et ab eo tempore usque hodie manet deserta,[a] et inter provincias Jutarum et Saxonum esse perhibetur, Orientales Angli, Mediterranei Angli, Mercii, tota Northanhumbrorum progenies, id est illarum gentium quæ ad boream Humbri fluminis inhabitant, cæterique Anglorum populi sunt orti. Duces eorum primi fuisse perhibentur duo fratres, Hengist et Horsa: . . . . . erant autem filii Widgils, filii Nennius, 28. Wicta, filii Vecta, filii Woden, filii Frealof,[b] filii Fredulf, filii Fin, filii Flocwald, filii Ieta: quem dixerunt filium Dei, scilicet alicujus idoli; de quorum patrum progenie, multarum provinciarum regium genus originem duxit. Non mora ergo, confluentibus certatim in insulam gentium memoratarum catervis, grandescere populus cœpit advenarum, ita ut ipsis quoque, qui advocaverant, indigenis Nennius, 37, 39. essent terrori. Dicitur autem a quibusdam, quod rex Vortigernus, formidans robur eorum, filiam Hengisti paganam duxerit: dicitur etiam quod ad cumulum damnationis suæ propriam filiam suam duxerit, et ex ea filium genuerit: unde a S. Germano et ab omni conventu episcopali excommunicatus est.

A.D. 449. Saxons, and the Angles.

Their leaders are Hengist and Horsa, descendants of Woden.

Vortigern marries the daughter of Hengist.

Bed. i. 15. § 2. Rex Vortigernus, a genero suo et ab exercitu, belli occasionem, Deo volente, quærentibus, annonas eis affluentius ministrare reposcitur; minantes nisi profusior eis copia alimentorum detur, se cuncta insulæ loca rupto fœdere vastaturos. Nec segniter minas prosequuntur effectibus: inito

[a] *deserta*] Beda writes, "manere "desertus inter provincias Jutarum "et Saxonum perhibetur." By the misquotation, Henry asserts positively of Anglen a desolation which in his day was untrue, and which Beda states with reserve even at his own time; while he states dubiously its geographical position, about which neither Beda doubted, nor could anyone else reasonably doubt. Ethelwerd (Book i.) says of Anglen, "Anglia Vetus sita est "inter Saxones et Giotos, habens "oppidum capitale, quod sermone "Saxonico Sleswic nuncupatur, "secundum vero Danos, Haith-"aby."

[b] *filii Frealof*] The ancestors beyond Woden, with whom Beda stops, Henry takes from Nennius. Comp. Asser's *Life of Alfred*, an. 849.

The Saxons turn against the Britons, and gradually exterminate them.

namque fœdere cum Pictis, et congregato innumerabili exercitu, neminem qui eis restare auderet usquam invenerunt. Accensus igitur manibus paganorum ignis, justas de sceleribus populi Dei ultiones expetiit; non illius impar, qui quondam a Caldæis succensus, Hierosolymorum mœnia, imo ædificia cuncta consumpsit: sic enim et hic, agente impio victore, imo disponente justo Judice, proximas quasque civitates agrosque depopulans, ab orientali mari usque ad occidentale, nullo prohibente, suum continuavit incendium, totamque prope insulæ pereuntis superficiem obtexit. Ruebant ædificia publica simul et privata, passim sacerdotes inter altaria trucidabantur, præsules cum populis, sine ullo respectu honoris, ferro pariter et flammis absumebantur; nec erat qui crudeliter eos interemptos sepulturæ traderet. Itaque nonnulli . . . . in montibus comprehensi . . . . jugulabantur, alii fame confecti procedentes, manus hostibus dabant; pro accipiendis alimentorum subsidiis æternum subituri servitium, si tamen non continuo trucidarentur: alii transmarinas regiones dolentes petebant: alii perstantes in patria trepidi pauperem vitam in montibus, silvis, vel rupibus arduis, suspecta semper mente, agebant. Rex autem Vortigernus in occidentali parte Brittanniæ inter prærupta montium et silvarum omnibus exosus degebat. Dicitur autem quod cum rex prædicationem S. Germani audire nollet, fugeretque sanctum se sequentem, quadam nocte ignis de cœlo cecidit super arcem in qua rex erat; rex autem tam ruina quam igne destructus, nusquam comparuit.

Nennius, 50.

The fate of Vortigern.

Galfr. Mon. viii. 2.

Under Ambrosius the Britons rally and confront the invaders.

At ubi Saxones, dispersis . . . . . indigenis, copiam exercituum domum remiserunt, cœperunt Brittanni emergentes de latibulis, vires resumere animosque, congregatoque permaximo exercitu, in Cantiam contra Hengist et Horsa vexilla direxerunt. Utebantur eo tempore duce Ambrosio Aureliano viro modesto, qui solus forte Romanæ gentis præfatæ tempestati superfuerat, occisis in eadem parentibus nomen regium et insigne ferentibus; duoque filii Vortigerni duces erant cum eo, Gortimer et Catiger. Ambrosius igitur primam aciem bello induxit, Gortimer secundam, Catiger tertiam: Hors vero et Hengist licet multo minores numero essent, audacissime tamen eis obviaverunt, duoque fratres duas acies in hostem direxerunt.

Bed. i. 16.

Nennius, 53.

Chr. E. § 3. Anno septimo adventus Saxonum in Angliam A.D. 455. Battle at Aylesford.
Nennius, 47. commissum est bellum apud Aeilestreu. Principio ergo percussit Hors aciem Catigerni tanto vigore ut ad modum pulveris dispersa prosterneretur, et filium regis prostratum cecidit. Gortimer autem frater ejus, vir vere strenuissimus, ex obliquo aciem Horsi disrupit, et ipso Horso interfecto virorum fortissimo, reliquiæ cohortis ad Hengistum fugiunt, qui cum Ambrosii cuneo invicte confligebat. Totum ergo pondus prœlii versum est super Hengistum, et probitate Gortimeri coarctatus, cum diu perseverasset, non sine magno detrimento Brittannorum, victus, qui nunquam fugerat, fugit. Scripserunt quidam Hengistum postea in eodem anno ter contra eos pugnasse, nec potuisse resistere probitati Gortimeri et numero Brittonum; sed semel in insulam
Nennius, 46. Tenet, semel ad naves fugisse, et pro his qui abierant in patriam misisse.

Horsa is killed; Hengist defeated and driven back to Thanet.

§ 4. Anno vero sequenti, regnante Leone imperatore, A.D. 456. He receives reinforcements; battle at Crayford.
qui regnavit XVII. annis, morbo periit flos juvenum
Nennius, 47. Gortimerus, cum quo simul spes et victoria Brittonum
Galfr. Mon. vi. 14. exstincta est. Hengist igitur et Esc filius suus, receptis auxiliis a patria sua, et morte juvenis freti, bello se
Chr. E. præparant apud Creganford. Brittanni vero quatuor phalanges[a] maximas quatuor ducibus munitas fortissimis bello prostituunt. Sed cum ludum belli Brittones inissent, numerum Saxonum majorem solito male ferebant: recentes quippe qui supervenerant, et viri electi erant, securibus et gladiis horribiliter corpora Brittonum findebant: nec tamen cesserunt donec quatuor duces eorum prostratos et cæsos viderunt. Tunc vero, ultra quam credi potest perterriti, a Cent usque in Londoniam fugerunt, et nunquam in Cantiam postea gratia pugnandi venire ausi sunt. Exinde regnavit Hengist et Esc filius suus in Cantuaria: regnum igitur Cantiæ incepit VIII. anno adventus Anglorum.

The Britons are routed; commencement of the kingdom of Kent. A.D. 457.

[a] *quatuor phalanges*] These words represent the "IIII werad" of E., not the preferable reading of A. "IIII wera," four thousand men.

A.D. 429. Visit of St. Germain to Britain: he and bishop Lupus confute the Pelagians.

§ 5. Circa ea tempora venerat Germanus Antisiodorensis episcopus, vir sanctitate miraculisque conspicuus, et Lupus Trecasinæ civitatis episcopus, in Brittanniam ad Pelagianam hæresim destruendam. Quibus ratione coram omni populo devictis, ad confirmationem suæ rationis, filiam tribuni, x. annis cæcam, curavit: præterea casulam, in qua infirmus jacebat, ab igne circumquaque furente et adjuncta ipsi casulæ consumente, salvavit: petensque sepulchrum S. Albani, reliquias in ipso diversorum martyrum imposuit; massamque pulveris adhuc rubentis sanguine martyris, secum portaturus abstulit: quo in loco innumeram hominum turbam eadem die convertit ad Dominum. Bed. i. 17, 18, 19.

A.D. 430. The Alleluia victory.

§ 6. Interea Saxones et Picti bellum contra Brittannos junctis viribus inierunt. Brittones trepidi S. Germani petierunt auxilium. Sanctus adveniens ducem se prœlii profitetur. In valle igitur circundata mediis montibus, e regione qua sperabatur adventus hostium, componit exercitum ipse dux agminis: et jam aderat ferox hostium multitudo quam appropinquare speculatores intuebantur. Tunc subito sanctus signifer universos admonet ut voci suæ uno clamore respondeant: securisque hostibus qui se insperatos adesse confiderent, Alleluia jam tertio repetitum sacerdotes exclamabant. Sequitur una vox omnium, et elatum clamorem repercusso aere montium conclusa multiplicant: hostile agmen terrore prosternitur; et super se non solum rupes circundatas, sed et ipsam cœli machinam contremiscunt. Dum igitur fugientibus vix sufficere pedum pernicitas creditur, passim ruunt, arma projiciunt; gaudentes vel nuda corpora eripuisse discrimini: plures etiam timore cæcatos, flumen quod transierant devoravit: ultionem suam innocens exercitus intuetur, et spolia cœlestis palmæ cum gaudio colligunt: triumphant pontifices, hostibus fusis sine sanguine, victoria fide obtenta, non viribus. Superatis igitur hostibus mentis et corporis, beati pontifices ad sua remearunt. Bed. i. 20.

Sed non multo post, Pelagiana hæresi iterum pullulante, precibus omnium sacerdotum Brittanniæ rediit Germanus cum Severo episcopo Treveris, fidemque rectam restituens, filium Elafii principis, contractum nervis et poplite, Bed. i. 21.

Second visit of St. Germain.

in conspectu omnium sanavit: omnibusque prospere gestis, inde ad Ravennam pro pace Armoricanæ gentis supplicaturus, advenit; ibique a Valentiniano . . . . . summa reverentia susceptus, migravit ad Christum: . . . . . nec multo post Valentinianus interimitur a satellitibus Aetii patricii, quem occiderat; cui Brittanni quondam miserant ut prædiximus, epistolam: cum quo simul Hesperium concidit regnum. A.D. 448. His death at Ravenna.

Chr. E. § 7. Supervenientibus vero auxiliariis, post aliquantum temporis Hengist rex et Esc filius suus invictissimum congregaverunt exercitum anno XVII° adventus eorum in Angliam: contra quos omnis Brittannia, viribus congregatis, duodecim phalanges nobiliter ordinatas opposuit apud Wippedesflede. Pugnatum est diu et acriter, donec Hengistus duodecim principes cuneorum prostravit, et vexillis eorum dejectis et manipulis eorum proturbatis, in fugam coegit. Ipse autem multos principum suorum et gentis amisit, et quendam magnum principem qui vocabatur Wipped, ex cujus nomine locum belli illius prædicto nomine vocavit. Victoria igitur illis lachrymabilis fuit et odiosa, ita ut postea non parvo tempore nec ipse intra Brittannorum fines, nec Brittanni in Cantiam venire præsumerent. Brittanniæ igitur dum cessarent externa bella, non cessa- A.D. 465. Hengist gains another victory at Wippedfleet.

Bed. i. 22. bant civilia; sed inter exterminia civitatum ab hoste dirutarum . . . . . pugnabant . . . . invicem, qui hostem evaserant cives. Dum tamen recens esset memoria calamitatis . . . . . inflictæ, servabant utcunque reges, sacerdotes, privati et optimates, suum quique ordinem: cum autem junior ætas crevisset, præsentis solum serenitatis statum experta, ita cuncta veritatis et justitiæ moderamina concussa sunt ac subversa, ut earum non dicam vestigium, sed nec memoria quidem, præter in paucis et valde paucis, ulla appareret. Immisit ergo Deus, ex partibus Germaniæ, duces plures ferocissimos per successiones temporum, qui gentem Deo invisam delerent; et in primis dux Aelle venit et tres filii sui, Cymen et Wlencing[1] et Cissa. The Britons ruin their own cause by intestine strife. New chieftains of unexampled ferocity arrive from Germany.

[1] For the justification of this reading, instead of the "Plenting" of the MSS., see § of the Introduction.

A.D. 477. Landing of Ella; battle at Cymenesore.

§ 8. Igitur dux Aelle cum filiis suis et classe militaribus copiis instructissima, in Brittannia ad Cymenesore appulerunt. Egredientibus autem Saxonibus de mari, Brittanni clamorem excitarunt, et a circumadjacentibus locis innumeri convolarunt, et statim bellum initum est. Saxones vero statura et vigore maximi, impudenter eos recipiebant; illi vero imprudenter veniebant: nam sparsim et per intervalla venientes a conglomeratis interficiebantur, et ut quique attoniti veniebant, rumores sinistros ex improviso sentiebant. Fugati sunt igitur Brittanni usque ad proximum nemus quod vocatur Andredesleige. Saxones autem occuparunt littora maris Sudsexe,[1] magis magisque sibi regionis spatia capessentes usque ad nonum annum adventus eorum. Tunc vero cum audacius regionem in longinquum capesserent, convenerunt reges et tyranni Brittonum apud Mercredesburne, et pugnaverunt contra Aelle et filios suos, et fere dubia fuit victoria: uterque enim exercitus valde læsus et minoratus, alterius congressum devovens, ad propria remearunt. Misit igitur Aelle ad compatriotas suos auxilium flagitans. Annus autem quo Aelle venit in Angliam fere XXX. fuit ab adventu Anglorum. Chr. E.

Sussex gradually conquered.

A.D. 485.

Battle at Mercredesburne.

A.D. 488. Death of Hengist.

§ 9. Mortuus est Hengist rex Cantiæ XL. anno post adventum suum in Brittanniam, et regnavit Esc filius ejus pro eo XXXIV. annis, tempore Zenonis imperatoris, cujus imperium fuit XVII. annis. Esc autem patria virtute patriam contra Brittannos potenter tenuit, regnumque suum regnis eorum ampliavit. Galfr. Mon. viii. 7. Chr. E.

Commencement of the kingdom of Sussex under Ella.

§ 10. Regnum Sudsexe incipit, quod Aella diu et potentissime tenuit: venerant enim ei auxiliares a patria sua anno tertio post mortem Hengisti, tempore Anastasii imperatoris Romani, qui regnavit XXVIII.[2] annis. Fretus igitur copiis ingentibus, obsedit Andre-

[1] deest, A.; *in Sudsaxe*, F. | [2] *xxvii.*, Sav.

Chr. E. decester urbem munitissimam. Congregati sunt igitur Brittanni quasi apes, et die expugnabant obsidentes insidiis, et nocte incursibus: nullus dies erat, nulla nox erat, quibus sinistri et recentes nuntii Saxonum animos non acerbarent; inde tamen ardentiores effecti, continuis insultibus urbem infestabant. Semper vero dum assilirent, instabant eis Brittones a tergo cum viris sagittariis et amentatis telorum missilibus. Dimissis igitur mœnibus, gressus et arma dirigebant in eos Pagani. Tunc Brittones eis celeritate præstantiores, silvas cursu petebant: tendentibusque ad mœnia rursum a tergo aderant. Hac arte Saxones diu fatigati sunt, et innumera strages eorum fiebat, donec in duas partes exercitum diviserunt; ut dum una pars urbem expugnaret, esset eis a tergo contra Brittonum excursus bellatorum acies ordinata. Tunc vero cives diuturna fame contriti, cum jam pondus infestantium perferre nequirent, omnes ore gladii devorati sunt cum mulieribus et parvulis, ita quod nec unus solus evasit: et quia tot ibi damna toleraverant extranei, ita urbem destruxerunt quod nunquam postea reædificata est; locus tantum, quasi nobilissimæ urbis, transeuntibus ostenditur desolatus.

A.D. 491. Siege of Anderida.

It is taken and destroyed by the Saxons.

Chr. E. § 11. Anno XLVII. adventus Anglorum, Certic et Cinric filius suus cum V. puppibus venerunt ad Certicesore. Eodem die convenit multitudo regionis, et pugnatum est contra eos. Saxones acie conferta coram navibus immobiliter stabant. Insulani audacter in eos irruebant, et sine persecutione revertebantur, advenis quippe nunquam locum deserentibus: sic irruendo et redeundo bellatum est, donec noctis tenebræ litem dirimerunt. Inventis igitur Saxonibus asperis, Brittanni se retraxerunt, et neutra ex parte habita est victoria. Hospitati tamen Certic et filius suus in terra hostili, magis magisque circa littora maris cœperunt occupare, non sine frequentibus bellis, regiones.

A.D. 495. Cerdic and his son land at Cerdicesore; after a battle they make good their footing.

A.D. 501. Arrival of Port and his sons.

§ 12. Septimo autem anno post adventum Certici, venit Port et duo filii ejus, Beda et Megla, cum duabus navibus maximis apud Portesmudham; statimque clamor maximus implevit omnem provinciam. Dux igitur provinciæ et omnis multitudo pugnam aggressi, absque ordine ut quisque adveniebat, in ictu oculi deperiere: audacia namque agebat Brittones in hostem; fortitudo vero hostis agebat imprudentiam eorum in confusionem. Duce igitur et populo perempto vel fugato, victoria potiti sunt Port, de quo dicta est Portesmudam, et duo filii ejus. Chr. E

A.D. 508. Battle at Cerdicesford, in which the British king, Natanleod, is defeated by Cerdic.

§ 13. Bellum scripturus sum quod Nazaleod, rex maximus Brittannorum, egit contra Certic et Cinric filium ejus sexagesimo anno adventus Anglorum. Nazaleod vero magni nominis erat et magnæ superbiæ, a quo regio illa dicta est Nazaleoi, quæ modo[a] dicitur Certichesforde. Congregata igitur omni multitudine Brittanniæ, auxilium petierat in supremis negotiis Certic et filius ejus ab Esc rege Cantuariorum et ab Aella magno rege Sudsexorum et a Port et filiis ejus qui nuper venerant; et duas acies bello statuerunt; unam regebat Certic, aliam vero Cinric filius ejus. Certic regebat cornu dextrum, Cinric vero sinistrum. Inito ergo prœlio, rex Nazaleod dextrum cornu videns præstantius, irruit ipse et omnes vires ejus, ut illud quod fortissimum erat prius prosterneretur: prostratis ergo vexillis et acie perforata, Certic in fugam versus est, et facta est strages maxima aciei ejus in momento. Videns autem sinistrum cornu ductum a filio, quod dextrum cornu patris sui destructum esset, irruit in terga persequentium, et aggravata est pugna vehementer, et cecidit rex Nazaleod, et versi sunt sui Chr. E.

[a] *quæ modo*] This is a good specimen of our author's carelessness. The chronicle which he was following says *oð Cerdicesford*, "as far "as Cerdicesford."

in fugam, et interfecti sunt ex eis quinque millia: cæteris vero celeritas fuit subsidium. Saxones igitur prærogativa victoriæ potiti sunt, et quies data est eis annis non multis: adveneruntque eis adjutores fortes et multi.

Chr. E. § 14. Sexto namque anno post bellum prædictum, venerunt nepotes Certic, Stuf et Witgar, cum tribus navibus apud Certicesore. Primo autem mane duces Brittannorum acies in eos secundum belli leges pulcherrime construxerunt; cumque pars eorum in montibus, pars eorum in valle progrederetur caute et excogitate, apparuit sol oriens, offenderuntque radii clipeis deauratis, et resplenduerunt colles ab eis, aerque finitimus clarius refulsit, timueruntque Saxones timore magno et appropinquaverunt ad prœlium. Dum autem colliderentur exercitus fortissimi, fortitudo Brittannorum dissipata est, quia Deus spreverat illos, et facta est victoria patens, et adquisierunt duces prædicti regiones non paucas, et per eos fortitudo Certici terribilis facta est, pertransiit[1] que terram in fortitudine gravi.

A.D. 514. The nephews of Cerdic, Stuf and Wihtgar, defeat the Britons.

Bed. ii. 5. § 15. Circa hoc tempus obiit Aella rex Australium Saxonum, qui omnia jura regni Anglorum, reges scili-

Death of Ella.

Chr. E. a. 827. cet et proceres et tribunos in ditione sua tenebat. Regnavitque post eum Cissa filius ejus, progeniesque eorum post eos: at in processu temporum valde minorati sunt, donec in aliorum jura regum transierunt.

Decline of the kingdom of Sussex.

Chr. E. § 16. Regnum Westsexe incipit anno adventus Anglorum LXXI., anno ab Incarnatione Domini D.XIX.; tempore Justini qui vocatur Senior, qui imperavit VIII. annis: quod scilicet regnum cætera omnia sibi processu temporum subjugavit, et monarchiam totius Brittanniæ obtinuit. Quam ob causam omnium aliorum tempora regnorum ad hos reges applicare libet, ut sicut horum potentia crevit, ita tempora regnorum per eos dinoscantur.

A.D. 519. Commencement of the kingdom of Wessex.

§ 17. Certic regnavit XVII. annis in Westsexe: inierant namque bellum fortissimi Britannorum contra eum

A.D. 519. Reigns of Cerdic and Kinric (?).

[1] *pertransit*, M. H. B.

apud Certicesford in eodem anno; perstiteruntque duces eorum magnanimiter et proterve ex utraque parte, donec, declinante jam die ad vesperum, Saxones victoriam obtinuerunt; et facta est plaga magna in die illa super incolas Albion: atrocior vero multo fuisset, nisi sol occidens prohiberet. Ampliatum est autem nomen Certici, et divulgata est fama bellorum ejus et Kinrici filii sui per universam terram. Ab Chr. E. illa quippe die incepit regnum West-Sexorum, quod usque ad nostra tempora, cæteris regnis omnibus sibi vindicatis, durat. Certic et Kinric filius ejus, anno
A.D. 527. nono regni ejus, pugnaverunt iterum contra Britannos apud Certicesford, et facta est strages magna ex utra- Chr. E.
Many Teutons come over and settle in East Anglia and Mercia. que parte. Ea tempestate venerunt multi et sæpe de Germania, et occupaverunt Eastangle et Merce: sed necdum sub uno rege redacta erant. Plures autem proceres certatim regiones occupabant, unde inumerabilia bella fiebant: proceres vero, quia multi erant, nomine carent.

Arthur gains twelve victories over the Saxons. § 18. Arthurus belliger, illis temporibus dux militum Nennius, 63, 64. et regum Britanniæ, contra illos invictissime pugnabat: duodecies dux belli fuit, duodecies victor bellatorum.[1] Primum bellum contra eos iniit juxta ostium fluminis quod dicitur Glenus[2]: at secundum, tertium, quartumque ac quintum bellum super alium amnem qui nominatur Britannice "Duglas,"[3] qui est in regione Iniis: sextum bellum super flumen quod vocatur Bassas; septimum Galfr. Mon. ix. 1. vero contra illos iniit bellum in silva Chelidonis, quæ Nennius, 64. Britannice "Cat coit Celidon" nominatur: octavum contra barbaros egit bellum juxta castellum Guinnion; in quo idem Arthurus imaginem S. Mariæ Dei Genetricis semperque Virginis super humeros suos portavit, et tota illa die Saxones per virtutem Domini nostri Jesu Christi et S. Mariæ matris ejus in fugam versi sunt, sunt, et multi ex illis magna cæde perierunt: nonum egit bellum in urbe Leogis, quæ Britannice "Kaer-

[1] *bellorum*, A².
[2] *Glemiz*, A.; *Glenn*, A².
[3] *Dulgas*, A.; *Dulglas*, A².

" lion " dicitur: decimum vero gessit bellum in littore fluminis quod nos vocamus Tracteheuroit: undecimum in monte qui nominatur Breuoin, ubi illos in fugam vertit, quem nos Cathbregion appellamus: duodecimum
Cf. Galfr. Mon. ix. 4. contra Saxones durissime Arthur bellum in monte Badonis perpetravit, in quo corruerunt impetu illius una die CCCC.XL. viri, nullo sibi Britonum in adjutorium adhærente, ipsum solum Domino confortante. Hæc autem bella et loca bellorum narrat [1] Gildas[a] historiographus. Quæ tamen omnia loca nostræ ætati incognita sunt; quod providentia Dei factum esse putamus, ad despectum popularis auræ, laudis adulatoriæ, famæ transitoriæ. Interim tamen ubique multa bella fiebant, in quibus quandoque Saxones, quandoque Brittones victores erant: quanto magis autem plures Saxonum prosternebantur, tanto plures in auxiliüm eorum veniebant, ab omnibus circumjacentibus terris invitati.

§ 19. Regnum Estsexe, id est, Orientalium Saxonum incipit: quod primus, ut putatur, tenuit Erchenwin,[b] secundum quod ex veterum scriptis conjicere possumus; qui fuit filius Offæ, filii Biedcan, filii Sigewlf, filii Spoewe, filii Gesac, filii Andesc, filii Saxnat. Post Erchenwin vero regnavit Slede filius ejus, qui ducens filiam Ermenrici regis Cantuariorum, sororem scilicet

Commencement of the kingdom of Essex.

Flor. Wig. Geneal.]

Chr. E., a. 604.

[1] *quidam*, A. C. C[2]. C[3]. S.; *Gildas*, S[2].

[a] *Gildas*] Henry does not appear to have seen any MS. of the *Historia Britonum* which ascribed the authorship to Nennius. Among the thirty or more MSS. still extant, only two or three, and those dating only from the twelfth century, contain the prologues which name Nennius as the author. Being ignorant, therefore, of the real name of the writer whom he was following, Henry seems to have used the term " Gildas " as a general name for a Welsh chronicler, on account of the fame which hung round the memory of Gildas the Wise, author of the *De Excidio Britanniæ*. Similarly the fame of Marianus Scotus caused his name to be attached to compilations with which he had nothing whatever to do. See Introd., § .

[b] *Erchenwin*] Æscwine, according to Florence; grandfather of the Saberct, nephew of Ethelbert of Kent, whom Bede mentions, (H. E. ii. 3).

Ethelberti, genuit ex ea Siberctum,[1] qui primus regum Estsexe conversus est ad fidem. Bed. ii. 3.

A.D. 530. Cerdic and Kinric overrun the Isle of Wight, and give it to Stuf and Wihtgar.

§ 20. Certic namque et Kinric filius ejus, congregatis ingentibus copiis, apud Witland prœliati sunt, bellogue devicto, insulam ceperunt, et innumerabilem stragem hostium fecerunt apud Witgaresburcg,[2] XIII. anno regni sui. Eandem autem insulam, quæ scilicet Latine dicitur "Vecta," dederunt quarto post hunc anno duobus nepotibus suis Stuf et Witgar. Chr. E. Chr. E.

A.D. 534.

A.D. 534. Death of Cerdic.

Certic primus rex Westsexe cum regnasset XVIII. annis mortuus est, et Kinric filius ejus regnavit post eum XXVI. annis, tempore Vigilii papæ.

A.D. 538. Kinrici anno v. obscuratus est sol a mane usque ad Chr. E.

A.D. 540. tertiam, mense Martio. Septimo vero anno regni ejus Chr. E. obscuratus est sol a tertia pene usque ad nonam, ita

A.D. 544. ut stellæ apparerent, XII. Kal. Julii. Decimo autem anno regni ejus obiit Witgar, et sepultus est apud Witgaresbrig, quæ sic ab eo vocatur.

A.D. 547. Commencement of the kingdom of Northumbria, under Ida.

§ 21. Regnum Nordhumbrorum incipit [XIII. anno Chr. E. regni Kinrici. Cum enim proceres Anglorum multis et Nennius, 65, 66. magnis prœliis patriam illam sibi subjugassent, Idam quendam[3] juvenem nobilissimum sibi regem constituerunt, qui fuit filius Eoppe, filii Ese, filii Inguim, filii Chr. C. vel G. Angenwit, filii Aloc, filii Beonoc, filii Brand, filii Bældæt, filii Woden, filii Fredelaf, filii Fredewlf, filii Fin, filii Godwlf, filii Geatæ.[4] Hic igitur regnavit XII. annis fortissime, semper armatus et laboriosus: construxit autem Chr. E. Bebanburgh et circundedit eam prius sepe, postea muro.

Bamborough the royal city.

A.D. 547. Regnum hoc incepit anno gratiæ D.XLVII.

A.D. 552. Warfare carried on by Kinric against the Britons.

§ 22. Kinric rex anno XVIII. regni sui pugnavit Chr. E. contra Britannos, qui venerant cum maximo exercitu usque ad Salesbirig. Ille autem, undique congregatis auxiliis, occurrit eis invictissime, ingentibusque copiis fusis, utrinque dispersit eos et in fugam convertit.

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[1] *Sibrictum*, Sav.
[2] *Witgaresbrige*, G.
[3] Om. Sav.
[4] A.; *Heatæ*, Sav.

Chr. E. Kinric XXII. anno regni sui, et Ceaulin[1] filius ejus, pugnarunt iterum contra Britannos. Sic autem pugnatum est: Britanni quasi vindicaturi confusionem belli quam circa quinquennium pertulerant, congregatis viris bellicosis, armis et numero munitis, acies ordinaverunt apud Beranburi; cumque statuissent novem acies, qui numerus bello est aptissimus, tribus scilicet in fronte locatis, et tribus in medio, et tribus in fine, ducibusque in ipsis aciebus convenienter institutis, virisque sagittariis et telorum jaculatoribus equitibusque jure Romanorum dispositis, Saxones in eos, omnes in una acie conglomerati, audacissime irruerunt, vexillisque collisis et dejectis, fractisve lanceis, gladiis rem egerunt; donec advesperascente die victoria in dubio remansit. Nec hoc mirum videri debet, cum illi maximæ staturæ et vigoris et audaciæ fuerint, quamvis nostri temporis exercitus in ipsa prima collisione statim alteruter in fugam convertatur; viris scilicet modo parvæ staturæ et vigoris et audaciæ existentibus,

A.D. 556. Battle at Barbury.

Chr. E. Kinric cum regnasset XXVI. annis mortuus est; et Ceaulin filius ejus regnavit pro eo XXX. annis. Similiter eodem anno obiit Ida rex Nordhumbræ, et Ella Chr. C. vel G. post eum regnavit XXX. annis; quamvis iste non fuisset filius Idæ, sed filius Iffæ, filii Uscfrea, filii Witgils, filii Westrefalcna, filii Sefugil, filii Seabald, filii Sigegeat, filii Wepdeg, filii Woden, filii Fredealaf.

A.D. 560 Death of Kinric, and of Ida.

Chr. E. § 23. Ceaulino VI. anno regnante super Westsexe, cœpit Ædelbert[a] rex magnus regnare super Kent, Bed. ii. 5. tempore Justini imperatoris: qui tertius quidem in regibus gentis Anglorum cunctis australibus eorum provinciis, quæ Humbræ fluvio et contiguis ei terminis sequestrantur a borealibus, imperavit. Nam primus imperium hujusmodi tenuit Aella rex Australium Saxonum: secundus Ceaulin rex Occidentalium Saxonum: tertius, ut diximus Æthelbert rex Cantuariorum: quartus Reduuald rex Orientalium Anglorum, qui etiam vivente Æthelberto eidem suæ genti ducatum præbebat:

A.D. 565 Reigns of Ceaulin in in Wessex, and Ethelbert in Kent.

List of the Bretwaldas.

[1] *Cheuling*, A.

[a] *Ædelbert*] The reign of Ethelbert, according to Beda (ii. 5), began in 560.

quintus Edwine rex Northumbrorum gentis majore potentia cunctis qui Brittanniam incolunt, Anglorum pariter et Brittonum populis præfuit, præter Cantuariis tantum; nec non et Mevanias Brittonum insulas, quæ inter Hiberniam et Brittanniam sitæ sunt, Anglorum subjecit imperio: sextus Oswald rex Nordhumbræ sanctissimus eisdem finibus regnum tenuit: septimus Oswius frater ejus, æqualibus pene terminis regnum nonnullo tempore coercens, Pictorum quoque atque Scottorum gentes, quæ septentrionales Brittanniæ fines tenent, maxima ex parte perdomuit ac tributarias fecit: octavus Egbert[1] rex Westsexe, qui usque ad Humbram imperavit: nonus nepos ejus Alfredus, qui omnes partes regni in ditione sua suscepit: decimus Edgar nepos nepotis Alfredi, rex fortis et pacificus, qui et Anglos et Scottos vel in dominio vel prorsus ad libitum suum habuit; et hæredes ejus post eum usque ad hanc diem. Regis autem Æthelberti tempore conversi sunt Anglici ad fidem: unde diligenter in sequentibus[a] tractabitur. Chr. E. a. 827.

A.D. 568. Battle at Wimbledon; Ethelbert defeated by Ceaulin.

§ 24. Ceaulin nono anno regni ejus, et Cutha[2] frater ejus, viri audacissimi, causis variis compellentibus, pugnaverunt contra Aedelbert, qui in regnum eorum viribus superbis introierat. Ingressi vero prœlium apud Wipandune, duos consules ejus, scilicet Oslaf et Cneban, et innumeram multitudinem cum eis, bello fulminantes, ceciderunt, regemque Aedelbert usque ad Kent fugaverunt. Istud est primum bellum quod inter se reges Anglorum gesserunt. Chr. E.

A.D. 571. Successes of Cutha, Ceawlin's brother.

Ceaulini anno XII. pugnavit Cutha frater ejus cum Brittannis apud Bedeanfordam, quæ modo dicitur Bedeforda, et est modo caput provinciæ circumjacentis: pugnavit igitur et vicit, cepitque armorum effectu IIII. castra munita, scilicet Lienberig,[5] et Aelesbury, et Benesintune, et Aegnesham: sed Cutha, vir magnus, frater regis, eodem anno obiit. Chr. E.

Commencement of the kingdom of East Anglia.

§ 25. Regnum Estangle incipit; quod continet Nordfolc et Sudfolc. Hoc autem regnum primus tenuit

[1] *Egbrith*, A.
[2] *Chuta*, Sav.
[3] C[3].; *Lienberis*, S.; *Lyemberig*, C[2].; *Lyenbirig*, S[2].

[a] *in sequentibus*] See Book III.

Bed. ii. 15. Uffa, a quo reges Orientalium Anglorum Uffingas appellant, quod postea Titilus[1] filius ejus tenuit, pater Reduualdi fortissimi regis Estangle.

Chr. E. Ceaulin et Cuthwine filius ejus, XVIII. anno regni ejus, pugnaverunt contra Britannos. Tres autem reges eorum, Commagil et Candidan et Farinmagil, acies in eos confertas et splendidas, prælii legibus distinxerunt, apud Deorham.[2] Bellatum est igitur robustissime; victoriam vero dedit hostibus suis Dominus omnipotens, abjecitque suos qui vane offenderant eum; et cecide-runt die illa tres reges Christianorum prædicti, reliqui autem in fugam versi sunt. Saxones vero horribiles eis facti, inter sequendum eos, tres urbes excellen-tissimas sibi ceperunt, Gloucestre, et Cirecestre, et Badecestre. A.D. 577. Victories of Ceawlin in Gloucester-shire.

Chr. E. Ceaulin vigesimo quinto anno regni sui, et Cuthwine, pugnaverunt cum Brittannis apud Fedhanlea.[3] Pugna-tum est autem perniciose ēt horribiliter utrinque: Cuthwine gravi multitudine oppressus, prostratus et occisus est. Victi sunt igitur Angli et fugæ dati: rex tamen Ceaulin, rursus reparato exercitu, cum fugam sui abjurassent, tandem prœlio victores vicit; persequens-que Brittannos, regiones multas et innumerabilia spolia cepit. A.D. 584. Battle at Fethan-lea (?).

§ 26. Regnum Merce incipit; quod Crida, ut ex scriptis conjicere possumus,[a] primus obtinuit. Nunc igitur inchoata sunt omnia regna Anglorum, quorum ætates et variationes, secundum quod in libris veterum Commence-ment of the kingdom of Mercia, under Crida

[1] A.; *Titulus*, C². C³. S.; *Titi-lus*, C. S².

[2] *Dehoram*, A. G.

[3] *Fedhalnea*, Sav.

[a] *conjicere possumus*] Chr. E. records the death of Crida in 593, and names Creoda (=Crida) as the grandfather of Penda, who began to reign in 626. As none of the predecessors of Crida are named in the Chronicle, except as consti-tuting links in Penda's pedigree, Henry appears to have assumed that he was the first king of Mer-cia, and the assumption has been adopted by all subsequent histo-rians. From the language of Flo-rence, however (M. H. B., 637), one would rather infer that there were several kings among the Mercians before Crida.

invenimus, ut distinctius poterimus designavimus; conferentes tamen ea ætati regum Westsex.

A.D. 590. Death of Ceawlin, and of Ælle. A.D. 588. A.D. 591. Battle at Wednesbury. A.D. 593. Death of Crida. A.D. 596.

§ 27. Ceaulin XXX, regni sui anno mortuus[a] est, et Ceolric regnavit post eum v. annis.[b] Simili modo Ella rex Nordhumbrorum eodem anno[c] obiit, et Edelric post eum regnavit v. annis. Tertio autem post hunc anno Brittanni et Saxones bellum constituerunt apud Wodnesbirue. Cum autem Brittones, more Romanorum, acies distincte admoverent, Saxones vero audacter et confuse irruerent, maximum prœlium factum est, concessitque Deus victoriam Brittannis. Saxones vero quanto in bellis præstantiores esse solebant, tanto in fuga segniores effecti, valde contriti sunt. Post hæc tempora Crida rex Merce periit, cui successit filius ejus Wipha. Circa hæc etiam tempora, post Edelric regnavit Edelfert, qui vocatur ferus, super Nordhumbre. His etiam temporibus occuparunt Longobardi Italiam; nec multo post Gregorius verbum Dei signavit in Angliam. Chr. E. Chr. E.

Celrico regnante super Westsexe, Edelfert super Nordhumbre, et Wippa super Merce, conversi sunt rex Æthelbertus Cantiæ et populus Kentensis ad fidem, ut in sequenti libro ostendemus. Post Wippam vero regnavit Cherlus,[d] qui non filius ejus, sed consanguineus fuit.

A.D. 597. And of Ceolric.

§ 28. Celric cum v. annis regnasset, vivendi finem fecit; post quem regnavit Ceolwlf super Westsex XIV. Chr. E.

[a] *mortuus*] Ceawlin was driven from his kingdom in 590; he died three years later.

[b] *v. annis*] All the MSS., except E., which has "vi." have this reading, and Henry agrees with them. But in the same sentence he adopts the reading of E., "Ceolric," in preference to that of all the others, "Ceol."

[c] *eodem anno*] An oversight. Ælle is said in the Chronicle to have died in 588.

[d] *Cherlus*] The "Cearlus rex "Merciorum" of Beda, ii. 14. But if Florence be right in calling Quenburga (M. H. B. 639) the daughter of *Creoda*, then,—since Beda calls her the daughter of Cearlus,—Creoda and Cearlus must be the same person. Attending merely to the notice in Beda, Henry inserts Cearl between Wybba and Penda, without thinking how improbable it was that a son so vigorous as Penda, who was born as far back as 576, would, on his father's death, allow his cousin to supplant him in the kingdom.

annis; et cunctis diebus regni sui pugnabat vel contra Anglos, vel contra Scottos, vel contra Pictos. Ceolwlf
Chr.C.vel.G. fuit filius Cutha, Cutha filius Kinric filii Certic.

Bed. i. 34. Ceolwlfi regis igitur anno VII., Phocatis imperatoris anno primo, qui VIII. annis imperavit Romæ, Edelfert rex ferus Nordhumbrorum, fortis et gloriæ cupidus, plus omnibus Anglorum regibus gentem vastabat Brittonum. Nemo in tribunis, nemo in regibus plures eorum terras, exterminatis vel subjugatis indigenis, aut tributarias genti Anglorum, aut habitabiles fecit. Cui merito poterat illud . . . . . aptari; "Benjamin lupus rapax, mane comedet prædam, et "vespere dividet spolia." Unde motus ejus profectibus Ædan, rex Scottorum qui Brittanniam inhabitant, venit contra eum cum immenso ac forti exercitu; sed cum paucis victus aufugit. Siquidem in loco celeberrimo, qui dicitur Degsastan, ... omnis pene ejus est cæsus exercitus. In qua etiam pugna Tedbald, frater Edelfridi, cum omni illo quem ipse ducebat exercitu, peremptus est: neque ex eo tempore quisquam regum Scottorum . . . . . adversus gentem Anglorum . . . . in prœlium venire ausus est.

A.D. 603. Great victory gained by Ethelfrid, king of Northumbria, over the Scots at Degsastan.

Gen. xlix. 27.

Chr. E. Ceolwlfi vero regis anno nono, pugnavit prædictus rex Edelfert contra Brittannos, victor apud Kaerlegion: de quo bello, bellorum maximo, in libro conversionis
Cf. Lib. III. § 16. Anglorum, qui hunc sequitur, dicendum est.

A.D. 605. Another gained by the same over the Britons at Chester.

Ceolwlfus vero inter multa bella contra multos facta, quæ causa brevitatis prætermissa sunt, pugnam maximam habuit contra Sudsexas; in qua uterque exercitus ineffabiliter contritus est. Clades tamen detestabilior contigit Sudsexis.

A.D. 607.

Chr. E. § 29. Ceolwlf cum regnasset XIV. annis, homo esse desiit. Kinegils vero regnavit post eum XXXI. annis super Westsexe, tempore Heraclii imperatoris, qui imperavit XXVI. annis. Kinegils fuit filius Ceola,[a] filii
Chr.C.vel G. Cutha, filii Kinric, filii Certic. Quarto autem regni sui anno, assumpsit secum filium[1] suum Kichelmum in regnum, et inierunt bellum contra Brittannos apud

A.D. 611. Death of Ceolwulf.

A.D. 614. Battle at Bampton;

[1] A.; *fratrem*, Sav.

[a] *Ceola*] The Ceolric or Ceolwulf of the Sax. Chron., a. 591 and 607. So we find Saba used for Saberct (Bed. ii. 5).

Beandune. Ordinatis igitur manipulis et cuneis et aciebus, cum eis, lege rata, centuriones et consules et duces utrinque præessent, bellum inceptum est. Cum igitur obviarent sibi acies terribiliter et pulcherrime, vexillis inclinatis, in ipsa prima collisione invasit horror Brittannos, timentesque aciem securium maximarum splendentium et framearum magnæ longitudinis, fuga in principio, sero tamen, potiti sunt. Saxones igitur, sine detrimento sui victores, numeravere mortuos Brittannorum, et inventi sunt mortui duo millia et sexaginta duo.

defeat of the Britons.

§ 30. Kinegils vero cum sex annis regnasset, mortuus est Ethelbert rex Kentensis: cui successit Ædbold filius ejus. Sequenti quoque anno Edelfridus rex Nordhumbrorum et Redwaldus rex Estangle obviaverunt sibi, provocati utrinque, cum exercitibus copiosis. Pugnatum est igitur in finibus Merciorum, ad orientalem plagam amnis qui vocatur Idle; unde dicitur; "Amnis Idle Anglorum sanguine sorduit." Edelfridus rex ferus, dedignans et mirans quod aliquis ei auderet resistere, cum militibus electis et bello assuetis, audacissime quidem sed inordinate, irruit in hostem, quamvis acies Redwaldi eleganter ordinatæ terribiles essent aspectu. Nam hirsutæ galeis et hastis, et innumeris decoræ vexillis, terno procedebant ordine, multoque majores erant numero quam hostes. Rex tamen Nordhumbrorum, quasi præda inventa, subito proruens in cuneos conglomeratos, Rainerum filium regis cum tota acie sua gladiis prostravit, et ad inferos ante se misit. Redwaldus autem tanta clade non perterritus sed iracundior, invincibiliter cum duabus aciebus perstitit. Cumque impenetrabiles essent Nordhumbris, Edelfridus findens cuneos ultra posse suum, longe a suis super magnam stragem hostium prostratus est. Fugit igitur, rege adempto, totus ejus exercitus. Huic ergo in regnum successit Edwinus, qui postea factus est Christianus. Tanta autem pax

A.D. 616. Death of Ethelbert, king of Kent. A.D. 617.

Chr. E.

Battle on the Idle; Ethelfrid defeated and slain.

Bed. ii. 12.

Bed. ii. 16. erat in Brittannia tempore regis Edwini, ubicunque imperium ejus attingebat, ut mulier cum nato parvulo a mari ad mare secura gradi posset. Rex autem ad lucidos fontes juxta vias, ob refrigerium viantium, erectis stipitibus, æreos caucos suspenderat, quos nullus vel magni tudine timoris auderet, vel amoris vellet, attingere. Ubique autem ante regem vexilla gestabantur; necnon . . . . . per plateas illud genus vexilli, quod Romani "Tuffam" vocant, Angli vero[1] "Tuf" appellant, ante eum ubilibet ferri solebat. Eadwine's peaceful reign.

Chr. E. § 31. Kinegils, cum regnasset sexdecim annis, et Kichelmus, pugnantes contra Edwinum regem prædictum, quem prius morti proditione paraverant tradere, jure victi[2] sunt, ut post dicetur. Eodem anno Penda Strenuus cœpit regnare super Merce: regnavit autem A.D. 626. Penda begins to reign in Mercia,

Chr. C. vel G. triginta annis. Penda autem fuit filius Wibba, filii Crida, filii Cinewald, filii Cnibba, filii Icil, filii Eomer,[3] filii Angeltheau, filii Offa, filii Weremund, filii Witlac,

Bed. ii. 5. filii Woden. Eodem anno[a] obiit Sebertus rex Estsexe, cui duo filii ejus successerunt in regnum; nec longe post pugnaverunt contra Kinegels et Kichelm; audacter quidem cum paucioribus contra plures, sed infeliciter: uterque enim juvenis acie gladii corruit, et ex toto eorum exercitu vix aliquis fugam capessere potuit, obstantibus cadaverum suorum montibus et

Bed. iii. 22. sanguinis torrentibus. Quibus successit Sigebertus cognomine Parvus, cui postea Sigebertus, vir sanctus et virtutibus plenus, quem sui proditione occiderunt.

Chr. E. Kinegils et Kichelm, tertio anno post hunc, pugnaverunt contra Pendam apud Cirancestre, congregata utrinque multitudine gravi. Cumque uterque exercitus, fuga abjurata, invincibiliter persisterent, solis occidentis gratia dirempti sunt. Mane autem cum se A.D. 628. Battle at Cirencester.

[1] A.; deest, Sav.
[2] A.; *necati*, Sav.
[3] C. C². S².; *Comer*, S., Sav., M. H. B.

[a] *eodem anno*] The exact date of the death of Sebert is unknown; but it could not have been in 626; it must have happened some time between the death of Ethelbert in 616, and the translation of Mellitus to Canterbury in 619. See Beda, ii. 5.

utrosque in perniciem redigendos, si applicarentur, viderent, moderatis utrinque impetitionibus concordati sunt.

A.D. 633. Kinegils cum regnasset viginti tribus annis, occisus Chr E.
Eadwine slain at Heathfield. est rex Edwine per Pendam Strenuum, quæ res in
A.D. 634. libro sequenti digne et prolixe tractabitur. Anno vero Chr. E.
sequente Oswald rex sanctus adeptus est regnum
A.D. 635. Nordhumbrorum, et regnavit novem annis. Anno hunc Chr. E.
sequente conversus est Kinegils ad fidem. Anno etiam Chr. E.
proximo baptizatus est Kichelm, regnans cum Kinegils
A.D. 632. fratre suo, qui obiit eodem anno. Diebus in iisdem
conversus est Earpwald [1] rex Est-Anglorum filius Redwaldi regis ad fidem rectam; et eo mox occiso [a] per
A.D. 636. Pendam Strenuum, conversus est Sigbert frater et successor suus per Felicem episcopum, et tota gens Ori- Chr. E.
entalium Anglorum cum eo. Quarto post hunc anno
A.D. 639. obiit Eadbald rex Kent, qui regnavit viginti tribus
Kings of Kent. annis. Post quem regnavit filius suus Ercombert [2] Chr. E.
XXVI. annis; tempore Eraclonas imperatoris, qui imperavit duobus annis.

Death of Cynegils. § 32. Kinegils cum regnasset XXXI. annis vita caruit; tempore Constantini imperatoris, qui imperaverat
XXXIII. annis, filius scilicet Constantini prioris, qui
A.D. 641. regnaverat dimidio anno. Successit autem Kinegilso Chr. E.
filius ejus Cenwalh, et regnavit uno et triginta annis super Westsexe, sicut et pater ejus fecerat. Eodem anno
And of Oswald. occisus est rex sanctus Oswald,[b] sicut in consequenti Chr. E.
libro dicetur; et post eum regnavit Oswi frater ejus, viginti octo annis.

A.D. 645. Cenwalh quinto anno regni sui invasus est a rege Chr. E.
Penda, quia sororem ejus dimiserat: sed non potuit ei (sub anno 658).

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[1] A.; *Carpwald*, Sav.

[2] *Erchenbriht*, A.

[a] *occiso*] Earpwald was not killed by Penda, but "a viro gentili, no-" mine Ricberecto." Cf. Bed. ii. 15.

[b] *Oswald*] Following Chr. E., Henry places the succession of Cenwalh and the death of Oswald (which Chr. A. dates in 643 and 642 respectively) in the same year, 641.

resistere ut pater ejus fecerat, sed prœlio victus, fugit ante faciem ejus, et fugatus est a regno suo. Post A.D. 648.
Chr. E. triennium vero, regno recuperato, dedit Cenwalh Ædredo[1] cognato suo et adjutori, ter mille villas
Bed. ii. 15. juxta Esesdune.[2] His temporibus successit Earpwaldo regi Est-Anglorum Sigebert frater ejus, Dei servus.
Bed. iii. 18. Qui nimirum Deo tantum adhæsit, ut, cognato suo Egrico regno commendato, monasterium intraret et tonsuram acciperet. Post multos annos autem coegerunt eum exire contra regem Pendam; ille tamen non nisi virgam in manu habebat in prœlio: occisus est igitur cum rege Egrice et totus eorum exercitus. Successit autem eis Anna filius Eni de regio genere, vir optimus et optimæ pater sobolis.

And of Sigebert, king of East Anglia.

Chr. E. § 33. Cenwalh cum regnasset tredecim annis, invasit A.D. 653.
Annam prædictum regem Est-Anglorum Penda Strenuus. Cui bene poterat aptari illud Lucani:

Phars. ii. 439.
"Totus in arma furens, nullas nisi sanguine fuso
"Gaudet habere vias."

Insurrexit igitur exercitui perituro regis Annæ, insurrexit et infrenduit,

Anna, the successor of Sigebert, slain by Penda.

"Ut lupus ad caulas injustæ prodigus iræ,
"Molle pecus, nec pro meritis, mactatque voratque;
"Ora fluunt sanie, latus undique sanguine manat,
"Perstat atrox nec abit donec simul omnia fundat,
"Sic super attonitos fertur rex Penda propinquos."

Devorati sunt igitur Anna rex et exercitus ejus ore gladii in momento, ita quod vix aliquis superfuit ex iis. Successit autem Annæ frater ejus Edelhere. Quo
Flor. Wig. a. 654. mox occiso[a] a rege Penda, successit Adelwold in regno.[3]
Flor. Wig. a. 655. Prædato igitur regno, acies et vexilla in Nordhumbre direxit Penda Strenuus.

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[1] *Ældredo*, C[3].
[2] *Æscendune*, A.
[3] *Quo . . regno*] om. S[2].

[a] *occiso*] This is an oversight; comp. Bed. iii. 24. Edelhere was not slain by Penda, but on the contrary fought on his side at Winwidfeld.

A.D. 655. Penda falls at Winwidfield.

§ 34. Cenwalh cum regnasset quatuordecim annis, Chr. E. Penda, qui cæteros gladio perimebat, gladio peremptus est; secundum illud: "Qui gladio percusserit, gladio Matt. xxvi. 52. "peribit." Percussus vero est per Oswium regem apud amnem Winwed; unde dicitur,

"In Winwed amne vindicata est cædes Annæ,
"Cædes regum Sigbert et Ecgrice,
"Cædes regum Oswald et Edwine."

Successit ei filius ejus Peda, qui primus regum Merce Bed. iii. 21. baptizatus est; et gens regni Merce, quæ etiam vocatur Midelengle, id est, Mediterranea Anglia, cum eo et per
A.D. 656. eum ad fidem conversi sunt. Sed ipso post breve intervallum occiso, regnavit Wlfere frater ejus pro eo Chr. E. viginti annis, vir patriæ virtutis hæres. Eo etiam Bed. iii. 22. tempore baptizatus est rex Estsexe, id est, Orientalium Saxonum, nomine Sigbert, qui post Sigbertum, cognomento Parvum, provinciæ illius regnum tenuit.

A.D. 658. Battle at Penn; the Britons signally defeated.

§ 35. Cenwalh rex Occidentalium Saxonum XVII. Chr. E. anno regni ejus pugnavit contra Brittannos apud Pennum: scientes enim eum victum fuisse a Penda Strenuo, et a regno fugatum, minus aptum existimantes ad onus prœlii sustinendum, congregata multitudine gravi, cum superbia bellum inierunt. Prima quidem collisione Brittones Anglos aliquantulum repulerunt; cum autem Angli magis horrerent fugam quam mortem, et in repercutiendo persisterent, defatigati sunt Brittanni, et more nivis liquefacta est vis eorum. Dederunt ergo terga percutientibus, et fugati sunt a Pennum usque ad Pedredan; et facta est super progeniem Bruti plaga insanabilis in die illa.

A.D. 661. War between Mercia and Wessex.

Cenwalh vero XX. anno regni ejus, aliter pugnavit Chr. E. contra Wlfere regem Merce filium Pendæ. Rex namque Merce, patria virtute et fortuna usus, hosti Martis eventibus præstitit.[1] Cumque rex Westsexe campo

[1] *restitit*, A.

Martio expulsus fugam elegisset, pertransiit Wlfere terram hostilem in multitudine grandi, et insulam Wiht ultra positam debellavit, et obtinuit. Ejus autem industria conversus est rex Adeluuold rex Sudsexe primus ad fidem. Cui de lavacro suscepto dedit in signum adoptionis insulam Wiht; et ut eandem insulam ad fidem Christi converteret, misit illo Eppam presbyterum ad prædicandum: illa tamen necdum con-
Chr. E. verti potuit. Anno post hunc tertio sol obscuratus A.D. 664.
est, tertio die Maii: quod signum pestilentia gravissima tam in Brittannia quam in Hibernia persecuta est. Eo igitur anno Ercembert rex Kentensis, et Deusdedit archiepiscopus Kentensis uno et eodem die obierunt. Postea filius ejusdem prædicti regis Egbriht regnavit IX. annis super Cantuariam. Ipse igitur rex Egbriht
Chr. E. et rex Oswi miserunt Wihard presbyterum Romam ut A.D. 667. Pope Vitalian sends Theodore to England. A.D. 668.
fieret archiepiscopus. Sed eo ibidem defuncto, misit Vitalianus papa pro eo Theodorum archiepiscopum magnum, de cujus strenuitate in suo loco dicetur.

Chr. E. Cenwalh regis anno XXIX. obiit rex Oswi maximus A.D. 670. Death of Oswy.
Nordhumbre morbo confectus. Post quem Egferd filius ejus regnavit XV. annis.

§ 36. Cenwalh cum regnasset XXXI. annis mortuus A.D. 672. And of Cenwalh.
est. Post quem Sexburgh uxor ejus regnavit uno
Chr. E. anno: præcedenti autem anno fuit maxima pugna[a] A.D. 671.
volucrum in Anglia. Quod ut credibilius videatur, hoc etiam tempore nostro contigit in Normannia regnante[1] rege Henrico, qui primus regum Angliæ sic vocatus est. Hoc autem determinatum est, quia sic aliquis alius futuro tempore forsitan vocabitur. Palam vero apud Rotomagum volucres pugnaverunt ita ut

[1] A.; deest in Sav.

[a] The Chronicles record under 671 "micle fuglawæl," a great murrain among the birds. Ethelwerd and Florence, understanding the passage rightly, speak, the one of "avium ruina," the other of "avium strages." The notion of a *battle* among the birds originated with our author.

millia volucrum occisa invenirentur, et extranei volucres fugam inisse viderentur. Quod signum scilicet fuit
A.D. 1119. prœlii, quod gestum est inter Henricum dominum Angliæ et Normanniæ, et Ludovicum filium Philippi regem Franciæ. Quo in prœlio rex fortis Henricus victor extitit, et Ludovicus victus aufugit.

A.D. 673. Sexburgh regnante, mortuus est Egbricht rex Can- Bed. iv. 5.
Theodore holds a council at Hertford. tuariæ; cui successit Lotarius in regnum. Tunc etiam tenuit Theodorus concilium apud Tedforde.[a] Lotarius autem filius[b] regis prædicti regnavit XII. annis.

A.D. 674. § 37. Escwine cœpit regnare super Westsexe; sed Chr. E.
A.D. 675. brevi regnum ejus, morte præripiente, duravit. Cujus regis anno secundo fuit pugna gravissima inter eum et Wlfere regem Mercensem. Rex vero Mercensis, patria et avita virtute usus, aliquantulum præstantior pugna fuit; uterque tamen exercitus terribiliter contritus est, et multa millia utrinque ad inferos demersa sunt. Operæ autem pretium est attendere quam viles sint actus hominum, quam vilia sint bella regum gloriosa, et gesta nobilia: cum enim reges prædicti tantam cladem genti suæ, causa pompæ et tumoris et inanis gloriæ ingessissent, alter eorum, scilicet Wlfere, eodem anno morbo periit, alter vero sequenti. Post hunc Edelred regnavit super Merce.

A.D. 676. § 38. Escwine cum duobus annis regnasset, vitæ
Death of Escwine. demptus est; et Cenwine regnavit super Westsexe novem annis. Eodem anno rex Edelred novus Merce insurrexit contra Lotarium regem Kentensem. Lotarius vero patriam et avitam virtutem formidans, divertit
Mercian expedition into Kent. se a conspectu ejus, nec obviam processit. Rex igitur Mercensis urbem Rovensem destruxit, provinciam Ken- Bed. iv. 12.
tensem transmeavit, prædam innumerabilem reduxit.

A.D. 678. Centwine regis anno tertio, cometa per tres menses Chr. E.
apparuit, et unoquoque mane velut sol resplenduit.
A.D. 671. Anno vero sequente Egferd rex Nordhumbre et Edelred

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[a] *Tedforde*] It should be Heortforde.

[b] *filius*] It should be "frater." See Beda and Florence.

Bed. iv. 21. rex Merce pugnaverunt gravissime juxta Trent. Et ibi occisus est Alfwine,[1] frater regis Egferdi, juvenis . . . . . utrique provinciæ multum amabilis. Nam et sororem ejus, quæ dicitur Ostrith, rex Edelred habebat uxorem. Cumque materies belli acrioris et inimicitiæ longioris inter reges populosque feroces videretur exorta, Theodorus Deo dilectus antistes, divino functus auxilio, salutifera exhortatione cœptum tanti periculi funditus extinguit incendium; adeo ut, pacatis alterutrum regibus ac populis, nullius anima hominis pro interfecto regis fratre, sed debita solummodo mulcta pecuniæ regi ultori daretur. Cujus fœdera pacis multo exinde tempore inter eosdem reges eorumque regna duraverunt. Eodem anno obiit Ædeldrida quæ fuerat uxor regis Egferdi, virgo tamen perpetua.

A war between Mercia and Northumbria stopped by the mediation of Theodore. A.D. 680. A.D. 679.

Chr. E. Centwine rex VII. anno regni sui congressus est Brittannos, eosque male resistentes, victoriosus et vehemens cæde et incendiis usque ad mare fugavit.

A.D. 682.

Bed. iv. 17. Circa hoc tempus tenuit Theodorus concilium apud Hatfeld.

A.D. 680.

Chr. E. § 39. Centwino rege defuncto, venit Cedwalla ad regnum; qui mox insulam Vectam captam converti fecit ad fidem ad quam ipse postea conversus est.

A.D. 685. Death of Centwine.

Omnes igitur reges Angliæ jam fideles effecti, et universæ regionum partes Christi lumine et gratia fruebantur.

Tractatum est, ut æstimamus, in confusione, de gestis Anglorum adhuc infidelium, in libro hoc, quem vocamus "De adventu Anglorum;" perduximusque seriatim ab ipsa invasione Brittanniæ quæ per Saxones facta est, usque dum singula regna suis regibus illustrata, et reges singuli fulgore fidei sunt irradiati. Nunc igitur cum liber hic, licet verbis brevis sit, gesta tamen multa eventus et bella contineat, termino donandus est. Scribendum namque attentius est in libro sequente, qui prædicatores, quorum hortatu, quibus miraculis, qua prædicatione, quos reges, quo ordine ad fidem Domini nostri converterint. Hæc autem bella

The subject of the conversion of the English to Christianity is reserved for the next book.

[1] A². ; *Alwine*, A. G.

Names of the emperors contemporary with the transactions described in this book.

gesta sunt tempore XIV. imperatorum, annis circiter CC.XVIII. Tempore Marciani, qui regnavit VII. annis; tempore Leonis, qui regnavit XVII. annis; tempore Zenonis, qui etiam regnavit XVII. annis; tempore Anastasii, qui regnavit XXVIII. annis; tempore Justini senioris, qui regnavit VIII. annis; tempore Justiniani majoris, qui regnavit XXXVIII. annis; tempore Justini junioris, qui regnavit XI. annis; tempore Tiberii, qui regnavit VII. annis; tempore Mauricii, qui regnavit XXI. annis; tempore Focatis, qui regnavit VIII. annis; tempore Heraclii, qui regnavit XXVI. annis; tempore Eraclonas, qui regnavit II. annis; tempore Constantini, qui regnavit dimidio anni; tempore Constantini filii sui, qui regnavit XXXVIII. annis.

§ 40. Nomina ergo omnium regum Angliæ, qui usque ad hunc terminum fuerunt, quia confuse dispersa sunt, si secundum regna singula brevissime recapitulem, non tædiosus, ut æstimo, sed apertior et lectori gratior existam.

Reges autem Centenses hi sunt ex ordine.

Kings of Kent.

Primus rex Hengist,[1] VIII. annis regnum sibi conquisivit, et postea XXXII. annis regnavit.[a] Esc filius ejus regnavit XXXIV. annis gloriose. Octa[2] circa XX. annos [3]obscure regnavit.' Irmiricus etiam circa XXV.[4] annos [5]similiter regnavit.' Aedelbertus filius Irmirici, primus Christianus, LVI.[6] annis splendidissime regnavit. Eadbaldus XXXIV. Erchembrictus XXXIV. Egbrictus IX. Nonus, Lotharius XII.

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[1] *xl. annis*, A.
[2] A[2].; *Otta*, Sav.
[3] ' desunt, A.
[4] *x.*, A.
[5] ' desunt, A.
[6] A.; *l.*, Sav.

[a] Henry's chronology is in hopeless confusion. See the section treating of the matter in the Introduction, § .

Reges vero Westsexe hi sunt ex ordine.

Kings of Wessex.

Primus Cerdic, [1] anno LXXI. ab adventu Anglorum,' regnavit XVII. annis. Kinric filius Cerdici regnavit XXVI. annis. Ceuling [2] filius Kinrici regnavit XXX. annis. Chelric filius Ceulingi regnavit V. annis. Chelwlf filius Cutha fratris Ceulingi regnavit XIV. annis. Kinigils filius Ceola, filii Cutha, regnavit XXXI. annis, et fidem primus suscepit. Cenwalh [3] filius Kinigilsi similiter regnavit XXXI. annis. Sexburh uxor Cenwalh regnavit uno anno. Escwine filius Cenwalh regnavit II. annis. Cenwine cognatus Escwini regnavit IX. annis.

Reges vero Estsexe hi sunt ex ordine.

Kings of Essex.

Primus Erchenwine; Slede; Sebert, primus suscepit fidem; Sigebertus, Sibertus, Swithelmus, Sebbi, Sigardus.

Reges etiam Nordhumbre hi sunt ex ordine.

Kings of Northumbria.

Primus Ida; Ælla; Edelfert; Edwinus, primus fidem suscepit; Oswaldus, Oswi, Egferd.

Reges vero Estangle hi sunt ex ordine.

Kings of East Anglia.

Primus Uffa; Titilus; Redwaldus; Erwaldus,[a] fidem primus suscepit; Sigebertus, Egricus, Anna, Adelhere, Adelwold, Aldulfus.

Reges quoque Merce hi sunt ex ordine.

Kings of Mercia.

Primus Crida; Wibba, Ceorlus, Penda; Peda, fidem primus suscepit; Wlfhere, Ædelred.

Reges itaque [4] *Sudsexe hi sunt ex ordine.*

Kings of Sussex.

Primus Ælle; Scisse. Cæteros penuria scriptorum vel fama obscura recondit, præter regem Adeluuold,

[1] ' desunt, A.
[2] *Cheuling*, A.
[3] *Chenwalh*, A.
[4] A.; deest, Sav.

[a] Erpwaldus, Earpwald. See Book III. § 30.

qui jure adhuc nomen habet, quia primus nomen Christi agnovit.

Et hæc quidem expliciunt. Vide igitur lector et perpende, quanta nomina quam cito ad nihilum devenerint. Attende quæso et stude, cum nihil hic duret, ut adquiras tibi regnum et substantiam illam quæ non deficiet; nomen illud et honorem qui non pertransibit; monimentum illud et claritatem quæ nullis sæculis veterascet. Hoc præmeditari summæ prudentiæ est, adquirere summæ calliditatis, adipisci summæ felicitatis.

Lib. III. De Conversione Anglorum.

Liber hic [a] conversionis Anglorum est, quæ per Gregorium papam hoc ordine facta est. Primus rex Kentensis Adelberth cum gente sua per Augustinum episcopum ad fidem conversus est. Secundus rex Estsexe Sibertus cum gente sua per Mellitum episcopum conversus est. Tertius rex Nordhumbre Edwinus cum gente sua per Paulinum episcopum conversus est. Quartus rex Estangle Sibertus cum gente sua per Felicem episcopum conversus est. Quintus Kinegils rex Westsexe cum gente sua per Birinum episcopum conversus est. Sextus rex Peada Merciorum cum gente sua per Finanum episcopum conversus est. Septimus rex Adewlf[1] Australium Saxonum per Wilfridum[2] episcopum conversus est. Quomodo autem conversi sunt[3] ordine[4] prosequamur.[5]

Incipit Liber Tertius de conversione Anglorum.

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[1] *Æthelwold*, C². ; *Ealwld*, F.
[2] F.; libri *Birinum* habent.
[3] *sint*, F.
[4] Om. C².
[5] *prosequemur*, C². F.

[a] The passage *Liber hic . . prosequamur*, which forms a kind of table of contents to the Third Book, —though it occurs in all the principal MSS.—was omitted in Savile's edition, and thrown into a note by Mr. Petrie.

Bed. i. 23. § 1. Anno gratiæ quingentesimo octogesimo ij° Mauritio imperante, quarto decimo anno imperii sui, qui quinquagesimus quartus ab Augusto imperavit, misit servus Dei Gregorius Augustinum et alios plures cum eo monachos predicaturos in Anglia, anno adventus Anglorum in Britannia circiter centesimo quinquagesimo. Qui jussis pontificalibus obtemperantes cum Angliam appropinquarent, horrore maximo nimirum percussi, redire domum potius quam . . . adeo feram . . . . gentem, cujus nec linguam nossent, adire, cogitabant. . . . . Nec mora, Augustinum, quem iis episcopum ordinandum si ab Anglis susciperentur disposuerat, domum remittunt, qui a beato Gregorio humili supplicatu obtineret, ne tam periculosam, tam laboriosam, tam incertam peregrinationem adire deberent. Quibus ille exhortatorias mittens literas, in opus eos verbi, divino confisos auxilio, proficisci suadet. Quarum videlicet literarum ista est forma :

A.D. 582. Pope Gregory sends Augustin and his companions to England. A.D. 595. Dismayed at the prospect before them, the missionaries ask leave to return. A.D. 596.

§ 2. "Gregorius servus servorum Dei, servis Domini nostri. "Quia melius fuerat bona non incipere quam ab his quæ "cœpta sunt cogitatione retrorsum redire, summo studio, dilec- "tissimi filii, oportet ut opus bonum, quod auxiliante Domino "cœpistis, impleatis. Nec labor vos ergo itineris, nec maledi- "corum hominum linguæ deterreant; sed omni instantia om- "nique fervore quæ inchoastis Deo auctore peragite; scientes "quod laborem magnum major æternæ retributionis gloria se- "quitur. Remeante autem Augustino præposito vestro, quem et "abbatem vobis constituimus, in omnibus humiliter obedite; "scientes hoc vestris animabus per omnia profuturum, quicquid "a vobis fuerit in ejus admonitione completum. Omnipotens "Deus sua gratia vos benedicat,[1] et vestri laboris fructum in "æterna me patria videre concedat; quatenus si vobiscum labo- "rare nequeo, simul in gaudio retributionis inveniar, quia labo- "rare scilicet volo. Deus vos incolumes custodiat, dilectissimi "filii. Data die decimo kalendarum Augustarum, imperante "domino nostro Mauricio Tiberio piissimo Augusto anno x°. "iiij. imperii ejusdem domini nostri, indictione x^a iiij^a."

The pope chides and encourages them.

Bed. i. 25. § 3. Roborati igitur beati patris . . . . confirmatione, Britanniam prædicatores perveniunt. Erat eodem tempore rex Edelbert in Cantia potentissimus, qui ad confinium usque Humbræ fluminis maximi, quo meridiani et septentrionales Anglorum populi dirimuntur, fines imperii tetenderat. Est autem ad orientalem Cantiæ plagam Tenatos, insula non modica, id est, magnitudinis juxta consuetudinem æstimationis Anglorum

Section 1. Conversion of Kent. Æthelberht was then king of Kent. Augustin lands in the isle of Thanet, A.D. 597.

[1] *protegat*, A². F.; A. *protegat* superscriptum habet.

A.D. 597. familiarum sexcentarum. Quam a continenti terra secernit fluvius Wantsamu, qui est latitudinis circiter trium stadiorum, et duobus tantum in locis transmeabilis; utrumque enim caput protendit in mare. In hac ergo applicuit servus Dei Augustinus et socii ejus viri, ut ferunt, ferme xl.; missisque interpretibus mandavit regi predicto sese venisse de Roma ac nuntium ferre optimum, qui sibi obtemperantibus æterna in cœlis gaudia et regnum sine fine cum Deo vivo et vero futurum sine ulla dubietate promitteret. Qui hæc audiens, manere illos in ea quam adierant insula, et eis necessaria ministrari, donec videret quid de illis[1] faceret, jussit. Nam et antea fama ad eum Christianæ religionis pervenerat, utpote qui et uxorem habebat Christianam de gente Francorum reginam vocabulo Birte, quam ea conditione a parentibus acceperat, ut ritum fidei ac religionis suæ, cum episcopo quem . . . adjutorem . . . . dederant, nomine Ludhardo, inviolatum servare licentiam haberet.[2]

Æthelberht, whose queen was a Christian, desires them to remain quiet for the present.

He comes to Thanet, and after hearing them, allows them full liberty to preach the gospel.

§ 4. Post dies vero venit ad insulam rex, et residens sub divo jussit Augustinum cum sociis ad suum ibidem advenire colloquium. Caverat enim ne in aliquam domum ad se introirent, vetere[3] usus augurio, ne superventu suo, siquid maleficæ artis habuissent, eum superando deciperent. At illi non dæmoniaca sed divina virtute prædíti veniebant, crucem pro vexillo ferentes argenteam, et imaginem Domini Salvatoris in tabulis[4] depictam; litaniasque canentes pro sua simul et eorum propter quos et ad quos venerant salute æterna Domino supplicabant. Cumque ad jussionem regis residentes, verbum ei vitæ una cum omnibus qui aderant ejus[5] comitibus prædicarent, respondit ille dicens: "Pulchra sunt quidem verba et "promissa quæ affertis; sed quia nova sunt et incerta non "his possum assensum tribuere, relictis eis quæ tanto tem-"pore cum omni Anglorum servavi gente. Verum quia de "longe huc peregrini venistis, et, ut ego mihi videor per-"spexisse, ea quæ vera vos et optima credebatis, nobis quoque "communicare desiderastis, nolumus molesti esse vobis; "quin potius benigno vos hospitio recipere curamus; et quæ "victui sunt necessaria vestro ministrare. Nec prohibemus "quin omnes quos potestis fidei vestræ religionis prædicando "societis." Dedit ergo eis mansionem in civitate Doroverni, quæ imperii sui totius erat metropolis; eisque, ut promiserat, cum administratione victus temporalis licentiam

[1] *eis*, Beda.
[2] C³. A². ; *habet*, A.
[3] *vetere*, C². ; *vere*, A.
[4] *tabula*, Beda.
[5] C³. A². A⁴. ; *eis*, A.

quoque prædicandi non abstulit. Fertur autem quia appropinquantes civitati more suo cum cruce sua et imagine magni regis Domini nostri Jhesu Cristi, hanc letaniam[1] consona voce modularentur: "Deprecamur te, Domine, in omni misericordia "tua, ut auferatur furor tuus et ira tua a civitate ista, et de "domo sancta tua, quoniam peccavimus; Alleluia." A.D. 597.

Bed. i. 26. § 5. Ingressi igitur urbem, vitam apostolicam primitivæ ecclesiæ imitantes, conversatione cælesti et dulcedine doctrinæ, multos ad fidem et baptismum compulerunt. Baptizabant autem missasque celebrabant in ecclesia Sancti Martini, ad orientem ipsius civitatis antiquitus a Britannis facta, in qua regina prædicta consueverat orare. At ubi rex inter alios, delectatus vita mundissima sanctorum et . . . . ostensione miraculorum, ... ad fidem conversus est, cœpere innumeri Christi Ecclesiæ uniri. Quos quidem arctius rex diligebat, nullum tamen ad fidem cogebat. Didicerat enim a suæ salutis . . . . auctoribus, servitium Christi voluntarium non coactum[2] esse debere. Locum vero sedis congruum possessionesque varias conferre non distulit. They come to Canterbury; their holy lives; Æthelberht converted, with many of his people.

Bed. i. 27. Pergens igitur vir Domini Augustinus Arelas, et ab archiepiscopo ejusdem civitatis Etherio[3] juxta præceptum papæ ordinatus archiepiscopus, ... reversus est Britanniam. Misitque . . . . Laurentium presbyterum Romam, per quem et res gestas summo pontifici mandavit, et gerenda ix. questionibus consuluit, contra quas papæ rescripta recepit. Quæ quia prolixa[4] sunt, in decretis vel canonibus lector quærat et inveniet.[a] Augustin is consecrated at Arles to the see of Canterbury.

Bed. i. 29. § 6. Misit . . . . papa Gregorius Augustino episcopo tunc temporis ab urbe Roma cooperatores ac verbi ministros plures, in quibus primi et præcipui erant, Mellitus, Justus, Paulinus, Ruffinianus. Misit et per eos . . . . vasa . . . . et indumenta, ... codices, et . . . . ornamenta ecclesiis necessaria. Misit etiam literas . . . . quarum . . . . iste est textus: A.D. 601. Other missioners sent from Rome.

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[1] A. A^2. A^4. C^3. F.; *litaniam*, Sav.

[2] *coactitium*, Beda.

[3] *Ætherio*, C^3. F.

[4] C^3. F.; *prolixe* (*i.e.* prolixæ), A. A^2. A^4.

[a] Possibly there is a reference here to the book containing the decrees of councils and other important documents which Henry designed to add to his history. See note *a*, § 47 of this book.

A.D. 601. Gregory's letter to Augustin.

" Reverentissimo et sanctissimo fratri Augustino coepiscopo " Gregorius servus servorum Dei. Cum certum sit pro omni- " potenti Deo laborantibus ineffabilia æterni regni præmia " reservari, nobis tamen eis necesse est honorum beneficia " tribuere, ut in spiritualis operis studio ex remuneratione

The pope grants him the pallium as bishop of London; contemplates the future erection of York into an independent province.

" valeant multiplicius insudare. Et quia nova Anglorum " ecclesia ad omnipotentis Dei gratiam eodem Domino largiente " et te laborante perducta est, usum tibi pallii in ea ad sola " missarum solennia agenda concedimus, ita ut per loca sin- " gula xij, episcopos ordines, qui tuæ subjaceant ditioni, " quatenus Londoniensis civitatis episcopus semper in poste- " rum a synodo propria debeat consecrari, atque honoris " pallium ab sancta et apostolica, cui Deo auctore deservio, " sede percipiat. Ad Eboracam vero civitatem te[1] volumus " episcopum mittere, quem ipse judicaveris ordinare; ita " duntaxat, ut si eadem civitas cum finitimis locis verbum " Dei receperit, ipse quoque xij. episcopos ordinet, et metro- " politani perfruatur honore; quia ei quoque, si vita comes " fuerit pallium tribuere Domino favente disponimus: quem " tamen tuæ fraternitatis volumus dispositioni subjacere. Post " obitum vero tuum ita episcopis quos ordinaverit præsit, ut " Londoniensis episcopi nullo modo subjaceat ditioni. Sit vero " inter Londoniæ et Eboracæ civitatis episcopos in posterum " honoris ista distinctio, ut ipse prior habeatur qui prius " fuerit ordinatus. Communi autem consilio et concordi " actione quæque sunt pro Christi zelo agenda, disponant " unanimiter, recte sentiant, et ea quæ senserint non sibimet " discrepando perficiant. Tua vero fraternitas non solum . . . " episcopos quos ordinaverit, neque hos tantummodo qui per " Eboracæ civitatis episcopum fuerint ordinati, sed etiam " omnes Britanniæ sacerdotes habeat Domino nostro Jhesu " Cristo subjectos; quatenus ex lingua et tuæ vitæ sanctitate[2] " et recte credendi et bene vivendi formam percipiant; atque " officium suum fide ac moribus exsequentes ad cœlestia, cum " Dominus voluerit, regna pertingant. Deus te incolumem " custodiat, reverentissime frater.

" Data die decimo kalendarum Juliarum, imperante domino " nostro Mauricio Tiberio piissimo Augusto anno septimo x°."

In a letter to Mellitus, the pope teaches him how to deal with the idolatry which

§ 7. Cum autem legatarii prædicti Britanniam pete- Bed. i. 30. rent, misit post eos apostolicus literas . . . , in quibus . . . . quam studiosus erga salutem gentis nostræ fuerit aperte demonstrat, ita scribens: " Dilectissimo filio Mellito

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[1] C[3]. ; om. *te*, A. A[2]. A[4]. F. | [2] *vita tuæ sanctitatis*, Beda.

" abbati Gregorius servus servorum Dei. Post discessionem[1] A.D. 601.
" congregationis nostræ quæ tecum [2] est valde sumus suspensi he found among the English.
" redditi, quia nihil de prosperitate vestri itineris audisse nos
" contigit. Cum ergo Dominus [3] omnipotens vos ad reve-
" rentissimum virum fratrem nostrum Augustinum episcopum
" perduxerit, dicite ei, quod diu mecum de causa Anglorum
" cogitans tractavi, videlicet quia fana idolorum destrui in
" eadem gente minime debeant; sed ipsa quæ in eis sunt idola
" destruantur; aqua benedicta fiat, et in eisdem fanis asperga-
" tur; altaria construantur; reliquiæ componantur.[4] Quia,[5] si
" fana eadem bene constructa sunt, necesse est ut a cultu dæ-
" monum in obsequium veri Dei debeant commutari; ut dum
" gens ipsa eadem fana sua non videt destrui, de corde erro-
" rem deponat, et Deum verum cognoscens et adorans, ad loca
" quæ consuevit familiarius currat.[6] Et quia boves solent in
" sacrificio dæmonum multos occidere, debet eis etiam hac de
" re aliqua solennitas immutari; et[7] die dedicationis vel in[8]
" natalitiis[9] sanctorum martyrum, quorum illic reliquiæ po-
" nuntur, tabernacula sibi circa easdem ecclesias quæ ex fanis
" commutatæ sunt, de ramis arborum faciant, et religiosis
" conviviis solempnitatem celebrent; nec diabolo jam animalia
" immolent, sed[10] ad laudem Dei in esu suo animalia occi-
" dant, et donatori omnium de satietate sua gratias referant;
" et[11] dum eis aliqua exterius gaudia reservantur, ad interna
" gaudia facilius consentire valeant. Nam duris mentibus
" omnia similiter abscidere[12] impossibile esse non dubium est,
" quia et is[13] qui summum locum ascendere nititur, gradibus
" vel passibus non autem saltibus elevatur. Sic Israelitico po-
" pulo in Egypto Dominus siquidem [a] innotuit; sed tamen eis
" sacrificiorum usus quæ diabolo solebat exhibere in cultu
" proprio reservavit, ut eis in suo sacrificio animalia immo-
" lare præciperet; quatenus cor mutantes aliud de sacrificio
" amitterent, aliud retinerent; ut etsi ipsa essent animalia quæ
" consueverant immolare, vero tamen Deo hæc et non idolis
" immolantes, jam sacrificia ipsa non essent. Hæc igitur di-
" lectionem tuam prædicto fratri necesse est dicere, ut ipse

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[1] *discessum*, Beda.
[2] C[3]. F.; *ret*, A.
[3] *Deus*, Beda.
[4] *ponantur*, Beda.
[5] C[3]. A[2]. F.; *qui*, A.
[6] *concurrat*, Beda.
[7] *ut*, Beda.
[8] A. F.; om. C[3]., Sav.
[9] *vel natalitii*, Beda.
[10] *et*, Beda.
[11] *ut*, Beda.
[12] *abscidere*, codd.; *abscindere*, Sav.
[13] A[2]. A[4].; *his*, A. C[3]. F.

[a] *se quidem*, Beda; but the reading in the text is right, according to the text of Gregory's Letters.

A.D. 601. " in præsenti illic positus perpendat, qualiter omnia debeat " dispensare. Deus te incolumem custodiat, dilectissime fili. " Data die quinto decimo kalendarum Juliarum, anno nono " decimo, post consulatum ejusdem domini nostri anno octavo " decimo, indictione quarta."

Letter to Augustin from the pope concerning his miracles.

§ 8. Augustino etiam super miraculis ejus misit epistolam, ne in eis extolleretur, his verbis. " Scio, frater ca- " rissime, quia omnipotens Deus per dilectionem tuam in gente " quam eligi[1] voluit miracula ostendit; unde necesse est[2] de " eodem dono celesti et timendo gaudeas, et gaudendo pertimes " cas, Gaudeas videlicet, quia Anglorum animæ per exteriora " miracula ad interiorem gratiam pertrahuntur; pertimescas " vero, ne inter signa quæ fiunt, infirmus animus præsumptione " se elevet, et unde foras in honorem tollitur, inde per inanem " gloriam intus cadat. Meminisse etenim debemus quia disci- " puli cum gaudio a prædicatione redeuntes, dum cælesti " magistro dicerent, Domine, in nomine tuo etiam dæmonia " nobis subjecta sunt, protinus audierunt, Nolite gaudere super " hoc, sed potius gaudete quia nomina vestra scripta sunt in " cœlis. In privata enim et temporali lætitia mentem posue- " rant qui de miraculis gaudebant; sed de privato ad commu- " nem, de temporali ad æternam lætitiam revocantur, quibus " dicitur, In hoc gaudete, quia nomina vestra scripta sunt in " cœlis. Non enim omnes electi miracula faciunt; sed tamen " eorum nomina in cœlo tenentur adscripta." Veritatis ete- " nim discipulis esse gaudium non debet, nisi de eo bono quod " commune cum omnibus habent, et in quo finem lætitiæ non " habent. Restat itaque, frater carissime, ut inter ea quæ " operante Domino exterius facis, semper te interius subtiliter " judices, ac subtiliter intelligas et semet ipsum quis sis, et " quanta sit in eadem gente gratia, pro cujus conversione " etiam faciendorum dona percepisti signorum. Et si quando " te Creatori nostro seu per linguam seu per opera remi- " nisceris deliquisse, semper hæc ad memoriam revoces, ut " surgentem cordis gloriam memoria reatus premat. Et quic- " quid de faciendis signis acceperis, vel accepisti, hæc non tibi " sed illis deputes donata, pro quorum tibi salute collata " sunt." Bed. i. 31.

Letter from the pope to Æthelberht, with presents.

§ 9. Adelberto quoque regi misit papa Gregorius epistolam, simul et dona in diversis speciebus . . . ., ut temporalibus donis extolleret, quem gratiæ cælestis muneribus consignaverat. " Domino gloriosissimo et præcellentissimo Bed. i. 32.

[1] C[3]. A[2].; *elegi*, A. F.

[2] A. A[2]. A[4].; *necesse est ut*, C[3]. F.

" filio Edelberto regi Anglorum, Gregorius episcopus. Propter A.D. 601.
" hoc omnipotens Deus bonos quosque ad populorum regimina
" perducit, ut per eos omnibus quibus prælati fuerint dona
" pietatis suæ impendat. Quod in Anglorum gente factum
" cognovimus; cui vestra gloria idcirco est præposita, ut per
" bona quæ vobis concessa sunt, etiam subjectæ vobis genti
" superna beneficia præstarentur. Et ideo, gloriose fili, eam
" quam accepisti divinitus gratiam, sollicita mente custodi,
" Cristianam fidem in populis tibi subditis extendere festina;
" zelum rectitudinis tuæ in eorum conversione multiplica;
" idolorum cultus insequere; fanorum ædificia everte; subdi-
" torum mores et magna vitæ munditia, exhortando, terrendo,
" blandiendo, corrigendo, et boni operis exemplo monstrando
" ædifica: ut illum retributorem invenias in cœlo, cujus
" nomen atque cognitionem dilataveris in terra. Ipse enim
" vestræ quoque gloriæ nomen etiam posteris gloriosum[1]
" reddet, cujus vos honorem quæritis et servatis in gentibus.
" Sic etenim Constantinus quondam piissimus imperator,
" Romanam rem-publicam a perversis idolorum cultibus revo-
" cans, omnipotenti Deo Domino nostro Jhesu Cristo secum
" subdidit; seque cum subjectis populis tota ad eum mente
" convertit. Unde factum est ut antiquorum principum nomen
" suis vir[2] laudibus vinceret; et tanto in opinione quanto et
" in bono opere superaret præcessores suos. Et nunc itaque
" vestra gloria cognitionem unius Dei, Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus
" Sancti, regibus ac populis sibimet subjectis festinet infundere,
" ut[3] et antiquos gentis suæ reges laudibus ac meritis transeat,
" et quanto in subjectis suis etiam aliena peccata deterserit,
" tanto etiam de peccatis propriis ante omnipotentis Dei
" terribile examen fiat securior. Reverentissimus frater noster
" Augustinus episcopus, in monasterii regula edoctus, sacræ
" scripturæ scientia repletus, bonis auctore Deo operibus
" præditus, quæque vos admonet, libenter[4] audite, devote
" peragite, studiose in memoria reservate; quia si vos eum
" in eo quod pro omnipotenti Deo[5] loquitur, audieritis,[6] isdem
" omnipotens Deus hunc pro vobis exorantem celerius exaudiet.[7]
" Si enim, quod absit, verba ejus postponitis, quando eum
" omnipotens Deus poterit audire pro vobis, quem vos negligitis
" audire pro Deo? Tota igitur mente cum eo vos in fervore
" fidei stringite, atque nisum illius virtute quam vobis divi-

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1 *gloriosius*, Beda.
2 *vir ille*, Beda.
3 *ut*, om. Beda.
4 *libenter*, om. Beda.
5 *Domino*, Beda.
6 *auditis*, Beda.
7 *exaudit*, Beda.

A.D. 601. " nitas tribuit, adjuvate, ut regni sui vos ipse faciat esse " participes, cujus vos fidem in regno vestro recipi facitis et " custodiri. Præterea scire gloriam vestram volumus, quia " sicut in scriptura sacra ex verbis Domini omnipotentis agnos- " cimus præsentis mundi terminus jam juxta est, et sanctorum " regnum venturum est, quod nullo unquam fine poterit " terminari. Appropinquante autem eodem mundi termino, " multa imminent, quæ ante non fuerunt: videlicet, immuta- " tiones aeris, terroresque de cœlo, et contra ordinationem " temporum, tempestates, bella, fames, pestilentiæ, terræ-motus " per loca; quæ tamen non omnia nostris diebus ventura " sunt, sed post nostros dies omnia subsequentur. Vos itaque, " si qua ex his evenire in terra vestra cognoscitis, nullo " modo vestrum animum perturbetis; quia idcirco hæc signa " de fine sæculi præmittuntur, ut de animabus nostris debeamus " esse solliciti, de mortis hora suspecti, ut[1] venturo judicio in " bonis actibus inveniamur esse præparati. Hæc nunc, glo- " riose fili, paucis locutus sum, ut cum Cristiana fides in " regno vestro excreverit, nostra quoque apud vos latior locutio " excrescat, et tanto plus loqui libeat, quanto se in mente " nostra gaudia de gentis vestræ perfecta conversione multipli- " cant. Parva xenia[2] transmisi,[3] quæ vobis parva non erunt, " cum a vobis ex beati Petri apostoli benedictione fuerint " suscepta. Omnipotens itaque Deus in vobis gratiam suam " quam cœpit, perficiat, atque vitam vestram et hic per mul- " torum annorum curricula extendat, et post longa tempora " in cælestis vos patriæ congregatione suscipiat.[4] Incolumem " excellentiam vestram gratia superna custodiat . . . ."

Data die decimo kalendas Julii, imperante domino nostro Mauricio Tiberio piissimo Augusto, anno xix,[5] post consulatum ejusdem domini anno x°viii°, indictione quarta.

Church-building at Canterbury. § 10. Augustinus autem in regia civitate ecclesiam quam Romani fideles olim construxerant in sedem sibi et successoribus ejus sacravit in honorem Salvatoris. Rex vero ecclesiam . . . . Petri et Pauli ad orientem civitatis construxit et . . . . ditavit, in qua archiepiscoporum et regum Cantiæ poni corpora possent. Cujus primus abbas Petrus presbyter fuit, qui legatus Galliam missus demersus est in sinu maris qui vocatur Amphleot,[6] et ab Bed. i. 33.

A.D. 607. Death by drowning of

[1] *et*, Beda.

[2] *exenia*, C³. A².; *xenia*, F., *e* supra lineam scripto.

[3] C³. A².; *transmissi*, A.

[4] *recipiat*, Beda.

[5] *xix^{mo}.*, C³., *i.e.* decimo nono; *xi$_{o}$.*, A. F.

[6] *Amfleot*, A².; *Anfleot*, F.

incolis loci ignobili traditus sepulturæ. Sed omnipotens Deus ut qualis meritis fuerit demonstraret, omni nocte supra sepulchrum ejus lux cælestis apparuit; donec animadvertentes vicini qui videbant sanctum fuisse virum, qui ibi esset sepultus, et investigantes unde vel quis esset, abstulerunt corpus, et in Bononia civitate juxta honorem tanto viro congruum in ecclesia posuerunt. the abbot Peter.

Bed. ii. 1. § 11. Sexcentesimo anno gratiæ transacto, magnus papa Gregorius ad veram vitam migravit anno post hunc quinto, secundo Focatis imperatoris anno. Qui genere Romanus, ortu nobilis, divitiis abjectis monachicam elegit vitam. Postea vero de monasterio abstractus . . . . Constantinopolim apocrisiarius a Felice papa directus est, ubi Moralia Job inchoavit quæ postea perfecit papa. Ubi etiam Euticii hæresim præsente Tiberio imperatore damnavit. Composuit etiam librum egregium qui vocatur Pastoralis, ... librosque Dialogorum iiij.or et Omelias, xl., primamque et ultimam Ezechielis partem exposuit; quamvis omnis juventutis suæ tempore . . . . . viscerum doloribus, et stomachi imbecillitate, et lentis quidem, sed tamen continuis febribus cruciaretur. A.D. 604. Death of pope Gregory. Account of his life and actions. His writings.

Hæc quidem de immortali ejus sint dicta ingenio, quod nec tanto corporis potuit dolore restringi.[1] Nam alii quidem pontifices ecclesiis . . . . . ornandis operam dabant; hic autem omnia pauperibus dispergebat, ut illud beati Job . . . . dicere posset: Auris audiens beatificabat me, et oculus[2] videns testimonium reddebat mihi, quod liberarem pauperem vociferantem et pupillum cui non esset adjutor. Benedictio perituri super me veniebat, et cor viduæ consolatus sum. Justitia indutus sum, et vestivi[3] me sicut vestimento, et diademate judicio meo. Oculus fui cæco, et pes claudo. Pater eram pauperum, et causam quam nesciebam diligentissime investigabam. Conterebam molas iniqui, et de dentibus illius auferebam prædam. Et paulo post; Si negavi, inquit, quod volebant pauperes,[4] et oculos viduæ exspectare feci; si comedi buccellam meam solus, et non comedit pupillus ex ea. Quia ab infantia crevit mecum miseratio, et de utero matris meæ egressa est mecum. His charity.

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[1] *restingui*, Beda.
[2] C³. A². ; *oculis*, A.
[3] *vestivit*, Beda.
[4] *pauperibus*, Beda.

A.D. 604. Words added by him to the Canon Missæ.

Fecit autem inter alia beatus papa . . . . super corpora . . . . . apostolorum Petri et Pauli . . . . . missas celebrari. In ipsa vero missarum celebrations tria verba maximæ perfectionis adjecit: [1] "Diesque nostros in tua pace "disponas, atque ab æterna damnatione nos eripi, et in elec- "torum tuorum jubeas grege numerari."

Story of the young English boys at the slave market.

§ 13. Dicitur autem, ut ait Beda, quod vir Dei prædictus die quadam Romæ in mercaturam profectus juvenes Anglorum viderit, corpore et vultu capillisque valde venustos. Quos cum de Britannia venisse et paganos esse cognovisset, suspirans inquit, "Heu, proh dolor, ... quod tam lucidi vultus homines tenebrarum "auctor possidet!" . . . . . Interrogavit ergo quod esset vocabulum gentis illius. Responsum est, quod Angli vocarentur. At ille; "Bene," inquit; "nam et Angelicam faciem habent, et "tales Angelorum in cœlis decet esse cohæredes. Quod habet "provincia nomen ipsa, de qua isti sunt allati?" Responsum est quod Deiri vocarentur iidem [2] provinciales. At ille, "Bene," inquit, "Deiri, de ira eruti, et ad misericordiam Christi vocati. "Rex provinciæ illius quomodo appellatur? [3]" Responsum est, Bed. ii. 1. "quod Allet [4] diceretur. At ille, alludens ad nomen, ait, "Alle- "luia ad [5] laudem Creatoris illis in partibus oportet cantari." Accedens igitur ad pontificem Romanum, nondum enim erat . . . pontifex factus, legationem prædicandi eis petiit. Quod cum impetrare non posset, ... mox ut ipse pontifex factus est per alios opus diu desideratum perfecit.

He is buried in St. Peter's church.

Sepultus est autem . . . . . in ecclesia beati Petri Apostoli ante secretarium, ... ubi est epitaphium hujusmodi;—

Suscipe, terra, tuo corpus de corpore sumptum,
Reddere quod valeas vivificante Deo,
Spiritus astra petit, leti nil jura nocebunt,
Cui vitæ alterius mors magis ipsa via est,
Præsulis hoc summi [6] clauduntur membra sepulchro,
Qui tamen innumeris [7] vivit ubique bonis,
* * * * * * * [8]

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[1] *superadjecit*, Beda.
[2] *idem*, pro iidem, C[3]. A. A[2].; deest in F.
[3] C[3].; *appellatus*, A.; *vocatur*, F.
[4] A. C[3].; *Alle*, Sav.; *Allæ*, F.
[5] *ad* deest in Beda.
[6] *Pontificis summi hoc*, Beda.
[7] *Qui innumeris semper*, Beda.
[8] Omittuntur quatuor versus.

Anglos ad Cristum vertit[1] pietate magistra, A.D. 604.
Multiplicans fidei semina[2] gente nova,
* * * * * * *[3]
Sic consul Domini factus lætare, Gregori;
Namque triumphalis jam tibi laurus adest.[4]

Bed. ii. 3. § 13. Ordinavit autem Augustinus Justum in ipsa Cantia episcopum in civitate Dorubrevi, quam Angli a quodam principe Rof Rovecestriam vocant. In qua rex Edelred apostoli Andreæ ecclesiam fecit, factamque, territoriis ac possessionibus ditavit. Distat a Dorovernensi miliariis xxiiij. Pertractatum est igitur quomodo rex et populus Cantiæ ad fidem Christi sint conversi. Founding of the see of Rochester.

§ 14. SECUNDA PARS incipit, qua aperitur quomodo rex et populus Estsexe, id est, orientalium Saxonum, verbum Dei susceperunt. Misit namque Augustinus ad eos virum perfectum et probatum evangelizare, Mellitum scilicet. Orientales autem Saxones Tamisi . . . . dirimuntur a Cantia; . . . . quorum metropolis Londonia . . . . . multorum emporion populorum terra marique venientium est. Ibi tunc temporis Sebertus, nepos Edelbricti, sub eo tamen regnabat, quia omnibus, ut prædictum est, usque ad Humbram . . . . imperabat. Re igitur bene prosperata et rege Seberto et populo ad fidem converso, fecit rex Edelbertus in . . . Lundonia ecclesiam . . . . Pauli . . . . ad sedem episcopi, multisque prædiis dotavit. In qua videlicet Mellitus digne pontifex constitutus est. Section 2. The conversion of the East Saxons.

Bed. ii. 2. § 15. At Augustinus adjutorio usus Edelberti regis, cum Mellito episcopo et Justo, convocavit ad suum colloquium episcopos sive doctores maximæ et proximæ Britonum provinciæ, in loco ubi[5] usque hodie lingua Anglorum "Augus- "tines ac," id est, robur Augustini, in confinio Wicciorum[6] et Conference with the Britons at Augustin's oak. A.D. 603.

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[1] *Ad Christum Anglos convertit*, Beda.

[2] *Adquirens fidei agmina*, Beda.

[3] Omittuntur versus duo.

[4] Apud Bedam ultimi hi versus sic se habent:—

Hisque Dei consul factus lætare triumphis:
Nam mercedem operum jam sine fine tenes.

[5] *qui*, Beda.

[6] *Picciorum* pro *Wicciorum*, C[3].; cf. Prolegomena, § ; *Pictorum*, A. A[2]. A[4].; *Uuictiorum*, F.

A.D. 603. Occidentalium Saxonum, appellatur. Cumque de celebratione Paschæ contra Scotos et Pictos certaret, et illi invictissimæ rationi assentire nollent, assertionem suam confirmavit, cæco Anglico in commune adducto ad sanandum ex conventione ad alterutræ partis confirmationem. Quem cum pontifices eorum curare non possent, flectens genua Augustinus coram omnibus ad illuminationem gentis totius cæcum illuminavit. Tunc Bed. ii. 2. Britanni et Scoti, petentes inducias, a quodam qui videbatur ab eis[1] prudens et religiosus esse consilium petiere, quid agendum esset. Quibus ille dixit, "Si "servus Dei est, assentite ei."[2] At illi, "Unde hoc "poterimus dignoscere?" Tum ille, "Si mitis est et "humilis corde, servus Dei veri dicitur esse." At illi contra: "Quomodo utrum humilis sit poterimus scire?" Quibus ille, "Si vobis . . . . . assurrexerit, humilis "habeatur; si autem, cum plures numero sitis, assurgere "spreverit, et vos spernite illum." Cum igitur convenissent, et Augustinus Romano more in sella residens eis non assurrexisset; objurgantes et discordes abiere. Quibus Augustinus prædixit quia, si pacem cum fratribus accipere nollent, bellum[3] cum hostibus forent accepturi; et si nationi Anglorum noluissent viam vitæ prædicare, per horum manus ultionem essent mortis passuri. Quod ita per omnia[4] ut prædixerat,[5] divino agente judicio patratum est.

It leads to no result. Augustin's prophecy.

Fulfilled when Æthelfrid massacred the monks of Banchor at the battle of Chester, A.D. 607 (613).

§ 16. Siquidem post . . . . ipse de quo diximus, rex Anglorum . . . . Adelfrid ferus, collecto grandi exercitu ad Civitatem Legionum, quæ a gente Anglorum Legescestria vocatur, a Britonibus autem rectius Karlegion appellatur, maximam gentis perfidæ stragem dedit. Cumque bello acturus videret sacerdotes eorum, qui ad exorandum Dominum pro milite bello agente convenerant, seorsum in tutiori loco consistere, sciscitabatur qui essent hi, quidve acturi illuc convenissent. Erant autem plurimi eorum de monasterio Brancor[6] in quo tantus fertur fuisse numerus monachorum, ut cum in septem portiones esset cum præpositis sibi rectoribus monas-

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[1] *ab eis*, A. A². C³. F.; *iis*, Sav.
[2] *eis*, A.
[3] C³.; *belum*, A.
[4] C³. F.; *quod per omnia*, A².; *quod ita ut per omnia*, A.
[5] *predixerant*, A.
[6] A. A². F.; *B ancor*, C³., rasura inter *B* et *a* interposita; *Bangor*, A⁴., Sav.; *Bancor*, Beda.

terium divisum, nulla harum portio minus quam trecentos homines haberet, qui omnes de labore manuum suarum vivere solebant. Horum ergo plurimi ad memoratam aciem, peracto triduano jejunio, cum aliis orandi causa convenerunt, habentes defensorem nomine Brocmailum, qui eos intentos precibus a barbarorum gladiis protegeret. Quorum causam adventus cum intellexisset rex Adelfrid, ait: "Ergo si adversum nos ad "Dominum[1] suum clamant, profecto et ipsi, quamvis arma non "ferant, contra nos pugnant, qui adversis nos imprecationibus "persequuntur." Itaque in hos primum arma verti jubet, et sic ceteras nefandæ militiæ copias non sine magno exercitus sui damno delevit. Exstinctos in ea pugna ferunt de his qui ad orandum venerant viros circiter mille ducentos, et solum quinquaginta fuga esse lapsos. Brocmail ad primum hostium adventum cum suis terga vertens, eos quos defendere debuerat inermes ac nudos ferientibus gladiis reliquit. Sicque[2] completum est præsagium sancti pontificis Augustini, quamvis ipso jam multo ante tempore ad cælestia regna sublato, ut etiam temporalis interitus ultionem[3] sentirent perfidi, quod oblata[4] sibi perpetuæ salutis consilia spreverunt:

A.D. 607 (613).

Cowardice of Brocmail.

Bed. ii. 3.

§ 17. Defunctus est autem Deo dilectus . . . . et sepultus est juxta ecclesiam . . . . Petri et Pauli, quia necdum perfecta erat nec dedicata. Ut vero dedicata est a successore ejus Laurentio, in porticu illius aquilonali,[5] decenter translatus est. In quo[6] . . . . archiepiscoporum omnium . . . . corpora usque ad Theodorum sepulta sunt, nam plura porticus capere nequivit. Scriptum vero est in tumba Sancti epitaphium hujusmodi:

A.D. 604. Augustin dies, and is buried near his cathedral church.

Hic requiescit domnus Augustinus Dorobernensis archiepiscopus primus. Qui olim huc a beato Gregorio Romanæ urbis pontifice directus, et a Deo operatione miraculorum suffultus, Edelbertum regem ac gentem illius ab idolorum cultu ad Christi fidem perduxit, et completis in pace diebus officii sui, defunctus est, vii[7] kalendas Junii, eodem rege regnante.

His epitaph.

Bed. ii. 4.

§ 18. Laurentium vero adhuc vivens ordinaverat Augustinus in archiepiscopum, exemplo beati Petri, qui Clementem similiter ordinaverat, ne se defuncto status ecclesiæ tam rudis vel ad horam pastore destitutus vacillaret. Qui strenuiter fidem fundatam auxit, non solum novæ

Laurentius succeeds him.

He writes to the Britons

[1] *Deum*, Beda.
[2] A². C³. F.; *sic quoque*, A.
[3] *ultione*, Beda.
[4] *oblato*, Beda.
[5] C³. A². ; *aquinolani*, A.; *aquilonari*, F.
[6] C³. A. A². ; *in qua*, Sav., Beda.
[7] C³. A². F.; *viii.*, A.

A.D. 604. and Scots on the right observance of Easter.

ecclesiæ Anglorum curam gerens, sed etiam veterum Britonum et Scotorum qui in observatione Paschæ errabant; quibus et epistolam misit, cujus . . . , hoc est principium.:

"Dominis fratribus carissimis episcopis vel abbatibus per "universam Scotiam, Laurentius, Mellitus, et Justus episcopi, "servi servorum Dei. Dum nos sedes apostolica more suo, "sicut in universo orbe terrarum, in his occiduis partibus ad "prædicandum gentibus paganis dirigeret, atque in hanc in- "sulam . . . . contigit introisse antequam cognosceremus; "credentes quod juxta morem universalis ecclesiæ ingrede- "rentur, in magna reverentia sanctitatis tam Britones quam "Scotos venerati sumus. Sed cognoscentes Britones, Scotos "meliores putavimus. Scotos vero per Daganum episcopum, ". . . . . et Columbanum abbatem . . . . . , nihil "discrepare a Britonibus in eorum conversatione didicimus. "Nam Dagauus episcopus ad nos veniens non solum cibum "nobiscum, sed nec in eodem hospitio quo vescebamur, su- "mere voluit."

A.D. 610.

§ 19. Mellitus episcopus Londoniæ Romam profectus, concilio Bonifacii papæ interfuit, in quo de vita et quiete monachorum tractavit. Hic est Bonifacius, quartus a . . . Gregorio papa, qui templum Panteon a Foca[1] impetravit, quod[2] in honore omnium sanctorum dedicavit.

A.D. 616. Death of Æthelberht, and of Sæberht.

§ 20, Edelbertus[3] rex obiit sexcentesimo sexto decimo anno gratiæ, qui regnaverat lvi. annos, et sepultus est in ecclesia prædicta Petri et Pauli. Hic vir maximus et eximius inter cetera bona . . . . genti suæ . . . . decreta . . . . judiciorum scripsit. At vero post mortem Ædelberti Ædbald filius ejus infidelis uxorem patris duxit. Unde multi ad primum vomitum redierunt. Rex tamen crebra mentis vesania puniebatur. Rex autem Sebrit orientalium Saxonum defunctus, tres filios paganos hæredes regni reliquit. Qui cum essent idolatræ,[4] derisorie dicebant episcopo in missarum sollenniis, "Quare non et nobis panem nitidum porrigis quem "patri nostro . . . . . dabas et adhuc populo donas?" Quibus ille respondebat: "Si vultis ablui fonte illo salutari "quo pater vester ablutus est, potestis etiam panis sancti,

Bed. ii. 5.

[1] *Focate*, C³. A².
[2] *quem*, C³. F.
[3] *Ædelbertus*, F.
[4] C³. A. A². ; *idololatræ*, Sav.

" cujus[1] ille participabat, esse participes : sin autem lavacrum A.D. 616.
" vitæ contemnitis, nullatenus valetis panem vitæ percipere."
At illi, "Nolumus," inquiunt, " fontem illum intrare, quia illo
" nec opus nos habere novimus ; sed tamen pane illo refici
" volumus." Cumque diligenter ac sæpe ab illo essent[2] ad-
moniti, nequaquam ita fieri posse, ut absque purgatione sacro-
sancta quis oblationi sacro-sanctæ communicet, ad ultimum
furore commoti aiebant: " Si non vis adsentire nobis in tam
" facili causa quam petimus, non poteris jam in nostra pro- The sons of Sæberht expel Mellitus from London.
" vincia demorari." Expulerunt eum, ac de suo regno cum
suis abire jusserunt. Qui expulsus inde, venit Cantiam trac-
taturus cum Laurentio et Justo coepiscopis quid in his agendum
esset. Decretumque est communi consilio, quia satius esset ut
omnes, patriam redeuntes, libera ibi mente Domino deservirent,
quam inter rebelles fidei barbaros sine fructu residerent. Dis-
cessere itaque primi[3] Mellitus et Justus, atque ad partes Galliæ Mellitus and Justus depart to Gaul.
secessere, ibi rerum finem expectare disponentes. Sed non
post multo tempore, reges qui præconem a se veritatis
expulerunt, dæmonicis cultibus impune non serviebant. Nam Circa A.D. 618.
egressi contra gentem Gewissorum in prælium, omnes pariter The pagan kings slain in battle.
cum sua militia corruerunt. Nec[4] licet auctoribus perditis,
exercitatum[5] ad scelera vulgus potuit recorrigi, atque ad sim-
plicitatem fidei et caritatis, quæ in Cristo est, revocari.

Bed. ii. 6. § 21. Cum vero et Laurentius Mellitum Justumque secuturus Laurentius, intending to follow Mellitus, is stopped by a vision.
ac Britanniam esset relicturus, jussit ipsa sibi nocte in ecclesia
beatorum . . . . Petri et Pauli, de qua jam frequenter
diximus, stratum parari. In quo cum post multas preces ac
lacrymas ad Dominum pro statu[6] ecclesiæ fusas, ad quiescendum
membra posuisset atque obdormisset, apparuit ei beatissimus
apostolorum princeps, et multo illum tempore secreto[7] noctis
flagellis arctioribus afficiens, sciscitabatur apostolica districtione,
quare gregem quem sibi ipse crediderat[8] relinqueret, vel cui
pastorum oves Cristi in medio luporum positas fugiens ipse
dimitteret. " An mei," inquit, " oblitus es exempli, qui pro
" parvulis Cristi, quos mihi in indicium suæ dilectionis com-
" mendaverat, vincula, verbera, carceres, afflictiones, ipsam
" postremo mortem, mortem autem crucis, ab infidelibus et
" inimicis Christi ipse cum Christo coronandus pertuli ?
His admonitus Laurentius mox regi omnia revelavit.
Rex autem nimia terrore perterritus abdicato non legitimo

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[1] *cui*, Beda.
[2] C[3]. A[2]. ; *ab illo pane essent*, A.
[3] *primo*, Beda.
[4] *Nam*, A.
[5] *excitatum*, Beda.
[6] C[3]. A[2]. ; *stratu*, A. A[4].
[7] *secretæ*, Beda.
[8] C[3]. A[2]. F. ; *crediderit*, A.

connubio baptizatus est; mittensque ad Gallias revocavit Mellitum et Justum. Justum Rovenses receperunt; Mellitum . . . . Londonienses abjecerunt, idolatriæ magis pontificibus[1] servire gaudentes. Rex autem Ædbald non erat tantæ potestatis quantæ pater, ut eis invitis restituere posset episcopum.

A.D. 619. Death of Laurentius: he is succeeded by Mellitus.

§ 22. Eadbaldi regis tempore obiit Laurentius, cui Mellitus . . . . Londoniæ episcopus successit. Ipse igitur et Justus Rofensis episcopus cum magno labore ecclesiam Anglorum regebant. Erat autem Mellitus podagricus, sed mentis gressibus sanus;[2] carne nobilis, sed mente nobilior. Unum autem virtutis ejus opus est, quod flammis urbem consumentibus ipse se ferri obviam jussit, et statim orando destruxit flammarum impetus. Bed. ii. 7.

A.D. 624. On whose death Justus becomes archbishop.

Justus Rovensis episcopus Mellito v. annis archiepiscopo successit, cui Bonifacius papa, successor Deus-dedit, misit pallium cum his literis:— Bed. ii. 8.

§ 23. "Dilectissimo fratri Justo Bonifacius. Quam devote, " quamque etiam vigilanter pro Cristi Evangelio elaboraverit " vestra fraternitas, non solum epistolæ directæ a vobis tenor, " immo indulta desuper operi vestri perfectio indicavit. Nec " enim omnipotens Deus aut sui nominis sacramentum, aut " vestri laboris fructum deseruit, dum ipse prædicatoribus " evangelii fideliter repromisit; 'Ecce ego vobiscum sum om- " 'nibus diebus, usque ad consummationem seculi.' . . . . . " . . . . . Susceptis namque apicibus filii nostri Eadbaldi " regis, reperimus quanta sacri eloquii eruditione ejus ani- " mum ad veræ conversationis et indubitatæ fidei credulitatem " fraternitas vestra perduxerit. . . . . Pallium " itaque per latorem præsentium fraternitati tuæ . . . . . " direximus, quod videlicet . . . . in sacrosanctis celebran- " dis mysteriis utendum licentiam imperavimus,[3] concedentes " etiam tibi ordinationes episcoporum, exigente opportunitate, " Domini præveniente misericordia, celebrare; ita ut Christi " Evangelium plurimorum annuntiatione, in omnibus genti- " bus quæ necdum conversæ sunt, dilatetur. . . . . " . . . . . Dominus te incolumem custodiat, dilectissime " frater."

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[1] C^3. A^2. F.; *quam pontificibus*, A.

[2] *sanis*, Beda.

[3] *quod . . utendi . . . licentiam impertivimus*, Beda.

Bed. ii. 9.

§ 24. TERTIA PARS incipit de conversione Nordhumbrorum, id est, eorum qui ad aquilonalem Humbræ fluminis plagam inhabitant. Rex vero eorum Eadwinus tanta potestate terreni creverat imperii, ut, quod nemo Anglorum ante eum, omnes Britanniæ fines . . . . acciperet, et omnes provinciæ, quas vel Angli vel Britones habitabant, sub ditione ejus essent. Quin et Mevanias insulas . . . . . imperio subjugavit Anglorum; quarum prior quæ ad Austrum est et situ amplior, et frugum proventu atque ubertate felicior, nongentarum sexaginta familiarum mensuram, ... secunda trecentarum et ultra spatium tenet. Rex autem ille filiam Edelberti regis Edelburgam Cristianam paganus duxerat, quæ alio nomine Tate vocabatur; cum qua[1] venit Paulinus ut ibi[2] prædicaret, ad hoc ordinatus episcopus a Justo archiepiscopo. Anno autem sequente venit quidam sicarius nomine Eumer, missus a rege Westsexe Cichelmo,[3] ut regem Edwinum interficeret. Qui simulans legationem domini sui, cucurrit in regem cum sica bicipiti toxicata, ... juxta amnem Derventionem. Quod videns Lilla regis minister, interponens se ictu transfixus est; et eodem ictu rex parumper vulneratus est. Interfectoque alio equite, gladiis cæsus est. Eadem autem nocte . . . . . peperit regina filiam, nomine Enflat. Cumque . . . . rex . . . . . gratias inde diis ageret, dixit Paulinus quod precibus suis apud Deum obtinuerit, ut regina illam pareret absque dolore. Cujus verbis delectatus rex promisit se . . . . . Christo serviturum, si . . . . . victoriam donaret ei adversus Chichelmum, et in pignus promissionis implendæ filiam suam baptizari jussit. Quæ . . . . . cum undecim . . de familia ejus baptizata est. Rex autem, superato Chichelmo, et hostibus suis aut occisis aut in deditione receptis, cum victor rediret in patriam, non statim Christianus effectus, sed sæpe solus, sæpe cum aliis, ratione fidei audita quid ageret discutiebat, vir natura sagacissimus.

A.D. 625. Section 3. The conversion of the Northumbrians.

A.D. 626. Attempt to assassinate Eadwine, king of the Deiri.

Eadwine allows his daughter to be baptized by Paulinus.

[1] *cumque*, A.
[2] C[3]. A[2]. ; *ubi*, A.
[3] *Chichelmo*, C[3]. A[2]. F.

A.D. 626. Letter of pope Boniface to Eadwine, with presents.

§ 25. Bonifacius ergo papa exhortatorias ad fidem literas regi misit. Misit et munera, de quibus in fine epistolæ meminit, his verbis:—"Præterea benedictionem protectoris "vestri beati Petri Apostolorum principis vobis direximus; id "est, camisiam cum ornatura in auro una, et lenam anciri- "anam unam, quod petimus ut eo benignitatis animo gloria "vestra suscipiat, quo a nobis noscitur destinatum." Bed. ii. 10.

Another to his queen, Æthelburga.

Edelburgæ quoque reginæ misit literas et munera, de quibus in fine epistolæ sic ait:—"Præterea benedictionem "protectoris vestri beati Petri Apostolorum principis vobis "direximus, id est, pectinem eburneum auratum, speculum[1] "argenteum; quod petimus ut eo benignitatis animo gloria "vestra suscipiat, quo a nobis noscitur destinatum." Bed. ii. 11.

Paulinus reveals to Eadwine a secret vision which had appeared to the latter many years before.

§ 26. Paulino autem Spiritus sanctus oraculum revelavit, regi Edwino[2] quondam ostensum hoc modo. Cum, Edelfrido illum persequente qui ante eum regnavit, profugus apud regem Redwaldum moraretur, cognovit per quendam amicum suum Redwaldum corruptum muneribus regis Edelfridi eum interficere velle. Promisitque se a provincia illa eum educturum si vellet. Cui Edwinus, "Quo nunc fugiam, qui per omnes Bri- "tanniæ provincias tot annis hostium insidias vitavi? "Si autem mori oportet, malo ut hic me interficiat "quam ignobilior." His dictis remansit . . . . solus. Dumque mentis angoribus et cæco carpitur igne, vidit . . . . . intempesto noctis silentio hominem incognitum dicentem sibi, "Ne formides; scio enim causam tristitiæ "tuæ. Quid autem dares ei qui hac te absolveret, et "Redwaldo regi suaderet ut te amaret?" Qui cum responderet, "Omnia quæ possem;" adjecit ille; "Quid "si etiam te regem futurum potentiorem prioribus extinctis "hostibus vere promittat?" Respondente Edwino ut prius, adjecit iterum; "Quid si is meliorem viam[3] vitæ "tibi ostenderit, quam aliquis parentum tuorum ha- "buerit, obtemperabisne ei?" Promittente hoc Edwino firmissime, subdidit ille, imponens manus capiti ejus: Bed. ii. 12. Virg. Æn. iv. 2.

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[1] A. A^2. A^4.; *et speculum*, C^3. F.

[2] *Eaduuino*, F.

[3] C^3. A^4. F.; *vitam*, A. A^2.

" Cum ergo hoc signum tibi advenerit, memento hujus temporis et sermonis." Quo dicto repente disparuit, ut intelligeret non hominem esse . . . . . sed spiritum. Et cum regius juvenis solus adhuc ibidem sederet, ... præfatus amicus ejus venit, et ait: " Surge hilaris; mutatum est cor regis, " consilioque reginæ fidem suam tibi disposuit servare." Quid plura? Rex congregato exercitu Eadelfridum sibi occurrentem occidit in finibus Merciorum, ad orientalem plagam amnis qui vocatur Idle. Ibi tamen filius Redwaldi nomine Reiner occisus est. Ac sic Edwine regno Nordhumbrorum potitus est. Cum autem Paulinus hoc oraculum regi dixisset, imponens manum capiti ejus procidere volentem ad pedes ejus levavit, et ad fidem hortatus est. A.D 626. A.D. 617.

Bed. ii. 13.

§ 27. Rex igitur ad fidem promptus, ut lucraretur suos, sciscitabatur ab eis quid eis videbatur. Cui Coifi pontifex ait: " Nemo studiosius servivit diis " quam ego ad lucrum terrenum. Multi autem sunt " qui majora beneficia a te receperunt, unde nil valere " deos probavi." Tum alius optimatum regis . . . . . subdidit: " Talis mihi videtur, rex, vita hominum præsens in " terris, ad comparationem ejus quod nobis incertum est " temporis, quale cum te residente ad cœnam cum ducibus " ac ministris tuis tempore brumali, accenso quidem foco in " medio, et calido effecto cænaculo, furentibus autem foris per " omnia turbinibus hiemalium pluviarum vel nivium, adveniens " unus passer[1] domum citissime[2] pervolaverit. Qui cum per " unum ostium ingrediens, mox per aliud exierit, ipso quidem " tempore quo intus est hiemis tempestate non tangitur, sed " tamen, parvissimo spatio serenitatis ad momentum excurso, " in hieme mox de hieme regrediens oculis tuis elabitur. " Ita hæc vita hominum ad modicum apparet; quid autem " sequatur, quidve præcesserit, prorsus ignoramus. Unde si hæc " nova doctrina certius aliquid attulit, merito sequenda esse " videtur." His similia cum etiam ceteri dicerent, adjecit . . . Coifi quod vellet ipsum Paulinum . . . audire de Deo dicentem. Quo audito, exclamavit se et alios penitus errasse, fidemque Christi se suscepturos omnes pariter

A.D. 626. Eadwine consults the Deiran chiefs on the subject of conversion. Coifi the priest is in favour of it. Apologue on human life, told by a chief. Preaching of Paulinus.

[1] *passerum*, C[3]. F. A[2]., Beda. | [2] C[3]. A[2].; *scitissime*, A.

A.D. 626. promiserunt. Coifi autem pontifex accepto equo emissario Bed. ii. 13.
Coifi sets fire to the heathen temple. a rege, cum pontifici idolorum non liceret nisi super equam equitare, arreptoque gladio et lancea, quod etiam non licebat, videntibus cunctis succendit et destruxit quas ipse sacraverat aras. Ostenditur autem Virg. Æn. ii. 502. locus ille quondam idolorum non longe ab Eboraco, ad orientem, ultra amnem Doruventionem, (id est, Derewente,) et vocatur hodie Godmundingeham. Igitur . . . . baptizatus Bed. ii. 14.

A.D. 627. est rex Edwinus die sancto Paschæ, et multi cum eo, in
Eadwine and many of his people receive baptism. ecclesia Sancti Petri, quam . . . . ipse de ligno . . . . construxerat, sedem episcopatus Paulino. Mox autem majorem incepit lapideam, quam postea perfecit Oswald. Baptizati sunt etiam Offrid et Eadfrid filii regis Edwini qui ambo ei exuli nati sunt de Quoenburga filia Cearli regis Merciorum,[1] Baptizati sunt tempore sequenti et . . . . liberi ejus de Edelberga regina progeniti . . . . quorum duo adhuc albati mortui sunt, et Eboraci in ecclesia sepulti. . . . . Tanta autem fertur tunc fuisse verborum fides ac desiderium lavacri salutaris gentis[2] Norhumbrorum, ut quodam tempore Paulinus veniens cum rege et regina in regiam villam quæ vocabatur Adgebrin[3] xxxvi. diebus ibidem cum eis catechizandi et baptizandi officio deditus moraretur. In provincia Bernitiorum baptizabat in fluvio Gleni, juxta locum qui vocatur Melmim;[4] in provincia vero Deirorum . . . . . in fluvio Sualua, qui vicum Cataractam preterfluit.

Mission in the parts of Lindsey. § 28. Paulinus etiam convertit provinciam Lindisse, Bed. ii. 16.
quæ est . . . . ad meridianam ripam Humbræ fluminis, priusquam præfectum Lindocolinæ civitatis, cui nomen Blecca, . . . cum domo sua convertit . . . . In qua civi-
First church at Lincoln. tate ecclesiam egregii operis . . . fecit, et in ea Honorium consecravit archiepiscopum; cujus tecto vel longa incuria vel hostili manu dejecto, parietes hactenus[5] stare videntur. Urbs autem Lincoliæ, quæ tunc Lindocolina vocabatur, et provincia Lindisse ei adjacens, quæ circumquaque clauditur[6] vel fluviis vel paludibus[7] vel mari, ad Merce regnum pertinet. Urbs autem illa et situ splen-

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[1] C[3]. A[2].; *meritorum*, A.
[2] *gente*, Beda.
[3] *Adgefrin*, Beda.
[4] A. A[2].; *Melmin*, C[3]. F.
[5] A[4]. F.; *actenus*, C[3]. A. A[2].
[6] C[3]. A[2].; *cladditur*, A.
[7] C[3]. A[2].; *paulidibus*, A.

dida est, et provincia rerum multarum locuples. Unde quidam: A.D. 627.

"Urbs in colle sita est, et collis vergit ad austrum."

What the abbot of Partenay had heard about Paulinus.

Enarravit abbas de Peartaneig se vidisse seniorem a Paulino baptizatum cum cetera turba coram rege Edwino in fluvio Trenta juxta civitatem quæ . . . . Tuuel fingecestre[1] vocatur. De cujus effigie dicebat, quod esset vir longæ staturæ, paululum incurvus, nigro capillo, facie macilenta, naso adunco pertenui, venerabilis simul et terribilis aspectu.

Bed. ii. 17.

A.D. 634

Letter of pope Honorius to king Eadwine,

§ 29. Honorius autem papa misit accensorias Edwino regi litteras, his auditis; quarum postremam partem necessarium duxi apponere, quæ, scilicet de agendis archiepiscoporum Angliæ tractat distincte per hæc verba:—"Prædicatoris . . . . vestri domini mei apostolicæ "memoriæ Gregorii frequenter lectione occupati, præ oculis "affectum doctrinæ ipsius, quod[2] pro vestris animabus li- "benter exercuit, habetote; quatenus ejus oratio et regnum "vestrum populumque augeat,[3] et vos omnipotenti Deo in- "reprehensibiles repræsentet. Ea vero quæ a nobis pro "vestris sacerdotibus ordinanda sperastis, hæc pro fidei vestræ "sinceritate, quæ nobis multimoda relatione per præsentium "portitores laudabiliter insinuata est, gratuito animo attri- "buere ulla sine dilatione providemus;[4] et duo pallia utro- "rumque metropolitanorum, id est[5] Honorio et Paulino di- "reximus, ut, dum quis eorum de hoc sæculo ad auctorem "suum fuerit accersitus, in loco ipsius alterum[6] episcopum ex "hac nostra auctoritate debeat subrogare. Quod quidem tam "pro vestræ caritatis affectu,[7] quam pro tanto provinciarum "spatio quæ inter nos et vos esse noscuntur, sumus invitati "concedere, ut in omnibus devotioni vestræ nostrum con- "cursum juxta desideria vestra præberemus. Incolumem ex- "cellentiam vestram superna gratia custodiat."

confirming the arrangements of Gregory the Great concerning the two metropolitan sees.

Bed. ii. 15.

Circ. A.D. 625.

Section 4. Conversion of the East Angles by bishop Felix under the kings Eorp-

§ 30. QUARTA PARS incipit de conversione Orientalium Anglorum quorum rex Erpwaldus, filius Redwaldi regis, hortatu Edwini regis sibi amicissimi, fidem suscepit. Et quidem pater ejus Redwald jam dudum in Cantia fidem susceperat, sed frustra. Nam rediens domum, ab uxore sua

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[1] A. C[3].; *Tuelfingecestre*, A[4].; *Touulfingec.*, F.; *Tiovulfingacæstir*, Beda.

[2] *quem*, Beda.

[3] C[3]. A[2].; *augebat*, A.

[4] C[3]. F.; *providimus*, A.; *prævidemus*, Beda.

[5] C[3]. A[2]. A[4].; *idem*, A.

[6] *alter*, Beda.

[7] C[3]. A[2].; *affectum*, A.

Circ. A.D. 625. wald and Sigberht.

et a quibusdam perversis . . . . seductus, ... habebat altare Christi et dæmonis in eodem fano. Quod . . . . . rex ejusdem provinciæ Aldulf, qui venerabilis Bede ætate fuit, usque ad suum tempus perdurasse . . . . . testatur. Verum Erpwald non multo postquam credidit tempore, occisus est a viro gentili . . . . Rigberto. Cui[1] successit Sigbert frater ejus[2] Christianissimus et ceteros Christianizans, cum Felice episcopo; quem de Burgundia ortum miserat illuc Honorius archiepiscopus ad prædicandum. Juxtaque nomen suum acceptam sedem episcopus in civitate Dommoc, xvii. annis tenuit, et in pace ibidem obiit.

Hæc inter, Justo archiepiscopo defuncto, Paulinus Bed. ii. 16. Honorium sibi occurrentem ordinavit in urbe Lindocolinæ, quæ modo vocatur Lincolia, in ecclesia quam ipse fecerat ibidem, sicut prædictum est. Honorius A.D. 627. autem papa misit Honorio archiepiscopo pallium et litteras de ordinatione et dignitate utriusque archiepiscopatus, quarum hæc est forma:—

A.D. 634. Letter from Rome to archbishop Honorius, on the same subject of jurisdiction.

§ 31. "Dilectissimo fratri Honorio, Honorius. Inter plurima Bed. ii. 18.
" quæ Redemptoris nostri misericordia suis famulis dignatur
" bonorum munera prærogare, illud etiam clementer collata
" suæ pietatis munificentia tribuit, quoties per fraternos affec-
" tus[3] unanimem[4] dilectionem quadam contemplatione alternis
" aspectibus repræsentat. Pro quibus majestati ejus gratias
" indesinenter absolvimus, eumque votis supplicibus exora-
" mus, ut vestram dilectionem in prædicatione evangelii elabo-
" rantem et fructificantem, sequentemque[5] magistri et capitis
" sui Sancti Gregorii regulam, perpetua[6] stabilitate confirmet,
" et ad augmentum ecclesiæ suæ potiora per vos suscitet
" incrementa; ut fide et opere, in timore Dei et caritate,
" vestra adquisitio decessorumque vestrorum quæ per domini
" Gregorii exordium pullulat, convalescendo amplius exten-
" datur; ut ipsa vos dominici eloquii promissa in futuro re-
" spiciant, vosque vox ista ad æternam festivitatem evocet:
Matt. xi. 28. " 'Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis, et ego
Ib. xxv. 23. " reficiam vos. Et iterum: Euge, serve bone et fidelis, quia
" super pauca fuisti fidelis, supra multa te constituam; intra
" in gaudium Domini tui. Et nos equidem, fratres carissimi,
" hæc vobis pro æterna caritate exhortationis verba promit-

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[1] C[3]. F.; *Qui*, A.
[2] C[3]. A[2].; *est*, A.
[3] *affatus*, Beda.
[4] *unianimam*, Beda.
[5] *sectantem*, Beda.
[6] *perpeti*, Beda.

" tentes,[1] quæ rursus pro ecclesiarum vestrarum privilegiis A.D. 634.
" congruere posse conspicimus, non desistimus impertire.
" Et tam juxta petitionem vestram, quam filiorum nostrorum
" regum, vobis præsenti nostra præceptione vice beati Petri
" Apostolorum principis auctoritatem tribuimus, ut quando
" unum ex vobis divina ad se jusserit gratia evocari,[2] is qui
" superstes fuerit alterum in loco defuncti debeat episcopum
" ordinare. Pro qua etiam re singula vestræ dilectioni pal-
" lia pro eadem ordinatione celebranda direximus, ut per
" nostræ præceptionis auctoritatem possitis Deo placitam ordi-
" nationem efficere. Quia, ut hæc nobis concederemus, longa
" terrarum marisque intervalla quæ inter nos et vos obsis-
" tunt, ad hæc nos condescendere coegerunt, ut nulla possit
" ecclesiarum vestrarum jactura per cujuslibet occasionis ob-
" tentum quoquo modo provenire, sed potius commissi vobis
" populi devotionem plenius propagare. Deus te incolumem
" custodiat, dilectissime frater. Data die tertio iduum Juni-
" arum, imperantibus dominis nostris piissimis Augustis,
" Heraclio anno vigesimo quarto, post consulatum ejusdem
" anno vigesimo tertio, et consulatus ejus anno tertio; sed
" et Heraclio felicissimo Cæsare, id est filio ejus, anno tertio,
" indictione septima id est, anno Dominicæ incarnationis sex-
" centesimo tricesimo[3] quarto."

Bed. ii. 19. § 32. Misit et idem papa Honorius genti Scotorum literas A.D. 640. Papal letters to the Irish Scots, on the computation of Easter and the Pelagian heresy. correctorias de observatione Paschali, ne paucitatem suam cunctis per orbem Christi ecclesiis sapientiorem æstimarent, ... Sed et Johannes, qui successori ejusdem Honorii Severino successit, misit literas pro eodem errore corrigendo et Pelagiana heresi, quam apud eos reviviscere didicerat, quæ dicebat, hominem sine peccato posse existere ex propria voluntate, et non ex gratia Dei. Nec enim homo potest sine peccato esse, nisi Jhesus Cristus, qui sine peccato conceptus fuit et natus. Nam cæteri homines, etsi actuali peccato careant, contrahunt tamen originale peccatum secundum illud: Ecce enim in iniquitatibus meis conceptus sum, et in peccatis concepit me mater mea. Ps. l. 5.

Bed. ii. 20. § 33. At vero Edwinus post xvii, annos regni sui conserto A.D. 633. Eadwine killed at Heathfield. gravi prælio in campo qui vocatur Hadfeld, occisus est a Cedwalla rege Britonum, adjuvante eum Penda strenuo, qui ex eo tempore rex fuit Merciorum, ejusque totus vel

[1] A[2]. F.; *preceptione*, A.; *præmittentes*, Beda.

[2] *vocari*, Beda.

[3] C[3]. A[2]., Beda; A. om. *tricesimo*.

A.D. 633. peremptus est, vel dispersus exercitus. Offrid[1] quoque bellicosus filius ejus occisus est ante eum; alter Edfrid[2] necessitate cogente ad Pendam effugit, a quo postmodum regnante Oswaldo perfide peremptus est. Dicitur autem quod Hadfeld rubens undique nobilium fumabat cruore. Ibi namque mirabilis et inopinata fortissimorum facta est strages; Cedwalla siquidem rex potentissimus innumerabilem multitudinem secum adduxerat, Penda vero strenuissimus strenuissimos; facta est igitur maxima strages in ecclesia Northumbrorum. Penda enim paganus erat; Cedwalla vero pagano[3] sævior, nec mulieribus nec parvulis parcens, se Anglos Britannia erasurum . . . . . deliberans. Nec Britones magis communicant Anglis quam paganis, fidem eorum nihili pendentes. Allatum est autem caput Edwini regis Eboracum, et illatum . . . . in ecclesia . . . . Petri, quam ipse cœpit sed . . . Oswaldus perfecit. Nordhumbris igitur nihil præsidii nisi in fuga habentibus, Paulinus assumpta secum regina Edelburga, quam pridem adduxerat, rediit Cantiam navigio, atque ab Honorio archiepiscopo et rege Eadbaldo . . . . honorifice susceptus est, habens etiam secum filium et filiam Edwini, quos postea mater, metu Eadbaldi et Oswaldi regum, misit in Galliam nutriendos regi Dagoberto, qui erat amicus illius, ibique pueri defuncti sunt. Attulit quoque secum vasa pretiosa Edwini, ... et crucem magnam auream, et calicem aureum, quæ . . . in ecclesia Cantiæ adhuc sunt. Romano autem Rovensi præsule absorpto fluctibus Italici maris, dum legatarius Honorii tenderet Romam, Paulinus eundem episcopatum tenuit dum vixit; ibique moriens, pallium quod a . . . papa acceperat reliquit. Reliquerat autem in ecclesia sua Eboraci Jacobum diaconum, virum . . . . . sanctum, qui . . . . . ex hinc baptizabat et docebat, usque dum recuperata . . . . pace in provincia, et crescente numero fidelium, magister[4] ecclesiasticæ cantationis juxta morem Romanorum . . . . cœpit existere, Et ipse senex et plenus dierum juxta scripturas viam patrum[5] secutus est.

Bed. ii. 20.

Paulinus, taking Eadwine's widow, escapes into Kent,

and takes charge of the see of Rochester; while James the deacon administers the see of York.

[1] *Osfrid*, C[3].

[2] C[3]. F.; *Effrid*, A.; *Eadfrid*, A[2].

[3] C[3]. A[2].; *pagana*, A, scripto supra lineam *us*.

[4] C[3]. A[2]. A[4].; om. A. G.

[5] C[3]. A[2]. F.; om. A. G.

Bed. iii. 1. § 34. Edwino regi successit Osric cognatus ejus in provincia Deirorum; Anfrid filius Edelfridi regis suscepit regnum Berniciorum; nam in has duas provincias gens Nordhumbrorum antiquitus divisa erat. Hi autem juvenes tempore regis Edwini apud Scotos et Pictos exulantes baptizati sunt. Ubi autem reges facti sunt, ad idola conversi sunt. Quos rex Cedwalla impie sed juste peremit. Et primo quidem proxima æstate Osricum dum se in oppido municipio temerarie obsedisset, erumpens subito cum suis omnibus imparatum destruxit. Post annum vero occidit Enfridum ad se postulandæ pacis gratia venientem cum xii. militibus. Infaustus ille annus habitus est, tam propter regum apostasiam, quam propter Cedwallæ tyrannidem, qua non terras ut victor adquirebat, sed ut pestis destruebat. Unde ille annus

A.D. 633. The successors of Edwin in Deira and Bernicia apostatize.

They are both slain by Cædwalla. A.D. 634.

Bed. iii. 2. sequentis regis Oswaldi regno assignatur. Qui post occisionem fratris Enfridi superveniens cum parvo exercitu . . . . signum sanctæ crucis manibus suis erexit ac foveæ impositam cæspitibus firmavit. Dixitque, "Flectamus . . genua, et Dominum omnipotentem vivum ac verum in commune deprecemur, ut nos ab hoste "feroci ac superbo sua miseratione defendat. Scit enim . . "quia justa pro salute gentis nostræ bella suscipimus." Quo facto incipiente diluculo congressi Cedwallam et copias illas, quibus nihil resistere posse jactabat, ceciderunt apud[1] Denisesburne, id est, rivus Denisi. Unde dicitur: "Cædes Cedwalensium Denisi cursus coercuit." Qui locus in magna veneratione habetur, ut in libro miraculorum dicetur.[a]

A.D. 635. Victory of Oswald at Denisesburn; Cædwalla slain.

Bed. iii. 3. § 35. Oswaldus igitur rex, ut fidem augeret, misit Scotiam ubi exulaverat, accepitque pontificem Aidanum summum virum, quamvis Pascha non recte celebraret more septentrionalium Scotorum. Australes enim Hiberniæ insulæ partes jamdudum admonitione papæ rectum Pascha susceperant. Venienti igitur . . . . .

Aidan, brought from Hii by Oswald, founds the see of Lindisfarne.

[1] C[3]. A[2].; om. A. G.

[a] This is a reference to the ninth Book, entitled *De Viris illustribus* | *Anglorum* or *De Miraculis*, of Henry's complete history.

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A.D. 635. episcopo rex sedem episcopalem in insula Lindisfernensi . . . . . tribuit. Igitur fides cœpit dilatari. Pulchroque spectaculo sæpe contigit, ut evangelizante Aidano, qui Anglicum perfecte non noverat, ipse rex suis ducibus ac ministris interpres . . existeret. Longo enim exilii sui tempore linguam Scotorum . . plene didicerat. Crescebat igitur fides, monachisque venientibus de Scotia ferventer docebatur. Monachus enim ipse episcopus erat, de insula quæ vocatur Ii,[1] cujus monasterium . . . . . septentrionalium Scotorum et omnium Pictorum . . . . . arcem tenebat. . . . . Quæ . . . . . insula ad jus quidem Britanniæ pertinet, non magno ab ea freto discreta, sed donatione Pictorum qui illas Britanniæ plagas incolunt, monachis Scotorum tradita, eo quod ab illis . . . . fidem . . perceperint.

The island of Hii (Iona).

Columba had come from Ireland to preach to the Northern Picts, A.D. 565. The Southern Picts had been, before converted by St. Ninias, circ. A.D. 412.

§ 36. Namque anno gratiæ D. lx°. v°., regnante post Justinianum Justino minore, venit de Hibernia . . . . . abbas . . . . . Columba, prædicandum[2] septemtrionalibus Pictis, id est, eis qui arduis[3] atque horrentibus montium jugis ab Australibus Pictis separantur. Australes enim Picti prius conversi fuerant per Niniam episcopum, Britonem, Romæ edoctum; cujus sedem episcopatus, Sancti Martini . . . . nomine . . . . ubi ipse Columba sepultus est, jam nunc Anglorum gens obtinet. Qui locus, ad provinciam Bernitiorum pertinens, vulgo vocatur Ad Candidam Casam, eo quod ibi ecclesiam de lapide insolito Britonibus more fecit. Venit autem . . . . Columba, regnante Pictis Bridio filio Meilocon rege potentissimo, ix°. anno regni ejus, gentemque illam . . . . . convertit; unde et præfatam insulam ab eis . . . . . accepit, (quæ est quasi familiarum v. juxta estimationem Anglorum,) quam successores[4] ejus usque hodie tenent; ubi et ipse sepultus est. Erat autem et aliud monasterium nobile in Hibernia Dearmao,[5] id est, campus roborum. Ex quo utroque monasterio plurima in Hibernia et Anglia sunt. In quibus omnibus monasterium Ii principatum tenet. Abbati autem illius insulæ omnis provincia et etiam episcopi, ordine

Bed. iii. 4.

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[1] *Hii*, C³.; *Ii*, A². F.
[2] *ad prædicandum*, Sav.
[3] C³. F., Beda; *perarduis*, A.
[4] C³. A².; *succensores*, A. G.
[5] C³.; *Dearіano*, A. A². F.; *Dearmach*, Beda.

inusitato, solent esse subjecti, quia Columba prædicator non episcopus fuit, sed presbyter et monachus. Cujus successores ejus imitatione valde claruerunt; tamen in observatione Paschæ errabant, donec Egbertus Anglicus eos correxit.

Bed. iii. 5. Aidanus igitur hinc missus episcopatum Nordhumbre tenuit. Cujus institutione formatus rex Oswaldus, ut mente proficiebat, ita et regno plusquam A.D. 635.

Bed. iii. 6. omnes majores ejus. Omnes igitur gentes Britanniæ, scilicet Britones, Anglos, Pictos, Scotos, in ditionem accepit. Adeo tamen sublimis, humilis fuit et benignus peregrinis et pauperibus. Oswald's kingdom is enlarged.

Bed. iii. 7. § 37. QUINTA PARS sequitur de conversione Occidentalium Saxonum, qui antiquitus Geuissæ vocabantur, quæ facta est per Birinum episcopum. Qui consilio papæ Honorii adveniens, a quo etiam ordinatus est episcopus, per Asterium Genuensem episcopum, gentem Geuissorum ingrediens paganissimam, baptizavit eos et regem eorum Kinigils. Contigit[1] autem pulchre sanctum regem Oswaldum affuisse, eumque de lavacro . . . . suscepisse, cujus filiam Oswaldus erat accepturus in conjugem. . . . . Donaverunt[2] autem ambo reges Birino civitatem . . . . Dorcic ad sedem episcopi; ibique, constructis ecclesiis, sepultus est; et post multos annos, Hedde episcopatum agente, translatus inde in Ventam civitatem, quæ Wincestre vocatur, et in ecclesia . . . . . Petri et Pauli positus est. Defuncto autem rege successit . . . filius ejus Cenwald, qui fidem . . . . . renuit, nec impune. Repudiata enim sorore Pendan regis[3] Merciorum quam duxerat, aliamque ducens, bello victus est, et regno privatus ab illo; triennioque exulans apud Annam, regem Orientalium Anglorum,[4] fidelem, fidem recognovit. Cum vero Cenwald restitutus esset in regno, constituit episcopum Ailbertum, natione Gallum, sed tunc de Hibernia gra- Section 5. Conversion of the West Saxons, commenced by Birinus. A.D. 634. The see transferred from Dorchester to Winchester. A.D. 645. Diocesan affairs.

[1] C³. A². ; *Contingit*, A. G.
[2] C³. A². ; *Donaverat*, A.
[3] C³. A². ; *regem*, A. A⁴. G.
[4] C³. ; *Saxonum*, A⁴. ; A. F. A². om.

A.D. 660. tia legendi venientem. Sed postea rex, Anglicum sciens tantum, pertæsus barbaræ linguæ, subintroduxit in provinciam . . . suæ linguæ episcopum . . . Wine, et ipsum in Gallia ordinatum; dividensque in duas parochias provinciam, huic in . . . Wenta . . . . . sedem . . . tribuit. Unde offensus . . . Ailbertus, quod hæc ipso inconsulto ageret . . rediit Galliam, et acceptum episcopatum Parisius usque ad obitum tenuit. Postea rex idem pepulit etiam Vuine ab episcopatu, qui secedens ad Wlfere regem Merciorum, emit pretio ab eo sedem Londoniæ civitatis, ejusque episcopus usque ad obitum mansit. Carente igitur pastore provincia, cum rex hostibus et damnis ideo sæpius affligeretur, misit pro Ailberto Parisius. Qui nolens episcopatum illum dimittere, misit Leutherium suum nepotem. Hic igitur, ordinatus episcopus a Theodoro archiepiscopo, episcopatum Geuissorum longo tempore rexit solus. Bed. iii. 7.

The simony of Wine. A.D. 663.

A.D. 640. Progress of Christianity in Kent.

§ 38. Ea tempestate, post Eadbaldum regem Kentensem, Erchenbert filius ejus xxiiij. annis nobiliter regnavit. Hic primus . . . . . in toto regno . . idola . . destrui, et jejunium Quadragesimale observari . . . . . præcepit, pœnasque transgressionibus posuit. Duxitque Sexburth, majorem filiam regis Annæ. Minorem vero filiam suam Adelburth, et filiam uxoris suæ Sedrid, miserat rex Anna ad monasterium Bruges, serviendum Deo. Quæ utraque, cum esset peregrina, merito virtutum . . . Bregensis . . abbatissa effecta est. Tunc siquidem mittebant nobiles Angliæ filias suas erudiendum in Bruge, et in Kala,[1 a] et in Andeligum[2] monasterio. Misit et Erchembert Bruges[3] filiam suam Ercungotam virginem Christi, virginem sanctam et præclaram. Cujus opera virtutum, cujus signa miraculorum ab incolis loci illius usque hodie narrantur; de cujus laude in libro Miraculorum[b] dicemus. Bed. iii. 8.

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[1] C[3]. A[2].; *Gala*, A.
[2] *Andilegum*, C[3].
[3] *Burges*, C[3].

[a] *Cale*, Beda, *i.e.* Chelles.
[b] *i.e.* in Book IX.; see above, § 34.

Bed. iii. 9. § 39. Eo quoque tempore Oswald, cum regnasset ix. annos, internumerato illo anno aliorum prædicto, occisus est etiam a Penda strenuo, commisso gravi prælio apud Masefeld,[1] anno ætatis suæ xxxvii., quinto Augusti, unde dicitur, "Campus Masefeld[2] sanctorum canduit "ossibus." Occulto autem Dei judicio invisi Deo pagani dilectos ejus mactaverunt, et escas volatilibus cœli dederunt. In loco autem cædis illius miracula usque hodie fiunt. Successit vero regi sancto frater ejus Oswi, regnans xxviii. annis in provincia Bernitiorum. Sed in provincia Deirorum Oswine, filius Osrici regis de quo prædictum est, vii. annos regnavit. Ingravescentibus vero causis, cum reges simul conflicturi essent apud Wilfaresdune, id est, mons Wilfari, et est a vico Cataractone x. ferme millibus contra solstitialem occasum: videns se Oswine imparem viribus, remittens exercitum, abscondit se in domo Hunwaldi comitis, quem sibi amicissimum putabat, cum uno tantum milite, ... nomine Tondhere. Sed . . . . . ab eodem comite proditus est Oswine, et detestanda omnibus morte cum eodem milite per præfectum ejus Edwinum[3] interfectus est in Gedingum,[4] ubi pro utriusque regis anima, id est, occisi . . . . et ejus qui occidere jussit, ecclesia constructa est. Erat autem rex Oswinè aspectu venustus, statura sublimis, affatu jocundus, moribus civilis, manu . . . . . largus: et ideo ab omnibus dilectus, et a nobilibus cujusque provinciæ frequentatus. De cujus humilitate digna relatu inter sancti Aidani sibi dilectissimi opera referemus. Secundo autem anno Oswi regis successit patri magno Paulino Itamar episcopus in Rovensi ecclesia.

Oswald is defeated and slain at Maserfeld.

Bed. iii. 14. A.D. 642. Oswy succeeds him in Bernicia.

A.D. 651 Oswine, reigning in Deira, is put to death by order of Oswy.

Bed. iii. 14.

Bed. iii. 18. § 40. Tunc temporis, regno Orientalium Anglorum, post Erwaldum Redwaldi successorem, Sigbert frater ejus præerat, homo religiosus. Qui in Gallia exulans pro inimicitia Redwaldi baptizatus fuerat; rexque

A.D. 629. Progress of religion in East Anglia.

[1] C[3]. F. A[2]., in utroque loco; *Mesafeld*, A. G.

[2] *Mesatfeld*, A.

[3] *Ediluinum*, Beda.

[4] *Ingetlingum*, Beda.

A.D. 629. factus, ut in Gallia viderat, scolas puerorum instituit, juvante se Felice episcopo. Ad quem sanctus Furseus de Bed. iii. 19. Hibernia veniens, nobiliter susceptus est. Rex autem tantum Deo adhesit, ut cognato suo Ecgrice[1] regno commendato monasterium intraret et tonsuram acciperet. Post multos autem annos coegerunt eum exire contra regem Pendam. Ille tamen non nisi virgam in Bed. iii. 18. manu habebat in prælio. Occisus est igitur cum rege Ecgrice et exercitu; quibus successit Anna filius Eni de regio genere, vir bonus et bonæ pater sobolis, quem etiam Penda postea occidit. Felici autem episcopo Orientalium Anglorum successit Thomas; post quem Bed. iii. 20. Bonifacius. Hos omnes cum ordinasset Honorius archiepiscopus, mortuus est; cui Deusdedit sextus archiepiscopus Kentensis successit, ordinatus ab Itamar[2] Rovensi episcopo. Itamaro[3] vero successit Damianus.

Death of Sigebert; Anna succeeds him, A.D. 635.

§ 41. SEXTA PARS sequitur de conversione Midel- Bed. iii. 21, engle, id est, Mediterraneorum Anglorum, sub principe Peda, quem pater illi genti præfecerat, [4]et de conversione Merciorum per regem Oswinum facta.' Dederat namque rex Oswi Pedæ filio Pendæ regis filiam suam, eo pacto ut Christianus efficeretur. Hoc etiam maxime factum est persuasione Alfredi filii Oswi regis, qui sororem ejus duxerat Cineburgam filiam Pendæ. Baptizatus est ergo Peda cum suis a Finano episcopo, ... in vico . . . . qui vocatur Ad Murum. Acceptisque presbyteris secum Ceadda, et Abda[5] et Betti,[6] et Diuma, reversus est ad propria. Nec prohibuit Penda quin de sua, hoc est, Merciorum natione crederent qui vellent, temnebatque credentes et male viventes. Post biennium vero conversi sunt Merci hoc modo. Oswi namque rex, cum irruptiones Pendæ regis Bed. iii. 24. intolerabiles ferre non posset, obtulit ei munera innumera; Penda vero strenuus, quia gentem ejus ex-

Section 6. Conversion of the Midland Angles and Mercians.

Peada, son of Penda, baptized by bishop Finan, A.D. 653.

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[1] *Ecgnice*, A. G.
[2] *Idamar*, A.
[3] *Itomaro*, A.
[4] ' desunt in Sav.
[5] *Cedd*, *Adda*, Beda.
[6] C[3].; *Becti*, A.

Bed. iii. 24. terminare decreverat, munera sprevit. Igitur Oswi, supremis accensus doloribus, ait: "Si paganus nescit "accipere nostra donaria, offeramus ei qui novit, . . "Deo." . . . Vovit ergo se filiam suam Deo sacraturam, et xii. prædia monasteriis danda, et sic cum paucis multos aggressus est. Denique fertur quia trecies majorem pagani habuerunt exercitum; siquidem ipsi xxx. legiones ducibus nobilissimis instructas in bello habuere, quibus Oswius rex cum Alfrido filio, perparvum, ut dixi, habens exercitum, sed Christo duce confisus, occurrit. Nam alius filius ejus Egfrid eo tempore in provincia Merciorum apud reginam Cynewissem obses tenebatur. Filius autem Oswaldi regis Dilwald,[1] qui eis auxilio esse debuerat, in parte erat adversariorum, eisdemque contra patriam et patruum suum pugnaturus ductor extiterat; quamvis in ipso tempore pugnandi sese pugnæ subtraxerat, eventumque discriminis tuto in loco exspectabat. Inito ergo certamine fugati sunt et cæsi pagani, duces xxx.; Deus enim omnipotens cum suis aderat, dissolvitque fortitudinem regis Pendæ, solitumque robur nervorum brachiis ejus dempsit, et cor magnanimum contabescere jussit. Igitur nec se in ictibus suis cognovit, nec armis hostium impenetrabilis fuit; stupuitque hostes tales esse, qualis ipse hostibus esse solebat, se vero talem quales illi esse solebant. Qui ergo semper alienum sanguinem fuderat, sensit quod egerat, dum jam cruore suo terram imbuit et cerebro respersit. Ergo qui ad auxilium ejus venerant pæne sunt omnes interfecti; in quibus Adelered[2] frater Annæ regis Orientalium Anglorum qui post eum regnavit, auctor ipse belli, perditis militibus sive auxiliis interemptus est. Et quia prope fluvium Winwed pugnatum est, qui tunc per inundantiam pluviarum late alveum suum immo omnes ripas suas transierat, contigit ut multo plures aqua fugientes quam bellantes perderet ensis.

A.D. 654.

The vow of Oswy.

Battle of Winwidfeld. Penda defeated and slain, A.D. 655.

§ 42. Igitur Elfleda filia Oswi regis monachata est in Herteu,[3] id est, insula cervi. Deinde, constructo

Founding of the monastery of Hartlepool.

[1] *Edilwald*, A[2].; *Etilwald*, C[3].; *Ædiwald*, F.; *Oidiluald*, Beda.

[2] *Ædilheri*, Beda.

[3] C[3]. A[2].; *Erteu*, A.; *Herten*, F.

A.D. 655. monasterio in Streneshalh,[1] abbatissa ibidem obiit, ubi sepultus est pater ejus Oswi, et mater ejus Enflad, et pater matris ejus Eadwine. Tribus igitur annis post mortem Pendæ rexit Oswi gentem Merciorum, et ceteras Australes provincias, gentemque Pictorum ex parte magna.[2] Dedit etiam Pedæ filio Pendæ, cognato suo, regnum Australium Merciorum, qui sunt . . . familiarum v. millium, discreti fluvio[3] Trente ab Aquilonaribus Mercis, qui sunt familiarum vii. millium. Peda autem proditione conjugis suæ occisus est. Oswio igitur regi gentes Merciorum tribus annis subjectæ fuerunt, quæ, desecto capite perfido, ad fidei Cristianæ gratiam per eum conversæ sunt. Igitur Diuma factus est episcopus Midelengle et Merciorum et Lindisfarorum; qui ibidem defunctus est. Cui successit Coellec,[4] qui ad Scotos unde venerat rediit. Sed post tres annos duces Merciorum rebellantes Uulfere filium Pendæ in regem levaverunt. Quo regnante, xvii. annis fuit primus episcopus Trumhere, secundus Jaruman, tertius Ceadda,[5] quartus Wilfrid.[6]

Bed. iii. 24.

Diuma bishop in Mercia.

Bed. iii. 21, 24.

A.D. 657.

Bed. iii. 24.

Re-conversion of the East Saxons. A.D. 653.

§ 43. Tunc quoque iterum Orientales Saxones, qui olim Mellitum expulerant, iterum conversi sunt. Erat enim rex ejusdem gentis Sigbert, qui post Sibertum cognomento Parvum regnavit, amicus . . . Oswi regis; ad quem cum sæpe veniret, et prædicaretur ab eo, baptizatus est . . . a Finano episcopo in vico Ad Murum, qui est xiii. millibus a mari orientali.

Bed. iii. 22.

Cedd leaves East Anglia, and becomes their bishop.

Vocatus autem Ceadda a Middelanglis factus est episcopus super Estsexe. Baptizabatque maxime in civitate Ithamcestre, quæ est in ripa Pentæ amnis, et in Tilaburt, quæ est in ripa Thamasis. Consuli ergo cuidam pro illicito conjugio vetuit omnium communionem; quod contemnens rex pranduit cum eo; revertensque obviantis episcopi cecidit ad pedes. Quem jacentem

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[1] C³. F.; *Streneshald*, A.; *Streneshale*, A².

[2] *ex magna parte*, C³.

[3] C³. A².; *fluvii*, A.

[4] *Cellach*, Beda. *Ceaddan*, A. G.

[6] *Wynfridus*, Beda.

iratus virga tangens, prædixit eum in ipsa domo moriturum. Contigitque ut consul prædictus et frater ejus eum in ipsa domo interficerent; dixeruntque se id fecisse quia nimis mitis erat, et parcens hostibus. Successit autem Sigberto Swithelm, baptizatus ab Ced in Estanglia in Redlesham, id est, mansio Rendli. Suscepitque eum de lavacro Adelwold rex ipsius gentis, frater Annæ, regis eorumdem. Adelwold vero filius Oswaldi rex Deirorum eidem Ced episcopo tribuit locum ad Lestingaeu monasterii faciendi. Quo constructo cum illuc ab Estsexe sæpe rediret, tempore mortalitatis ibidem obiit. Cui successit in episcopatu frater ejus Ceadda.

A.D. 653.

Bed. iii. 23.

He founds the monastery of Lastingham. A.D. 648.

Bed. iii. 25. § 44. Interea . . . . Finan episcopus in insula Lindisfarnensi ecclesiam fecit. . . . . totam de secto robore. Quam cum postea Theodorus archiepiscopus dedicasset, Egbert episcopus ibidem plumbo parietes et tectum operuit. Finano defuncto, successit Colman, qui male servabat Pascha, sicut Aidanus et Finan. Igitur inde disputatum est coram Oswi rege et Aldfrido[1] rege filio ejus. Hinc erat Colmannus et Ced episcopus prædictus, inde Albertus[2] episcopus Occidentalium Saxonum, qui ad Aldfridum regem amicus ejus venerat, et Jacobus diaconus Paulini. Quorum digne pars prevaluit. Ced

A.D. 661.

Dispute at Whitby on the right observance of Easter. A.D. 664.

Bed. iii. 26. igitur postea rectum Pascha servabat; Colman vero cum parte ossium patris Aidani, nolens mutare sectam, in patriam reversus est. Cui successit Tudda in episcopatu Nordhumbre. Eata vero prius custos, postea episcopus factus est Lindisfarnensis. Hi autem tres episcopi Scotorum, Aidan, Finan, Colman, miræ sanctitudinis fuerunt et parsimoniæ. Nec enim potentes sæculi suscipiebant, qui ad eos nisi orandi causa non veniebant. Rex ipse cum v. vel vi. ministris, cum orasset, vel discedebat, vel cibo fratrum utebatur. Adeo autem sacerdotes erant illius temporis ab avaritia

Colman retires to Scotland.

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[1] *Alcfrido*, C[3]. F.

[2] *Agilberctus*, Beda.

A.D. 664. immunes, ut nec territoria nisi eo acti[1] acciperent. Nec longe post facta est eclipsis solis die tertio . . Maii, Bed. iii. 27. hora . . . decima diei; quam gravis pestilentia secuta est, Britanniam et Hiberniam magna strage devastans. Qua plaga Tuda episcopus mortuus est, et sepultus in Wemalet.[2]

Wilfrid is consecrated a bishop for Northumbria in France. A.D. 664.

§ 45. Alfrid vero filius Oswi jam regnans in parte Bed. iii. 28. regni patris misit Wilfridum presbyterum ad regem Galliarum, ut eum . . . . . consecrari faceret episcopum; quem Ailbertus prædictus, jam tunc præsul Parisius, cum plurimis episcopis honorifice consecravit, in vico qui vocatur Compendium. Rex autem Oswi imitatus industriam filii sui misit Ceaddam presbyterum, quia archiepiscopus jam obierat, ad Wine episcopum Occidentalium Saxonum, qui ab eo ordinatus est episcopus Eboracensis ecclesiæ. Cedda igitur episcopus Aidanum magistrum suum cœpit sequi, et exemplum Ced fratris sui, pergens non equo sed pedibus, instans lectioni, studens veritati, amicus castitatis, servus humilitatis. Veniens quoque Britanniam Wilfrid jam episcopus, doctrina sua multa ecclesiæ Anglorum contulit.

And Chad also.

§ 46. Post Swithelm regem Estsexe cum Sighere et Bed. iii. 30. Sebbi regnarent, pro præfata mortalitate Sighere et gens sua ad idola reversi sunt. Rex autem Wlfhere[3] mittens ad eos Jaruman episcopum revocavit eos ad fidem per eum feliciter. Tunc quoque regibus Anglorum Bed. iii. 29. nobilissimis Oswi et Egbert misit papa Vitalianus literas, requisitus de statu ecclesiæ et Paschæ. Nec longe post misit eis Theodorum archiepiscopum. Bed. iv. 1.

The faith restored in Essex.

A.D. 667.

A.D. 668. § 47. Theodorus post Damianum ordinavit Puttam Bed. iv. 2.

Theodore is made primate.

Roffi[4] episcopum. Regis etiam Wferi[5] petitione,[6] Cead- Bed. iv. 3. dam transtulit a monasterio quod est in Lestinge ad

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[1] *coacti*, Sav.

[2] *Weinalet*, C³.; *Wemalet*, A².; *Pægnalaech*, Beda.

[3] *Ulfhere*, C².; *Uulfhere*, F.

[4] *Hrofi*, Beda.

[5] *Wfheri*, C³.; *Vulferi*, A².; *Wlferi*, F.

[6] C³.; *peticionem*, A.

episcopium Liceffeld[1] ubi miraculis claruit quæ suo loco dicentur.[a] Oswio autem rege infirmitate defuncto, regnante Egfrido filio ejus anno tertio coegit Theodorus concilium cum cæteris episcopis, cujus decreta in ultimo librorum ponentur.[b] Post hæc, offensus . . . . . per quandam inobedientiam, Theodorus Winfridum episcopum Merciorum deposuit, pro quo Sexwlfum ordinavit. Londoniæ etiam Erchenwaldum constituit episcopum, tempore Sebbi et Sighere regum prædictorum, cujus miracula suo loco scribentur.[c] Eo tempore Edelred rex Merciorum Cantiam vastavit, Roffam destruxit; Putta episcopus aufugit. Huic Chichelmus successit. Anno eodem cometa apparuit tribus mensibus mane.

Bed. iv. 5. Bed. iv. 6. Bed. iv. 12. A.D. 669. St. Chad bishop of Lichfield. A.D. 670. Erconwald bishop of London. A.D. 676. Bishops of Rochester. A.D. 678.

§ 48. Egfridus rex Nordhumbre fugavit Wlfridum ab episcopio, loco cujus Bosa Deirorum provinciam, Eata Bernitiorum, suscepit; hic . . . . Eboraci, ille in Agustaldensi, vel Lindisfarnensi ecclesia. Tunc etiam Eadheld[4] in provincia Lindisfarorum[3] quam nuperrime rex Egfrid, superato . . . . Wlfere, obtinuerat, ordinatus episcopus; et hunc primum eadem provincia proprium accepit præsulem, secundum Alwinum, tertium Eadgarum, quartum Kinebertum, quem in præsenti habet, inquit Beda. Habebat enim ante Eadhedum antistitem Sexulfum, qui etiam Merciorum et Middel-Angle simul episcopus fuit; unde et expulsus de Lindissi, in illarum provinciarum regimine permansit. Ordinati sunt autem Eadheld, et Bosa, et Eata Eboraci a . . . . . Theodoro; qui etiam post annos iii. abscessionis Wilfridi, horum numero duos addidit antistites, Trumbertum ad ecclesiam Hagustaltensem, remanente Eata ad Lindisfarnensem, et Trumwine ad provinciam Pictorum, quæ tunc . . . . Anglis erat . . . subjecta. Eadhedum de Lindissi reversum, eo quod rex Adelred provinciam recepisset, Ripensi ecclesiæ præfecit.

Bishops of Lindsey. Theodore's diocesan arrangements.

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[1] *Lichelfeld*, A[2].; *Licesfeld*, F.
[2] *Eadhed*, A[2]. F.
[3] C[3]. A[2].; *Lindifarorum*, A.

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[a] The reference is to the author's Book IX., *De Miraculis*. See Introduction, § 8.

[b] From this it appears that Henry contemplated the addition of a book containing documents to his History; the design, however, was not carried out. See above, § 5, *n*.

[c] See above, note [a].

A.D. 681. Section 7. Conversion of the South Saxons by Wilfrid.

§ 49. SEPTIMA PARS sequitur de conversione Austra- Bed. iv. 13.
lium Saxonum facta per Wlfridum episcopum. Qui ab episcopio pulsus, ut supra dixi, Roma petita Britanniam rediit, et Australes Saxones, qui sunt familiarum vii. millium, ad fidem convertit. Rex autem eorum Adilwalut[1] paulo ante baptizatus fuerat in provincia Merciorum, suasione regis Wfere,[2] a quo etiam de lavacro susceptus est. In cujus signum adoptionis dederat illi Vectam . . . . insulam, et Meamparorum provinciam in gente Occidentalium Saxonum. Concedente igitur immo . . gaudente rege, Wilfridus prædicans primo duces et milites, deinde plebem sacro fonte abluit. Ipsa igitur die populo imber affluxit, qui tribus cessaverat annis, unde fames acerbissima plebem . . . . prostraverat. Denique ferunt quia sæpe xl. simul aut l. inedia homines macerati, procederent ad precipitium aliquod sive ripam maris, et junctis misere manibus, pariter omnes aut ruina perituri aut fluctibus absorbendi deciderent. Sed baptismate simul et pluvia adveniente, refloruit terra, rediit viridantibus arvis annus lætus et frugifer. Sic et cor omnium et caro omnium exultaverunt in Deum vivum. Docuit etiam eos antistes piscari. Nec enim prius nisi ad anguillas tantum piscari sciebant. Collectis igitur retibus, misit se in mare, et mox trecentis piscibus captis, centum pauperibus dedit, et centum his quorum erant retia, centum in suos usus reservavit. Quod videns populus libentius ejus verbis celestia bona sperare ceperunt, cujus ministerio temporalia bona sumpserunt. Dedit autem ei rex Aelwald insulam lxxx^ta. vj. familiarum, nomine Selesheu, id est, insula vituli marini. Circumdatur undique mari, preter fundæ jactum ab occidente; qualis locus a Latinis Peninsula, a Græcis Cherronesos vocatur. Ibi ergo Wlfrid, fundato templo, v. annis fuit, id est, usque ad mortem Egfrid regis, ubi servos suos et ancillas ccl. Christianos fecit et liberos. Interea Ceadwalla, juvenis de regio genere Gevissorum, Bed. iv. 15.
exulans interfecit regem Adelwald; sed mox expulsus est a ducibus regis Berctuno et Anduno, qui prius regnave-

He teaches the people to fish.

King Ædilwalch gives him land at Selsey.

A.D. 685.

[1] *Adilwaludh*, F.

[2] *Wlfhere*, C^3. F.

runt.[a] Sed cum Cedwalla esset rex Gevissorum, priorem occidit, et provinciam graviter vexavit, tam ipse quam successor ejus; unde toto illo tempore, revocato domum Wlfrido, proprio caruit antistite, et episcopo Wentæ subjecti sunt. A.D. 685.

Bed. iv. 16. § 50. Cedwalla rex debellavit insulam Vectam, adhuc idolatram, et secundum votum quartam partem dedit Wilfrido episcopo, qui tunc forte de gente sua supeveniens aderat. Est autem insula mille ducentarum familiarum, unde data est episcopo possessio . . trecentarum familiarum. Duos autem filios Arwaldi regis insulæ occisi, jam post patrem occidendos, fecit abbas Redford, id est "Vadum harundinis," prius baptizari, concessione Cedwaldi. Sic conversa est Vecta, ultima regionum Britanniæ. Hoc ergo ordine postquam omnes Britanniarum provinciæ fidem Christi susceperant, Theodorus archiepiscopus ad confirmandam fidem tam recentium quam veterum concilium constituit, cum episcopis Britanniæ de fide Catholica tractaturus; et tractatum synodalibus literis æternæ memoriæ commendavit. Quas literas in exordio sequentis libri, quem de gestis regum Anglorum fidelium, usque ad adventum et bella Dacorum, perdicturi sumus, dignum duxi præponere; hujus namque libri partes omnes secundum ordinem propositum pertractatæ sunt. A.D. 686. Cædwalla overruns the Isle of Wight, and gives a quarter of the island to bishop Wilfrid. This is the last English country to receive Christianity. Archbishop Theodore convenes a council.

Explicit liber tertius.

Incipit liber Quartus De Regno Anglorum.

Lib. IV. De Regno Anglorum.

Bed. iv. 17. § 1. "In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi Salvatoris "nostri, imperantibus dominis nostris piissimis Egfrido rege "Hymbronensium, anno decimo regni ejus, et Centwino rege "Westsexe anno quinto regni ejus, et Edelredo rege Mercio-"rum anno sexto regni ejus, et Aldulfo rege Est-Anglorum "anno xvi^to^ regni ejus, et Lothario rege Cantuariorum, anno A.D. 680. Synodal letter of the council of Heathfield.

[a] *prius regnaverunt*] Henry has misunderstood the meaning of this passage. Beda does not say that Berctun and Andun had "previously reigned," but that, after driving out Caedwalla, they "deinceps regnum provinciæ tenue-"runt."

A.D. 680. " vii° regni ejus, sub die xv^a Kalendarum Octobrium, indic- Bed. iv. 17,
" tione viii,[1] præsidente Theodoro gratia Dei archiepiscopo
" Britanniæ insulæ et civitatis Dorovernensis, una cum eo
" sedentibus cæteris episcopis Britanniæ insulæ viris vene-
" rabilibus, præpositis sacrosanctis Evangeliis, in loco qui
" Saxonico vocabulo Hatfeld[2] nominatur, pariter tractantes,
" fidem rectam et orthodoxam exposuimus, sicut Dominus
" noster Jesus Christus incarnatus tradidit discipulis suis,
" qui præsentialiter viderunt et audierunt sermones ejus, atque
" sanctorum patrum tradidit Symbolum, et generaliter omnes
" sanctæ et universales synodi et omnis probabilium Catholicæ
" ecclesiæ doctorum chorus. Nos itaque sequentes eos pie
" atque orthodoxe juxta divinitus inspiratam doctrinam eorum
" professi credimus constanter et confitemur, secundum sanctos
" patres, proprie et veraciter Patrem et Filium et Spiritum
" Sanctum Trinitatem in unitate consubstantialem, et unitatem
" in Trinitate, hoc est, unum Deum in tribus subsistentibus
" personis et consubstantialibus, æqualis gloriæ et honoris."
Et post multa hujusmodi quæ ad rectæ fidei confessionem pertinebant, hæc quoque sancta synodus suis litteris addit[3]:
" Suscepimus sanctas et universales quinque synodos beatorum
" et Deo acceptabilium patrum, id est, qui in Nicæa congregati
" fuerunt cccxviii. contra Arrium impissimum et ejusdem
" dogmata, et in Constantinopoli cl. contra vesaniam Macedonii
" et Eudoxii et eorum dogmata, et in Epheso prima cc. contra
" nequissimum Nestorium et ejus dogmata, et in Chalcedone
" DC.[4] contra Eutychen et Nestorium et eorum dogmata; et
" iterum in Constantinopoli quinto congregati sunt concilio
" in tempore Justiniani Minoris contra Theodorum et Theo-
" doreti[5] et Ibæ epistolas et eorum dogmata contra Cyrillum."
Et paulo post: " Et synodum quæ facta est in urbe Roma in
" tempore Martini papæ beatissimi, indictione prima, imperante
" Constantino piissimo anno nono, suscepimus; et glorificamus
" Dominum nostrum Jesum Christum sicut ipsi glorificaverunt,
" nihil addentes vel subtrahentes; et anathematizamus corde
" et ore quos anathematizaverunt, et quos susceperunt sus-
" cepimus, glorificantes Deum Patrem sine initio, et Filium
" ejus unigenitum ex Patre generatum ante sæcula, et Spiritum
" Sanctum procedentem ex Patre et Filio inenarrabiliter, si-
" cut prædicaverunt hi quos memoravimus supra, sancti apos-
" toli et prophetæ et doctores; et nos omnes subscripsimus, qui
" cum Theodoro archiepiscopo fidem Catholicam exposuimus."

[1] *septima*, Sav.
[2] *Watfeld*, Sav.
[3] *addidit*, F.
[4] DC^orum xxx^ta, F.
[5] *Teoderitum*, F.

Bed. iv. 18. § 2. Intererat autem huic synodo Johannes archicantator ecclesiæ S. Petri Romæ, et abbas . . . . S. Martini, qui nuper inde venerat jussu papæ Agathonis, cum Benedicto abbate venerabili. Benedictus autem construxerat monasterium S. Petro juxta ostium fluminis Wiri. Qui Romam profectus ad confirmandum privilegium templi illius ex concessione regis Egberti, rediens Johannem prædictum secum adduxit. Hujus Benedicti successor fuit Ceolfridus abbas, sub quo Beda deguit. Ibi ergo Johannes cantare docuit Romano more, et decreta synodi Martini papæ, ubi ipse interfuerat, ibi scripta reliquit. Repetens vero Romam relaturus qualitatem fidei Anglorum, in via mortuus est, et Turonis sepultus. A.D. 680. Monks Wearmouth founded by Benedict Biscop.

§ 3. Nunc igitur, his ita pertractatis, redeundum est ad contextum historiæ regum Anglorum quem in fine libri secundi desecuimus : connectendusque est illi tractatui tractatus iste, ut in directum protendatur narratio.

Chr. E. Centwino igitur Occidentalium Saxonum rege defuncto, Cedwalla post eum regnans, auxilio Mul fratris sui, insulam Vectam suam viribus suis fecit; namque frater ejus Mul laudabilis et gratiosus, terribilis erat viribus, et decorus aspectu : ideoque et omnibus amabilis erat, et famæ prærogativa clarissimus. Perrexerunt ergo fratres prædicti in Centensem provinciam, causa virium suarum exercitandarum et famæ ampliandæ. Ipsi namque necdum baptizati erant, quamvis prædecessores eorum et populus omnis Christi[1] essent. Igitur ingredientes Cent, nullo obsistente, prædati[2] sunt totam provinciam. A.D. 686. Reign of Cedwalla.

Chr. E. Cedwalla namque cum regnum suum invaderet, Lotarius, rex Cantiæ, regnum suum moriens deseruit. Vulneratus namque est rex impiger Lotarius in pugna Australium Saxonum, quos contra eum Eadric filius Egberti aggregaverat, et vulnerum immanitate inter medendum defunctus est. Ac post eum idem A.D. 685. Deaths of Lothere king of Kent,

Bed. iv. 26.

[1] *Christiani*, A. F. | [2] *deprædati*, A. F.

A.D. 685. Eadric anno uno et dimidio, sine amore et reverentia Centensium, regnavit. Bed. iv. 26.

and of Egfrid of Northumbria,

§ 4. Eo quoque tempore Egfridus rex Nordhumbre mortuus est. Miserat namque anno præcedente Hiberniam ducem Berctum cum exercitu, qui misere gentem innoxiam et nationi Anglorum semper amicam vastavit. At Hiberni, et pro posse suo repugnantes, et divinæ auxilium pietatis invocantes, cœlitus se vindicari continuis Deum imprecationibus postulabant. Et quamvis maledici regnum Dei possidere non possint, creditum est tamen quod ii qui merito impietatis suæ maledicebantur, ocius Domino vindice pœnas sui reatus luerent. Siquidem anno post hunc proximo, idem rex, cum temere exercitum ad vastandum Pictorum provinciam duxisset, multum prohibentibus amicis, et maxime beatæ memoriæ Cudberto,[1] qui nuper fuerat ordinatus episcopus, (anno namque eodem fecerat eum rex idem Lindisfarnensem episcopum,) introductus est, simulantibus fugam hostibus, in angustias inaccessorum montium, et cum maxima parte copiarum quam secum adduxerat, extinctus: datumque est illi, ne audiret amicos revocantes se, quia noluerat audire . . . . . patrem Egbertum, ne Scotiam nil se lædentem impugnaret. Exinde spes cœpit et virtus . . Angloрum fluere, et retro sublapsa referri: nam et Picti terram suam, cujus partem tenebant Angli, recuperaverunt; Brittones quoque nonnullam libertatem receperunt, quam hactenus habent. Vir autem Domini Trumwine abbas Ebercurni, positi quidem in regione Anglorum, sed juxta fretum quod Anglorum terras Pictorumque disterminat, fugit inde, et in monasterio Streneshal sæpe dicto obiit. Successit autem Egfrido in regnum Alfrid, vir in Scripturis doctissimus, qui frater ejus et filius regis Oswi esse dicebatur: destructumque regni statum, quamvis intra fines angustiores, nobiliter recuperavit.

who had invaded the land of the Picts against the admonition of St. Cuthbert.

Virg. Æn. ii. 169.

A.D. 687. Kent laid waste by the West Saxons, under Mul.

§ 5. Cedwalla secundo anno regni sui misit fratrem suum Mul fortissimum, et juvenes cum eo fortissimos, prædatum Cent, petitione ejusdem fratris sui.[2] Allexerat enim eum præteriti anni lucrum gloriosum, et famæ pretium non exosum. Pergens igitur in Cent, non invenit qui ei resisteret, et terram prædando in Chr. E.

[1] A. G.; *Cutberto*, Sav., M. H. B. | [2] *sui Mul*, A.

solitudinem redigens, et Christi servos immeritos affligens, maledicta eorum merita sensit. Nam cum hostes effœminatos duceret, et nihil sibi pro viribus prævideret, irruit in domum quandam longe a suis cum duodecim tantum militibus prædaturus; ubi inopinata multitudine circumventus, cum hostes interficiendo non deficeret nec proficeret, qui armis cædi non poterat, in ipsa domo cum duodecim militibus suis igne combustus est. Periit ergo flos juvenum, et juvenilis evanuit exercitus. Unde comparet quam nihili sit confidentia fortitudinis ad Dei omnipotentiam. Hæc audiens Cedwalla rursus ingressus est Cantiam, ubi mirabili cæde et innumera satiatus rapina, cum non inveniret quid cæderet vel raperet, ad sua magnus vindex et victor sævus rediit. A.D. 687.

Chr. E. Cedwalla rex cum duobus annis regnasset, se regnumque suum abdicans propter Deum regnumque perBed. v. 7. petuum, Romam petiit; illud gloriæ singularis sibi æstimans si ibi baptizaretur et moreretur. Sergius ergo papa baptizavit eum, et ex nomine apostoli Petrum vocavit. Rex vero, secundum votum, infra septem dies in albis mortuus est, duodecimo Kal. Maii, et sepultus est in ecclesia S. Petri; super quem scriptum est hoc epitaphium:— A.D. 688. Abdication, pilgrimage, and death of Cedwalla. A.D. 689. 20 Apr.

Culmen, opes, sobolem, pollentia regna, triumphos,
Exuvias, proceres, mœnia, castra, lares,
Quæque patrum virtus, et quæ congesserat ipse
Cedwal[1] armipotens[2] liquit amore Dei:
Ut Petrum sedemque Petri rex cerneret hospes,
Cujus fonte meras sumeret almus aquas:
Splendificumque jubar radianti carperet haustu,
Ex quo vivificus fulgor ubique fluit.
Percipiensque alacer redivivæ præmia vitæ,
Barbaricam rabiem, nomen et inde suum,
Conversus convertit ovans: Petrumque vocari
Sergius antistes jussit, ut[3] ipse pater

[1] *Ceadwal*, F.
[2] F., Beda; *omnipotens*, Sav.
[3] *et*, F.

Fonte renascentis, quem Christi gratia purgans,
Protinus albatum vexit in arce poli.
Mira fides regis, clementia maxima Christi,
Cujus consilium nullus adire potest.
Sospes enim veniens supremo ex orbe Britanni
Per varias gentes, per freta, perque vias,
Urbem Romuleam vidit, templumque verendum
Aspexit Petri, mystica dona gerens.
Candidus inter oves Christi sociabilis ibit,
Corpore nam tumulum, mente superna tenet.
Commutasse magis sceptrorum insignia credas,
Quem regnum Christi promeruisse vides.

A.D. 688. § 6. Ine regnavit post hunc super Westsexe XXXVII.[1] annis. Ine fuit filius Cenred, filii Ceolwold: Ceolwold fuit frater Cinewold,[a] fueruntque ambo filii Cudwine, filii Ceauling, filii Chenric, filii Certic. Hujus regis anno secundo Theodorus archiepiscopus, XXII. anno episcopatus sui, transiit: cujus loco Britwold abbas Raculf electus est, et sacratus archiepiscopus. Ad hoc usque tempus fuerunt Romani archiepiscopi: exinde fuerunt Angli. Ipse vero Britwoldus ordinavit Tobiam Rovensem episcopum, Latina, Græca, et Saxonica lingua . . . . . multipliciter instructum. Eo tempore erant duo reges in Cent, non tam secundum stirpem regiam quam secundum invasionem: scilicet Uithred[2 b] et Webhard.

Chr. C. vel G.

A.D. 690. Death of archbishop Theodore. A.D. 692.

Chr. E.

Bed. v. 8.

Two kings in Kent.

Chr. E.

[1] F.; *xxxviii.*, A.

[2] C. F.; *Nithred*, A. C[2]. C[3].

[a] *Cinewold*] In the Chronicles "Cynegils." This variation of the significant termination of a proper name is of frequent occurrence in Saxon names.

[b] *Uithred*] This is certainly the true reading; the king meant is Beda's Victred. Beda (H. E. v. 8) speaks of Victred and Suæbhard as reigning in Kent together. Henry evidently conceived of Wihtred, whom he names in the next sentence, as the legitimate king, and Webhard as an intruder; and this view is countenanced by the list of Kentish kings in Florence, which contains Wihtred, but is silent respecting Webhard. But Henry absurdly supposed Uihtred to be also an intruder, and a different person from Wihtred, a notion to which his authorities give no countenance whatever.

Ine VI. anno regnante, legitimus rex Centensis With- A.D. 694.
red confortatus in regno, religione simul et industria
suam gentem ab extranea invasione liberavit. With-
Chr. C. vel G. red namque fuit filius Egbrith, filii Erchenbricth, filii
Eadbald, filii Edelbrith. Tenuit autem regnum Centense Long reign of Withred.
XXXII. annis nobiliter et pacifice. Anno eodem Ine rex Hostilities between Ine and Withred
castrorum acies ordinatas et terribiles in Cantiam de-
duxit, vindicaturus combustionem Mul cognati sui. Rex
autem Withred obviam ei affuit, non cum feroci arro-
gantia, sed pacifica supplicatione; non cum frendentibus
minis, sed rhetorici mellis dulcedine, qua regi fero per-
suasit ut, armis depositis, multam pecuniæ a Centensibus
acciperet pro cæde juvenis; et sic lis finita ruit, pax
confirmata revixit. Rex vero Centensis abhinc semper
Chr. E. in pace regnavit. Tertio post hunc anno Merci, qui A.D. 697.
The Mercians murder their queen, Ostrida.
dicuntur etiam Sudhumbri, turpe scelus commiserunt;
reginam namque Ostridam, uxorem Edelredi regis sui
et Egfridi regis sororem, inhumane occiderunt.

Chr. E. § 7. Ine XI. anno regnante, Bertus[1] prædictus consul A.D. 699.
Egfridi sensit maledicta Hibernensium, quorum eccle-
sias destruxerat, sicut et dominus suus senserat. Sicut
enim Egfridus rex ingressus terram Pictorum cædem Beret killed by the Picts.
ibi pertulit, ita et iste, ingressus terram eorundem
vindicaturus dominum suum, ab iisdem occiditur. Circa A.D. 700. Kings of Mercia.
hoc tempus ab Incarnatione Domini septingenti anni
fuerunt. Ædelred filius Pendæ rex Merce, Omnipotentis
benignitate visitatus, fit monachus anno XXIX. regni A.D. 704.
Chr. E. ejus, et sepultus est apud Bardenie feliciter: cui suc- A.D. 716.
cessit Cenred cognatus ejus, similis virtute et felicitate. A.D. 709.
Cum enim quinque annis regnum nobiliter tenuisset,
Bed. v. 19. nobilius multo sceptra regni reliquit. Veniens namque Ro-
mam, et monachus ibi factus, Constantino pontificante,
usque ad diem permansit ultimum: cum quo etiam
Offa filius Sigheri regis Orientalium Saxonum, rex si re-
mansisset futurus, pari ductus devotione Romam ivit et

[1] *Brith*, A.

A.D. 709. Glorious through resigning their temporal crowns.

monachatum suscepit. Imitamini ergo, reges, horum duorum regum felicissimam strenuitatem, scilicet Edelredi et Cenredi, quorum nomen permanet in æternum; qui diademata, uxores, urbes, cognatos, et omnia relinquentes, multis millibus idem faciendi exemplum fuerunt. O Deus bone! quæ et qualia diademata eis reddes, et ipse manu tua cervicibus eorum summus Pontifex impones in die exultationis et lætitiæ, quando cunctis millibus legionum cœlestium et terrestrium tecum reges prædictos suscipientibus cum triumpho, et faciem eorum videre desiderantibus, afferent fructum non centenum tantum, sed potius millenum! fructum odoriferum, fructum expectabilem, et tibi ipsi visu delectabilem. O Deus bone! quis nunc etiam igne Sancti Spiritus accensus exempla regum illorum, et vere regum, sequatur, ut adhuc etiam crescat eis exultatio novi fructus, et uberiora tibi sequentium probitate munera offerant cum devotissima jocunditate? Heu miseri! dimittendus est sermo de regibus cœli, qui, O utinam, perennis in cordibus nostris miserulis et inertissimis figatur! Sed redeundum est de cœlo ad terras. Successit namque regibus prædictis Merce Ceolred in regno, quod idem octo annis patriæ et avitæ virtutis hæres clarissime rexit.

A.D. 705. Erection of the see of Sherborne.

§ 8. Ine vicesimo anno regni sui divisit[a] episcopatum Westsexiæ in duo, qui unus esse solebat; partem orientalem a silvis tenuit Daniel, occidentalem Aldelmus. Aldelmo vero successit Forthere. Eodem anno Wilfridus episcopus, de quo inter miracula non silebitur, obiit apud Uundalum,[1] XLV. anno episcopatus sui, et sepultus est apud Ripun. Anno huic proximo pug- Chr. E.

A.D. 709. Death of bishop Wilfrid.

A.D. 710.

Chr. E.

[1] *Wandalum*, F.

[a] The division of the West Saxon diocese into the bishoprics of Winchester and Sherborne was made in 705 or 706 (Bed. v. 18), *i.e.* in the seventeenth, not the twentieth, year of Ina.

navit rex Ine et Nun cognatus ejus contra Gerente[a] regem Wales. Cujus pugnæ principio occisus est dux Higebald; ad ultimum vero Gerente cum suis faciem ab Anglis avertit, et fugiens, arma et spolia sequentibus reliquit. Tunc etiam Berfrid consul restitit superbiæ Pictorum, dimicans inter Heve et Cere; ubi multitudine magna Pictorum strata, ultor extitit regis Egfridi et consulis Berti. Acca presbyter successit Wilfrido episcopo. Alfridus vero rex Nordhumbre, quarto ante hunc anno, infirmatus perierat apud Driffeld, anno regni sui vicesimo nondum impleto. Cui succedens Osredus filius ejus, puer octo annorum, regnavit XI. annis. Osred vero rex, belli infortunio, juxta Mere[b] pugnans, interfectus est. Cui succedens Cenred regnavit duobus annis, et mortuus est. Post quos Osricus regnavit ibidem undecim annis. Hi namque quatuor reges[1] regnaverunt in Nordhumbre tempore Ine regis.

A.D. 710. Chr. E. A.D. 710. A.D. 705. Kings of Northumbria in Ina's time. A.D. 716. A.D. 718.

§ 9. Ine XXVI. anno regni sui pugnavit contra Ceolred regem Merce, filium Edelredi regis, apud Wonebirih; adeo autem horribiliter pugnatum est utrinque, ut nesciatur cui clades detestabilior contigerit. Anno vero sequente idem rex Merce Ceolred mundo exiit, et sepultus est apud Lichfeld. Adelbold successit ei in regnum Merce, vir fortis et vehemens, regnavitque

A.D. 715. A.D. 716.

[1] *prædicti*, A.; deest, Sav.; *predicti reges*, F.

[a] This Gerente was a king of Cornwall. St. Aldhelm dedicated to him his book "Adversus Errorem Britonum;" see Bed. v. 18; and consult an interesting note on this king in Mr. Earle's "Two Saxon Chronicles." It is not known who Hygebald was; but the Chronicle does not in any way connect his death with the battle between Ina and Gerente.

[b] The Peterborough Chronicle says that Osred was slain "south of the boundary" of Northumbria, be suðan ge-mære. Comp. Spenser's line—

"And made one *mere* of the earth and to their reign."

Henry imagines a town or village named Mere.

victoriose XLI. annis. Eodem anno Egbertus vir vene- Chr. E.
A.D. 716. Egbert at Iona. rabilis convertit monachos qui erant in Hii, ad catholicum Pascha et canonicam tonsuram. Cumque cum Bed. v. 22.
iisdem conversis moratus fuisset XIII. annis, jam securus de correctione fratrum, ipso die Paschali, cum missarum solemnia celebrasset, exultavit ut videret diem
Naiton, king of the Picts, adopts the Catholic Easter. Domini: vidit, et gavisus est. Eo tempore Naiton rex ch. 21.
Pictorum conversus fuerat ad rectum Pascha, literis instructoriis a Ceolfrido abbate directis, qui post Benedictum, de quo prædiximus, rexit monasterium quod est ad ostium Wiri amnis, et juxta amnem Tina, in loco qui vocatur In Girvum. Scripsit ergo regi literas de Pascha et de tonsura, magna plenas auctoritate: quod autem ille literis persuasit, rex in toto regno suo
A.D. 718. regia auctoritate perfecit. Circa hoc tempus Cudburh, Chr. E.
soror Cneburh,[1] constituit abbatiam apud Wineburn; quæ data fuerat Egferdo[2] regi Nordhumbre, sed eo vivente separata.

A.D. 725. Ine XXXVI. anno regni ejus exercitum suum in Sud-
Ina invades Sussex. sexe promovit, pugnavitque contra Sudsexas potenter et victoriose, et interfecit in eodem prœlio Ealdbriht,
A.D. 722. quem prius fugaverat a castro quod vocatur Tantune, quod quidem rex Ine construxerat; sed quia juvenis prædictus Ealdbriht castrum introierat, qui regius hostis erat, Edelburh regina, uxor Ine, castrum cepit armis, captumque destruxit, et eum fugere compulit in Sudrei
A.D. 725. [3]et Sudsexe.' Eodem anno Withred rex Centensis, cum
Death of Withred, king of Kent, per XXXIV. annos pæne regnasset, defunctus est; tres Bed. v. 23.
filios, Edilbertum, Edbertum, Aeilricum, relinquens
A.D. 727. hæredes. Circa hoc tempus Tobias Rovensis episcopus, Chr. E.
and of bishop Tobias. Theodori archiepiscopi et abbatis Adriani discipulus, expiravit; cui successit Aldulfus.

A.D. 726. § 10. Ine rex potens et felix, relinquens Adelhardo Chr. E.
Ina resigns his crown, cognato suo regnum, Romam petiit, et ibi peregrinans

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[1] *Cneburt*, F. S[2].
[2] *Egfrido*, A.; *Ecgfredo*, F.
[3] ' A. F.; desunt in Sav.

Chr. E. in terris, stipendia promeruit in cœlis. Hujus autem regis tempore, ut mundi volubilitas quam velox sit ex hinc perpendatur; fuerunt imperatores Justinianus minor, qui regnavit decem annis; Leo, qui regnavit tribus annis; Tiberius, qui regnavit septem annis; Justinianus secundus, qui regnavit sex annis; Philippus, qui regnavit anno et dimidio; Anastasius, qui regnavit tribus annis; Theodosius, qui regnavit uno anno; Leo, qui regnavit novem annis; Constantinus etiam, cujus regni anno tertio Ine Romam profectus est. Apostolici autem in ejus tempore hi fuerunt: Sergius papa, Johannes, alius Johannes, Sisinnius, Constantinus, Gregorius; cujus tempore rex Ine sponte victor cupiditatis exulavit. Reges autem Francorum hi fuerunt ex ordine tempore ejus: rex Childericus, rex Theodoricus, rex Clodoveus, rex Childebertus, rex Dagobertus. Tempore etiam hujus regis, cœli palatia conscenderunt S. Heddi episcopus Wincestrensis, S. Guthlacus heremita Croilandensis, S. Johannes Eboracensis archiepiscopus. Reges vero contigui Cedwalla et Ine, magni viribus, quod commune fuit eis cum belluis, majores vero sanctitate, quod proprium est angelorum, et hominum sed paucorum, egregie fecerunt: unde beatos dicent eos omnes generationes. Sicut et duo reges con-
Chr. E. tigui Merce fecerunt, scilicet Edelred et Cenred: qui relictis omnibus bonis falsis, verum et summum bonum, quod Deus est, adepti sunt. Reges ergo terræ præsentes, imitamini reges prædictos sapientes et beatos, non furiosos et infelices, quorum distinctionem opera et finis operum in præsenti tractatu demonstrant. Quatuor ergo reges prædicti luminaria sunt omnibus regibus terræ, ut boni quos imitentur habeant, mali unde excusentur non habeant. Vos etiam, qui reges non estis, reges prædictos imitamini, ut cœli reges efficiamini. Si enim, cum illi majora reliquerunt, vos minora relinquere nolueritis, sancti reges prædicti vestræ damnationis judices erunt.

A.D. 726. goes to Rome, and dies.

Names of emperors, popes, and kings of France, who were contemporary with Ina.

Reflections on the heroic example set by four English kings, two of Wessex, and two of Mercia.

A.D. 704.

A.D. 709

A.D. 728. Affairs of Wessex.

§ 11. Ædelhard rex Westsexe primo anno regni sui pugnavit contra Oswald juvenem de regia stirpe, regnum idem sibi acquirere conantem. Oswald namque filius fuit Ædelbald, filii Chinebald, filii Cudwine, filii Ceaulin, filii Cinric. Cum autem juvenis, impar numero regalibus turmis, pondus prœlii diu pertulisset, et ultra non posset, fuga regi regnum reliquit. Rex igitur prædictus in regno confortatus est. Chr. C. vel. G.

A.D. 729. Comets.

Ædelhardi regis anno tertio apparuerunt duæ cometæ circa solem terribiles; una quippe solem præcedebat . . . orientem, alia sequebatur occidentem, quasi Orienti simul et Occidenti diræ cladis præsagæ; vel certe una diei, altera noctis præcurrebat exortum, ut utroque tempore mala mortalibus imminere signarent. Portabant autem faciem ignis contra Aquilonem quasi ad accendendum acclinem; apparebantque mense Januario, et duabus ferme septimanis permanebant. Quo tempore gravissima Sarracenorum lues Gallias et Hispanias late misera cæde vastabat; et ipsi post non multo in eadem provincia dignas suæ perfidiæ pœnas luebant. Eodem quoque anno Osricus rex Nordhumbre vita discedens, regnum quod XI. annis gubernaverat Ceolwlfo reliquit, fratri illius, qui ante se regnaverat tempore Cenredi regis. Rex autem Ceolwlf VIII. annis regnum tenuit. Hic est rex ille, cui Beda vir sanctus et venerabilis, vir ingenii florentis et Christi philosophus, Ecclesiasticam Historiam Anglorum scripsit, qua regi missa, quantum profecerit finis beatus regis ostendit. Bed. v. 23.

Saracens lay waste Spain and France.

Affairs of Northumbria.

A.D. 731. Death of archbishop Berhtwald; Tatwine succeeds him.

§ 12. Ædelhardo regnante quinque annis, Britwoldus archiepiscopus pene XXXVIII. annis, obiit; et Tadwinus, qui fuerat presbyter apud Bredune in Merce, factus est archiepiscopus. Illum autem sacraverunt viri beatæ memoriæ, Inguald Londoniensis episcopus, et Daniel Wintoniensis episcopus, et Aldulf Rovensis episcopus, et Aldwine Licesfeldensis episcopus. Chr. E.

A.D. 733.

Post biennium vero Edelbald rex Merce fortissimus, congregato terribili exercitu, obsedit Sumerton, castris dispositis per gyrum; cumque non esset qui auxilium inclusis inferret, vel includentibus resistere posset, eam recepit in Chr. E.

Bed. v. 23. suam. Edelbald igitur rex Mercensis maxima virtute super reges coætaneos provectus, omnes provincias Angliæ usque ad Humbram flumen, cum suis regibus, sibi subjectas esse voluit, et fecit. Eodem anno sol obscuratus est. A.D. 733. Power of Ethelbald king of Mercia.

Chr. E. Ædelhardi regis anno VIII., Tadwinus archiepiscopus, vir religione et prudentia insignis, sacris quoque literis nobiliter instructus, hominibus ultra non apparuit. Ascendit autem in loco ejus Egbricht,[a] recepto Romæ pallio. Anno eodem venerabilis Beda, semper mente inhabitata, cœli conscendit palatia; qui regia virtute sua et aliorum vitia compescens, cum regibus ipsis inferior non sit, dignissime regum in ordine quasi rex ponatur. A.D. 734. Death of Tatwine. A.D. 735. and of the Venerable Beda.

Bed. v. 24. § 13. Beda igitur presbyter monasterii quod est ad Wiremudham et In Girvum, a Benedicto abbate ejusdem loci, ac deinde Ceolfrido educatus et eruditus, semper scripturis studuit; reliquit autem mundum anno LXII. ætatis suæ, senex annis et sapientia, et plenus dierum non in vano consumptorum, quod apparet in operum suorum numero. Scripsit ergo a principio Genesis usque ad nativitatem Isaac, libros tres: de tabernaculo, et vasis ejus, et vestibus, libros tres: in primam partem Samuelis usque ad mortem Saulis, libros quatuor: de ædificatione Templi allegorice, duos: in Cantica Canticorum, sex: [1] Omeliarum Evangelii, II.:' in Esdram et Neemiam, tres: in canticum Abacuc, unum: in librum Tobiæ, unum: Capitula quoque lectionum Veteris Testamenti: in Evangelium Marci, quatuor: in Lucæ, sex: in Apostolum quæcunque in opusculis Augustini invenit, cuncta per ordinem transcripsit: in Actus Apostolorum, duos: in Account of Beda's life and writings.

[1]' A. F.; desunt, Sav.

[a] This Egbricht was appointed to the see of York, and had nothing to do with Canterbury. Tatwine was succeeded by Nothelm.

A.D. 735. septem Epistolas Canonicas, libros septem: in Apocalypsim, tres: item Capitula lectionum in totum Novum Testamentum excepto Evangelio: item librum Epistolarum ad diversos: item de Historiis sanctorum: item de vita S. Cuthberti, primum heroice, postea plano sermone: item de vita Abbatum monasterii sui, duos: item Martyrologium: item librum Hymnorum: item librum de Temporibus: item librum de Metrica arte: et Historiam Ecclesiasticam Anglorum in libris quinque; in qua pie perorat, ut apud omnes legentes fructum intercessionis inveniat.

Sketch of the English church in Beda's time.

§ 14. De statu autem ecclesiastico in suo tempore ita idem Beda ait: In præsenti Cantuariensis archiepiscopus est Tadwine, Rovensis episcopus Aldulfus, Londoniensis Ingualdus: super Orientales Anglos sunt Edbertus et Hedhelac episcopi: [1] provinciæ Occidentalium Saxonum Daniel et Forthere episcopi:' super Merce est Aldwinus episcopus: super gentem quæ ad occidentem Sabrinæ amnis habitat, est Walestod [2] episcopus: in provincia Huicciorum [3] est Wilfridus episcopus: in provincia Lindisfarorum Chinebertus: Vecta insula ad Danielem episcopum Wentæ pertinet; et provincia Australium Saxonum, jam aliquot annis sine episcopo, eundem colit. Sub rege vero Ceolwlfo sunt quatuor episcopi; Wilfrid Eboracensis, Edilwald Lindisfarnensis, Acca Haugustaldensis, Wettelmus in Candida Casa, quæ nuper pontificata ipsum primum habet antistitem. Rex vero Cent est Eadbriht: rex Westsexe Ædelhard: rex Est-Anglorum Selred: rex Nordhumbre Ceolwlfus: rex Merce Edelbaldus, maximus omnium. Anno adventus Anglorum circiter ducentesimo octogesimo octavo: [4] anno Dominicæ Incarnationis septingentesimo tricesimo quarto, [5] in cujus regno perpetuo exultet terra, et congratulante in fide ejus Brittania, lætentur multæ insulæ, et confiteantur memoriæ sanctitatis ejus. Bed. v. 23.

A.D. 734.

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[1] ' A.; desunt, Sav.
[2] A[2]. F.; *Walsted*, Sav.
[3] *Uuictiorum*, F.
[4] *quinto*, Beda.
[5] *primo*, Beda.

Hucusque auctoritatem venerabilis Bedæ presbyteri in hac nostra historia contexenda secuti sumus, et maxime in iis omnibus quæ de rebus ecclesiasticis dicta sunt: in aliis etiam semper quantumcunque potuimus. Hinc igitur, quæ in scriptis veterum diligenti scrutinio collectis invenire potuimus, ad instructionem posteritatis literis mandare studuimus. Namque sicut in prologo Historiæ Anglorum doctissimus Beda testatur, "Vera lex historiæ est simpliciter id, quod "fama vulgante colligitur, scribendo posteris notificare." A.D. 734. Beda's conception of history.

Chr. E. § 15. Ædelhardi regis anno decimo Nothelmus archiepiscopus accepit pallium a papa: nec longe post Forthere episcopus et Fridegida[1] regina, relictis possessionibus splendidis et deliciarum voluptatibus, Romam profecti sunt. Quod iis temporibus plures de gente Anglorum, nobiles, ignobiles, clerici, laici, viri ac feminæ, certatim facere consueverunt. Eo etiam tempore Edilwaldus Lindisfarnensis episcopus vivendi finem fecit; post quem episcopatus honorem Chenewlf adeptus est. Nec segnius venerabilis Acca presbyter, et Haugustaldensis postea præsul, corporeis rebus exutus est. A.D. 736. A.D. 737.

Chr. C. vel G. a. 731. § 16. Ædelhardi regis anno XI. Ceolwlf rex nobilissimus Nordhumbre nobilissime fecit. Ceolwlf namque fuit filius Cutha, filii Cuthwine, filii Ledwold, filii Egwold, filii Aldelm, filii Ocche, filii Idæ regis. Ceolwlf igitur cum sæpe viventi Bedæ colloqueretur, et sæpe ante mortem ejus, et post mortem, Historiam ejus ad se scriptam oculis adhiberet, cœpit diligenter regum singulorum facta et finem secum discutere, viditque luce clarius regna terrena et res humanas cum labore perquiri, cum timore possideri, cum dolore amitti. Et quia quibusdam minus callidis vel ætate teneris, videntibus temporalia pulchra et delectabilia, cum audierint prædicari ea deserenda et temnenda, A.D. 737. Ceolwulf, following the example of former kings, renounces his crown, and becomes a monk.

[1] C. S². F.; *Frigedida*, A.

A.D. 737. videtur eis frivolum et contra rationem, quia nondum perceperunt quomodo mordeant mundi divitiæ, quomodo ad nihilum deveniant, et fructum tandem nullum nisi seram pœnitudinem generent: horum nihil regem callentem et expertum impediebat. Senserat enim in seipso regnum sibi cum labore fuisse perquisitum, cum timore possessum; noluit vero cum dolore amittere. Sponte igitur divitiarum non servus sed dominus, quasi magnus viles abjecit. Maxime autem accenderat eum, quod cum pueri vel mulieres vulgusque, vel etiam ditiores, prosilirent ad eum conspiciendum et ejus beatitudinem mirandam, ipse horribilibus curis necis et proditionis et multimodæ calamitatis intus cruciabatur, et animo et corpore decoquebatur. Cumque alii judicarent eum beatissimum, ipse qui solus animi sui secreta noverat, judicabat se miserrimum. Quum ergo parvo spatio, id est, octo annis regnasset, permaximum visum est ei, et valde anxiatus est quod tanto tempore vitam suam amiserit, curis [1] et decipulis' vanis et fragilibus [2] deditam; reliquum autem saltem vitæ suæ non erroneæ stultitiæ sed sapientiæ et utilitati propriæ dicare certavit. Exemplumque assumens ex Historia beati viri prædicta, sex reges fortissimos, vir vere fortissimus prosecutus est: scilicet Edelredum regem Merce, et Cenredum successorem ejus; nec non Cedwallam regem Westsexe, et Ine successorem ejus; sed et Sigebertum regem Estangle, qui monachus effectus est, quem postea Penda occidit; et Sebbi Bed. iv. 11. regem Estsexe, qui monachus effectus diem jucundum mortis suæ prævidit; vidit et gavisus est. Isti non devorarunt substantias suas cum meretricibus, sed euntes cum dolore semina sua seminaverunt, ut venientes veniant cum exultatione, suos Deo manipulos afferentes. Complevit ergo Ceolwlfus hebdomadam

[1] A.; desunt, Sav.

[2] *curis vanis et decipulis fragilibus*, C. F. C^2. S^2.; *disciplinis fragilibus*, Sav.

regum perfectorum ; et habitu monachali suscepto, A.D. 738.
Ps. 20, 4. capiti ejus corona de lapide pretioso imposita est a
Chr. E. Domino. Edbricto vero cognato suo regni sceptra reliquit. Edbrictus namque fuit filius Eatæ[1] filii Ledwoldi, regnavitque XXI. annis. In hoc regum commercio Edelbald rex superbus Mercensis, alterius vir animi, et ideo aliusmodi deditus fini, spreta sanctificatione, gladiisque jura postponens, introivit Nordhumbre, A.D. 737.
et cum non esset qui ei resistere posset, præda arrepta quantam voluit secum ad suos transvexit.

Chr. E. § 17. Ædelhardus rex decimo quarto anno regni sui A.D. 741. Death of Ethelheard of Wessex. Cuthred succeeds; his wars with Ethelbald of Mercia.
mortuus est, et regnavit Cudred cognatus ejus pro eo super Westsexe, sexdecim annis. Edelbaldus vero rex superbus sæpe eum nunc seditionibus, nunc bellis affligebat. Fortuna autem varia, vicibus variis, modo hunc, modo illum Martis eventibus extollebat. Aliquando vero pacem inter se statuebant, quam brevi
Chr. E. tenentes spatio, denuo rebellabant.[2] Eodem anno Ædbert[3] [a] sacratus est archiepiscopus, tempore Zachariæ papæ, et Dun episcopus apud Rovecestre.

Cudredus anno regni sui quarto et Edelbald rex A.D. 743. Alliance between Cuthred and Ethelbald. They attack and defeat the Britons.
Merce, tunc simul pacificati, pugnaverunt viribus conjunctis contra Brittannorum undique congestorum innumerabilem multitudinem. Cumque reges fortissimi, exercitusque eorum clarissimus, inter se divisi, hinc et inde certatim, et quasi ex invidia Brittannorum phalanges percutientes sternerent, nequierunt tantum bellandi onus perferre Brittanni. Fugam igitur eligentes, dederunt terga percutientibus, et spolia sequentibus. Reges autem victoriosi remeantes ad sua, triumphalibus
Chr. E. gaudiis suscepti sunt. Anno vero sequenti obiit Wil-

[1] C[2]. ; *Ette*, S. ; *Etate*, S[2]. ; *Ecce*, A. ; *Etta*, F.
[2] A. ; *debellabant*, Sav.
[3] C. S[2]. ; *Edbert*, S. ; *Egbert*, A. ; *Ædebert*, F.

[a] *Ædbert*] Henry has followed the Peterborough scribe, who by mistake wrote Eadberht for Cuthberht.

A.D. 744. Death of Wilfrid the younger.

frid,[a] qui fuerat episcopus triginta[1] annis apud Eboracum. Anno vero eodem visum est signum mirabile in cœlo; stellæ namque hac et illac discurrebant per aera, quod omnibus intuentibus magno fuit monstro.

A.D. 745. Anno vero hunc sequente decessit Daniel, quadragesimo tertio[2] anno ex quo fuit episcopus. Anno etiam

A.D. 746. hos prædictos sequente, rex Selred vitæ ademptus est; Chr. E. scripta namque veterum quod hoc anno occisus fuerit dicunt; quomodo autem vel a quo occisus fuerit non dicunt.

A.D. 748. Kynric, son of Cuthred, slain in a mutiny.

§ 18. Cudredi anno nono, occisus est Kinric filius ejus, armorumque decus "debellatorque ferarum;" Æn. vii. 651. ætate tener, sed armis acer, annis parvus, sed vigore magnus: qui cum successibus suis instaret fortunamque Martis nimis sollicitaret, immoderationem animi cædes militari seditione illata punivit.[b] Eodem anno obiit Chr. E. Edbrit rex Centensis, qui regni infula XXII. annis potitus fuerat.

A.D. 750. Cuthred puts down the rebel Edelhun(?).

Cudredus anno undecimo regni sui pugnavit contra Edelhun audacissimum consulem; qui seditionem movens in dominum, licet numero militum longe domino debilior esset, diu tamen et gravissime Martio perstitit in campo: probitasque consulis excelsa loco millium fuit. Cumque ei jam pene victoria lætis applauderet alis, infixum tandem corpori vulnus, et animo perjurium, justam regis causam triumphare compulerunt.

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[1] *decem*, Sav. | [2] *quarto*, A.

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[a] The chronicler whom Henry follows seems to have confounded Wilfrid II., who died in 732, with Wilfrid bishop of Worcester, who died in 743. In 744, and for many years afterwards, Egbert, to whom Beda addressed his well-known Epistle, was archbishop of York.

[b] That Kynric fell in a "militaris seditio" seems to be merely Henry's embellishment; and the same remark may be made on the details of the battle of Burford which follow.

§ 19. Cudredus decimo tertio anno, cum jam regis Edelbaldi superbas exactiones et insolentiam ferre non posset, occurrit ei cum legionibus vexillatis apud Bereford, omni spe vivendi postposita libertati. Adduxit autem secum Edelhun prædictum consulem jam sibi concordem, cujus viribus fretus et consilio, belli discrimen ingredi potuit. Edelbaldus vero rex regum cum Mercensibus Centenses adduxerat, Orientalesque Saxones et Anglos, copiasque multiplices. Aciebus igitur dispositis cum in directum tendentes appropinquarent, Edelhun præcedens Westsexenses, regis insigne draconem scilicet aureum gerens, transforavit vexilliferum hostilem. Unde clamore orto, pars Cudredi valde confortata est; statimque acies sibi invicem offenderunt. Ergo tonitruum belli, scilicet offensionis armorum et sonitus ictuum clamorisque cadentium, terribiliter exarsit, bellum maximum et inæstimabile incipitur: quod vel Mercenses, vel eos Westsexe, usque in longam posteritatem vincenti supponeret. Videres igitur acies loricis crispantes, galeis acutas, lanceis hirsutas, vexillis depictas, auro resplendentes, parvo tempore sanguine perfusas, lanceis cassas, ruina dissipatas, cerebris aspersas, visu horrendas. Congregantes autem se ad vexilla utrinque procaces et fortissimi, gladiis et securibus Amazonicis rem agentes, acies aciebus funeste irruebant. Memoria fugæ nulla, spes victoriæ utrinque certa: Mercenses superbiæ tumor invitabat, Westsexas servitutis horror accendebat. At ubicunque consul prædictus aciebus se infigebat, via ruinarum patebat, dum securis ejus timendissima, modo fulminis, corpora finderet et arma. Rex fortissimus autem [Edelbaldus quacunque ruebat, strages hostilis fiebat, dum gladio ejus invictissimo essent arma pro veste, ossa pro carne. Cum igitur, quasi duo ignes diversis in partibus impositi obstantia quæque consumerent, contigit ut sibi obviam rex et consul venirent. Uterque vero alteri terribilis corpore infrenduit, dextram excussit, se in

A.D. 752. War between Wessex and Mercia. Great battle at Burford.

A.D. 752. armis collegit, et ictibus immensis [1] arma obstantissima pares lacessunt. Deus autem, qui superbis resistit, a quo robur fortitudo et magnanimitas procedit, gratiæ suæ regi Edelbaldo terminum posuit, animoque regis confidentiam solitam dempsit. Cum igitur nec animum suum nec vires ipse recognosceret, pugnantibus adhuc suis, a Domino omnipotenti territus, fugam primus incepit. Nec ab hac die usque ad mortis suæ tempora prosperum aliquid ei Deus permisit. Quarto siquidem post hunc anno rursum pugnans apud Secandune, non sine mirabili exercituum ruina, fugam dedignans occisus est. Occisus apud Secandune, sepultus est apud Repandune: sic itaque rex validissimus, cum quadraginta et uno annis regnasset, superbiæ immoderatæ pœnas exsolvit. Regnum vero Westsexe, ex hoc tempore valde roboratum, crescere usque in perfectum non destitit.

The Mercians defeated.

A.D. 755. Ethelbald killed in battle at Seckington.

Chr. E.

A.D. 753. Cudredus quartodecimo anno regni sui pugnavit contra Brittannos; qui victori regis Edelbaldi, ut prædictum est, frustra resistentes, cito fugam inceperunt, clademque maximam sine hostium detrimento digne pertulerunt. Anno sequente Cudredus rex magnus et excelsus, tot prosperitatibus et victoriis potitus, mortis inclementia lætitiam [2] finivit.

A.D. 754. Death of Cuthred.

A.D. 754. § 20. Sigebertus regis prædicti cognatus successit ei, sed brevi tempore regnum tenuit. Namque ex præcessoris sui eventibus tumefactus et insolens, etiam suis intolerabilis fuit. Cum autem omnibus modis male tractaret eos, legesque vel ad commodum suum depravaret, vel pro commodo suo devitaret, Cumbra consul ejus nobilissimus, prece totius populi querimonias eorum regi fero intimavit. Quem, quia regem suaserat ut lenius populum regeret, et inhumanitate deposita Deo et hominibus amabilis appareret, mox

Chr. E.

[1] A. F.; *universis*, Sav. | [2] F.; *vitam*, A.

impia nece jussit interfici;[a] populoque sævior et intolerabilior tyrannidem augmentavit.

A.D. 755. Sigebert, his successor, is expelled by his people.

Sigebertus rex, in principio secundi anni regni sui, cum incorrigibilis superbiæ et nequitiæ esset, congregati sunt proceres et populus totius regni, et provida deliberatione et unanimi consensu omnium expulsus est a regno. Kinewlf vero juvenis egregius de regia stirpe oriundus, electus est in regem. Sigebertus vero rex fugatus a suis, non minora meritis metuens, in sylvam magnam quæ vocatur Andredeswald fugiens, se abscondit; ubi quidam porcarius Cumbræ consulis, nequiter, ut diximus, interfecti, regem absconsum invenit, inventum cognovit, cognitum domini sui vindex occidit. Ecce manifestum Domini judicium, ecce quomodo Domini justitia non solum in futuro seculo, verum etiam in isto digna meritis recompensat! Eligens namque reges improbos ad contritionem promeritam subjectorum, alium diu insanire permittit ut et populus pravus diu vexetur, et rex pravior in æternum acrius crucietur, veluti Edelbaldum regem Merce præfatum: alium vero cita disterminatione præoccupat, ne populus suus nimia tyrannide oppressus non respiret, et immoderata principis nequitia citissimas ultionis æternæ debito pœnas incurrat, veluti Sigebertum hunc, de quo tractamus; qui quanto nequior extitit, tanto vilius a subulco interfectus, a dolore in dolorem transiit. Unde Domini justitiæ æternæ laus et gloria nunc et semper. Amen.

He is afterwards killed by a swineherd in the forests of Sussex.

Cynewulf reigns in Wessex.

A.D. 755. Reign of Offa in Mercia; his successes in war; his devotion to St. Alban, and munificence

§ 21. Kinewlfi regis anno primo, Edelbaldo regi
Chr. E. Merce successit Beornred in regnum, sed brevi: Offa
enim eodem anno fugavit eum, regnavitque super
Chr. C. vel G. Merce XXXIX. annis. Offa juvenis nobilissimus fuit,
filius quidem Wingferd, filii Eanwlf, filii Osmod, filii

[a] Henry amplifies the account of the chronicler, but mistakes his meaning. Sigebert killed Cumbra *after*, not before, the meeting of the Witan, by whose sentence he was deprived of all his kingdom but Hampshire.

A.D. 755. to the Roman sec. Eapa,[1] [a] filii Wippa,[2] filii Creada, filii Kinewald, filii Cnibba, filii Icil, filii Eomer, filii Agelthеu,[3] filii Offa, filii Weremund, filii Withlad,[4] filii Woden. Offa strenuissimus rex fuit; vicit namque Centenses prœlio, vicit quoque Westsexas prælio, vicit quoque Nordhumbros prœlio. Offa fuit vir religiosus: transtulit namque ossa S. Albani in monasterium quod construxerat multisque modis ditaverat, deditque vicario B. Petri, Romanæ urbis pontifici, redditum statutum de singulis domibus regni sui in æternum.[b] Malm. Gest. Reg. i. 4.

A.D. 757. Eadbert, king of Northumbria, becomes a monk. Kinewlfi regis anno tertio, Eadbert rex Nordhumbre videns regum prædictorum, Edelbaldi scilicet et Sigeberti, vitam ærumnosam et finem infaustum, Ceolwlfi vero prædecessoris sui vitam laudabilem et finem gloriosum, meliorem partem elegit quæ non auferetur ab eo. Regno namque relicto, tonsuram capitis æternum diadema generaturam suscepit, furvasque vestes, æthereum splendorem collaturas, induit. Iste est octavus regum illorum qui regna sua pro Christo sponte dimiserunt, immo, ut verius dicam, pro regno æterno commutarunt; quibus octo beatitudinum jocunditas perennis multiplici delectamento ineffabiliter jocundatur, quorum strenuitatem imitari beatorum est. Successit autem in regno Osulf filius suus; sed cum uno anno reg- Chr. E.

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[1] S². ; *Epa*, A. F. S.
[2] *Wibba*, C. S². F.
[3] *Angeltheu*, C. F. S².
[4] *Withlac*, C².

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[a] *Eapa*] This probably means Eawa, which is the true reading. See p. 77, *n*.

[b] The translation by Offa of the relics of St. Alban is described rather fully by Malmesbury in the *Gesta Pontificum*, iv. § 179, but he ascribes the institution of the Romescot to Ethelwulf. In the *Two Offas*, however, printed by Wats with the works of Matthew Paris, the gift and the manner of it,—how during a visit to Rome Offa endowed the English school there with the "denarium sancti Petri," to be levied on all house property in England, excepting always the possessions of the monastery of St. Alban's,—are circumstantially related. Probably Henry had at his command some chronicle or document emanating from St. Alban's monastery which is now lost.

nasset, a familia sua nefanda proditione occisus est. Post quem Mol Edelwold regnavit sex annis. Circa hoc tempus Cudbrictus archiepiscopus vitæ demptus est. A.D. 759. A.D. 758. Death of archbishop Cuthbert.

Chr. E. § 22. Kinewlf cum VI. annis regnasset, Edelbricht rex Centensis metas vivendi attigit. Eodem anno Ceolwlfus tunc monachus, sed quondam rex, non hic obiit, sed hinc abiit, stipendia mirabilia recepturus. Anno vero sequente, Mol rex Nordhumbre interfecit Oswine fortissimum ducum suorum, qui committens prœlium erga dominum suum apud Eadwinesclive, jure gentium spreto, jure Dei occisus est. Anno vero sequente Iambeth factus est archiepiscopus Eboracensis.[a] Tunc etiam Fridwald episcopus Ceastrensis vivere destitit, qui factus fuerat episcopus VI. anno regni Ceolwlf. Eo tempore Witwine[1] factus est episcopus Witern. Mol vero cum VI. annis regnasset, regnum Nordhumbre dimisit: post quem Alred VIII. annis regnavit. Cujus regni anno X. animas emiserunt Egbert archiepiscopus Eboracensis, cum archiepiscopus fuisset XXXVI. annis, et Fridebertus episcopus Haugustaldensis, cum episcopus fuisset XXXIV. annis: Edberto archiepiscopo successit Adelbert, Frideberto episcopo successit Alcmund. Anno IV. Alredi regis obierunt Pipinus rex Francorum, et Stephanus papa Romanorum; et Eadbert filius Eatæ, dux famosissimus Anglorum.

A.D. 760. A.D. 761. A.D. 763. Chr. E. Ianbryht succeeds to the primacy. Other diocesan changes. A.D. 765. A.D. 766 A.D. 768. Sim. Dun. s. anno.

§ 23. Anno gratiæ DCCLXIX., Kinewlfi vero regis anno XV., incepit fieri mutatio dextræ Excelsi; imperium namque Romanum, quod tot annis in se præcellentissimum fuerat, Carolo regi magno Francorum subjectum est post XXX. annos regni ejus, quod in hoc anno inceperat, et successoribus ejus usque ad hunc diem exinde contigit. A.D. 769. Charlemagne begins to reign. Chr. E.

[1] *Withwine*, F. S[2].

[a] In this and the following sentence are two serious blunders. Ianbryht was consecrated to Canterbury, not to York, and Frithewald was bishop of Whitherne, not of "Ceastre," (*i.e.* York,) though he had been consecrated there.

A.D. 774. Offa gains a victory at Otford over the men of Kent. Affairs of Northumbria.

Kinewlfi regis anno XX. pugnavit rex Offa cum Mercensibus contra Centenses apud Ottanford[1]; clade autem horrenda utrinque peracta, belli successibus Offa clarus effulsit.[a] Eodem anno Nordhumbri fugaverunt Chr. E. regem eorum Alred ab Eoverwic in hebdomada Paschali, et elegerunt sibi in regem Edelred filium Mol, qui regnavit annis IV. Hoc autem anno visa fuerant in cœlo rubea signa post occasum solis; et horrendi serpentes visi fuerunt in Sudsexe cum magna admiratione.

A.D. 776. Conversion of the Old Saxons.

Secundo autem ab hoc anno, Saxones Antiqui, unde gens Anglorum descendit, ad fidem conversi sunt.[b] Quo anno Witwine episcopus Witterne, XXIV. anno episcopatus sui, morte affectus est.

A.D. 777. Offa takes Bensington from Cynewulf.

Kinewlf XXIV. anno regni sui pugnavit contra Offam Chr. E. circa Benetune. Martis autem casu minoratus loco secessit; et Offa rex castrum idem in jura sua redegit. Eodem anno Edelbert sacratus est apud Eoverwic episcopus in Witterne.

A.D. 778. Affairs of Northumbria.

Anno sequente Edelbald et Herebert, duces regis Nordhumbre, rebellantes domino suo, occiderunt Aldulf filium Bose regalis exercitus primatem Martis congressibus apud Kingsclive; et postea duces regis, Kinewlf et Eggan, prœlio ingenti occiderunt duces prædicti apud Hilathirnum. Rex autem prædictus Adelred, ducibus suis et spe amissis, fugit a facie eorum: illi vero constituerunt Alfwld in regem,

A.D. 779. qui regnavit decem annis. Anno autem hunc sequente Chr. E. principes et præpositi Nordhumbre quendam consulem

[1] A.; *Oxenford*, Sav.

[a] Only the bare fact of a battle at Otford is mentioned in the Chronicles. It is described as a brilliant victory for Offa in the *Vita Offæ II.* ascribed to Matthew Paris. Some common source, now lost, probably a Chronicle preserved at St. Alban's, must have existed, from which both Henry and the biographer of Offa drew their information.

[b] *Saxones . . conversi*] This is not mentioned by any known English writer earlier than Henry. Yet the statement is not without some foundation, for Einhard in his *Annals* places under the year 776 the first considerable conversion of Saxons made under Charlemagne's auspices.

et justiciarium suum, quia rigidior æquo extiterat,
Chr. E. combusserunt. Eodem anno Edbert [1] archiepiscopus A.D. 779.
obiit in Cestre, cui successit Enbald. Eodem anno
Kinebold factus est episcopus Lindisfarnensis. Eodem
anno Antiqui Saxones et Franci pugnaverunt: Franci
vero vicerunt. Anno vero proximo rex Nordhumbre A.D. 780.
Alfwld misit Romam propter pallium, et dedit Enbal-
do [2] archiepiscopo. Tunc Alcmundo episcopo Haugus-
taldensi defuncto Tilbeth successit. Carolus eo anno Charle-
magne
Romam ivit.[a] Circa hoc tempus concilium fuit apud visits Rome.
A.D. 782.
Acle.

Chr. E. § 24. Kinewlf cum regnasset XX. et VI. annis, et A.D. 784.
contra Brittannos victoriosus, multa gessisset prœlia, et Cynewulf
killed by
eos ex omni parte domasset, tandem exulare statuit Cyneheard.
adolescentem Kineard, fratrem Sigeberti. Ipse autem
impetiit regem apud Meretune, ubi private perrexerat
ad quandam mulierem. Rex autem id comperiens, in
ostio viriliter se defendebat, donec conspecto juvene
foras exiliens, vulneravit eum; et omnes socii ejus in
regem pugnantes, interfecerunt eum. Clamore autem
audito, milites regis qui in urbe erant, in juvenem
cucurrerunt, renuentesque oblatas ab eo terras et pe-
cuniam, pugnando omnes mortui sunt, præter unum
Brittannum obsidem, graviter vulneratum. Mane autem
milites regis, qui circa erant, in atrio ubi rex occisus
erat, obsederunt juvenem et suos. Qui dixit eis: "Cog-
" nati vestri mecum sunt, vobisque dabo terram et pecu-
" niam secundum cor vestrum, ne pugnetis contra nos:
" idem autem sociis vestris obtuli, renuentesque perie-
" runt." Illi autem responderunt, nullam pecuniam
cariorem domino suo esse iis, seque domini sociorumque
sanguinem ulturos; irrumpentesque gravi prœlio in
portam, juvenem et LXXXIV. qui cum eo erant interfe-

[1] *Ædelbert*, C[2]. Tota hæc clausula deest in F. et S[2].

[2] A[2]; *Embaldo*, F.

[a] According to Einhard in the Annals, Charlemagne spent the winter of 780 at Pavia, and proceeded to Rome in 781.

cerunt. Remansitque solus filiolus juvenis, vulneratus tamen. Kinwlf igitur XXXI. anno regni sui sepultus est apud Wincestre; juvenis autem apud Ascenminster. Chr. E a. 755.

A.D. 784. Brihtric succeeds.

§ 25. Brichtric, qui etiam de progenie Certici sæpe dicti regis erat, post Kinwlfum regnavit super Westsexe sexdecim annis; cujus anno secundo Adrianus papa misit legatos in Brittanniam ad renovandam fidem quam prædicaverat Augustinus. Ipsi vero honorifice a regibus et populis suscepti, super fundamentum stabile ædificaverunt, pulchre Christi misericordia cooperante. Tenuerunt autem concilium apud Cealchide,[1] ubi Iambert dimisit partem episcopatus sui. Ibi etiam Higebrit electus est ab Offa rege. Eodem anno Egfert sacratus est in regem Kentensis provinciæ.[a] Anno vero sequente, qui est annus gratiæ septingentesimus octogesimus sextus, apparuit signum crucis in vestibus;[b] quod dictu et auditu seculis omnibus videri potest mirabile. Factumne igitur fuit ad demonstrationem motionis Ierosolymitanæ cum crucibus assumptis, quæ facta est post trecentos et novem[2] annos tempore junioris Willielmi: an[3] potius factum est ad correctionem gentium, ne plagam Dacorum, quæ proxime secuta est, correcti perferrent? Nos autem nihil temere definimus, sed Domini[4] secreta Domino relinquimus.

A.D. 785. Chr. E.

A.D. 786. Council of Chalkhythe. Omens.

A.D. 787. The first descent of the Danes on the English coast.

Brichtricus anno regni sui quarto, duxit in uxorem Eadburh filiam regis Offæ Merce: unde confortatus est in regno et provectus in superbiam. His autem diebus venerunt Daci cum tribus puppibus in Brittanniam prædationis causa. Quod præpositus regis illius provinciæ videns, occurrit eis debito securius, ut com-

Chr. E.

[1] C[3].; *Cealthide*, F.
[2] *xi.*, A. F.
[3] A. F.; *aut*, Sav.
[4] *Dei*, A.; *Dei secreta Deo*, F.

[a] The value of this assertion is discussed in the Introduction,

[b] It does not appear where Henry found the authority for his account of these omens. Liebermann would trace it to some Rouen annals, brought over to England about 1100. See his article in the *Forschungen z. D. G.*, 1878, p. 282.

prehensos ad regium duceret castrum. Nesciebat autem qui essent qui appulerant, vel cur appulissent. Statim vero immixtus eis occisus est. Hic primus fuit Anglorum cæsus a Dacis, post quem multa millia millium ab iisdem cæsa sunt: et hæc puppes primæ fuerunt quas huc Daci adduxerunt. Anno sequenti convenit concilium apud Nordhumbre in Wincenhale.[1] [a] A.D. 787. A.D. 788.

Chr. E. § 26. Brichtrici regis VI. anno congregata est synodus apud Aclea. Sigan vero occidit nefanda proditione Alfwld regem Nordhumbre. In eo autem loco, ubi rex amicus Domini[2] occisus est, lumen cœleste sæpe visum est. Et ipse sepultus est in ecclesia apud Haugustaldam: post quem Osredus regnare incepit; sed anno sequenti proditus est, et a regno fugatus, et Edelred filius Mol item regno est restitutus. Osredus vero IV. anno postquam rex fuerat, cum congregatis viribus rediret, ut Edelred, per quem expulsus fuerat, regno expelleret, inter eundum captus est et occisus, et sepultus est Tinemuthæ. Quam bene igitur dixit, qui dixit; "O cæca futuri mens hominum." Cum enim juvenis prædictus Osred tripudians et lætabundus rex fieret, quam parum æstimabat se, anno II. regali sede, anno vero IV. vitali luce privandum; unde semper inter prospera solliciti simus, ignari scilicet quam prope sint adversa. Ea tempestate Offa rex Merce præcepit amputari caput S. Edelbricti. His etiam diebus Iambriht[3] archiepiscopus ultra non vixit; et abbas Edelred electus est in archiepiscopum. Enbaldus vero archiepiscopus Eboracensis sacravit Baldulf episcopum apud Witerne. A.D. 789. Troubles in Northumbria. A.D. 790. A.D. 792. Lucan Phars. ii. 14. Flor. Wig. a. 793. Chr. E. A.D. 792. A.D. 790. Death of Ianbriht. A.D. 791.

Brichtrici regis anno X. visi sunt flammei dracones volantes per aera, quod signum duæ pestes secutæ sunt: primo maxima fames, postea gens pagana a Norwagia et Dacia veniens; quæ prius gentem Nordhum- A.D. 793. Omens.

[1] *Wicenhale*, F.
[2] *Dei*, A. F.
[3] S[2].; *Iambrih*, A.; *Iambrith*, F. C.

[a] The reading of the Worcester Chronicle (D. in Mr. Earle's edition) is Wincanheale, not, with the Peterborough MS., Pincanheale.

A.D. 793. brensem misere exterminavit, et post in Lindisfarnensi provincia ecclesias Christi cum inhabitantibus horribiliter destruxerunt in Idibus Januarii. Qua etiam tempestate Sigga dux, qui Alfwold regem beatum indigne prodiderat, digne deperiit.

A.D. 794. Regicide and other crimes in Northumbria.

§ 27. Brichtrici regis anno XI. Nordhumbri regem suum Edelred occiderunt; qui anno eo quo rex Osredus occisus fuerat, in superbiam elatus, sua relicta, novam duxerat uxorem; ignorans quod et ipse post biennium perimendus esset, brevisque regni gaudium mortis desolatione tam cito terminandum foret. Post quem Ardulf regnum Nordhumbre suscepit. Hunc igitur Enbaldus archiepiscopus et Edelbertus episcopus et Higebaldus episcopus et Baldulfus episcopus sacraverunt in regem, et elevatus est in regia sede apud Eboracum. Nec multo post obiit Enbaldus archiepiscopus apud Eboracum; cui successit alter Enbaldus. His diebus Adrianus papa et rex magnus Offa vitæ metas attigerunt. Postea Egfert, filius Offæ, regnavit super Merce; et C.XLI. die mortuus est: cui successit rex Cenwlf. Eodem anno Eadbrict, vocatus alio nomine Pren, adeptus est regnum Centense. Gens vero Pagana prædaverunt Nordhumbre; et monasterium Egfert spoliaverunt apud Donemuth.[a] Tunc vero, occurrentibus eis nobilissimis et bello assuetissimis Anglorum, ducibus eorum occisis, victi ad puppes fugerunt. Cum vero in puppibus fugiendo perseverarent, aliquæ earum per tempestatem fractæ sunt, et multi virorum naufragati sunt; quidam vero viventes capti sunt, et juxta littus capite

Chr. E

A.D. 795.

A.D. 796.

A.D. 794. Death of Offa.

The Danes plunder the monastery of Wearmouth.

[a] The passage in the Chronicle runs "Ecgferðes mynster æt done "muþe." This has been commonly rendered "Ecgfrid's minster "at the mouth," namely, of the Wear. See Mr. Petrie's note, M. H. B., p. 732. Mr. Earle (*Two Saxon Chron.*) seems to understand it in the same way, for he has altered the "done" of the Laud MS. to "ðone," the acc. s. of the article, forgetting, apparently, that *æt* governs the dat. not the accusative case. Mr. Surtees, in his *Hist. of Durham* (quoted in the preface to Prof. Stubbs' Hoveden), understands by "Donemuth" Jarrow, at the junction of the Don with the Tyne; and this is beyond a doubt the true explanation.

privati sunt. Nec multo post Cenwlf rex Merce Centensem provinciam transverberans prædatus est, regemque eorum Pren, viribus sibi imparem et ideo per latibula et divortia delitescentem, comprehendit, et victum victoriosus secum reduxit. A.D. 796. Kent is over-run by Ceolwulf of Mercia.

Chr. E. Brichtrici regis anno decimo quarto, Romani amputaverunt linguam Leonis papæ, et oculos sibi eruerunt, eumque a sua sede fugaverunt. Sed ipse, ut scripta tradunt, per Domini misericordiam iterum videre et loqui potuit, rursusque papa effectus est. Post triennium vero Carolus rex factus imperator et a Leone papa sacratus, damnavit morti illos qui papam dehonestaverant; sed postea precibus papæ mortem indulsit, et in exilium eos retrusit. Post triennium quoque defecit Brichtric rex Westsexe. Hoc in tempore fuit magnum prœlium in Nordhumbre apud Wellehare; in quo periit Alric filius Hereberti,[1] et alii cum eo multi. Singulorum autem bellorum gesta et fines et modos ad plenum determinare, nimietas prolixitatis necessario prohibet. Gens enim Anglorum naturaliter dura erat et superba, et ideo bellis intestinis incessanter attrita.

A.D. 797. Outrage on pope Leo.

A.D. 800. Charlemagne crowned emperor of the West.

Death of Brihtric.

A.D. 798. Battle at Whalley.

§ 28. Egbricht, anno gratiæ DCCC., octavus numero decem regum fortissimorum quos in secundo libro prærogativa singularis excellentiæ notavimus, regnavit Malm. Gest. Reg. ii. 1. XXXVII. annis et sex mensibus super Westsexe; quem juvenili quidem ætate Brictric præcessor ejus, et Offa rex Merce ab hac terra fugaverant: exulavit igitur III. annis cum rege Francorum, nobiliter tamen et egregie. Defuncto autem rege prædicto, cum reversus regnum suscepisset, eodem die Edelmund consul recessit a Chr. E. Wicum,[a] et veniens Kinemeresford, obviavit Wicstan consuli cum Wilsatis: et ilico simul pugnaverunt; et ambo consules occisi sunt, et Wilsates[2] vicerunt. Quarto post hunc anno decessit Ædelhard[3] archiepi-

A.D. 800. Reign of Egbert in Wessex.

A.D. 803. Death of archbishop Ethelheard.

[1] *Heberti*, Sav.
[2] *Wilsate*, H.
[3] C². S².; *Edelred*, A.; *Ædelbald*, C. F.

[a] Henry has mistranslated the Chronicle, which calls Æthelmund "ealdorman of Hwiccum."

scopus Centensis, et Wlfred loco suo sacratus est.
A.D. 805. Inde vero post biennium, Cudred rex Centensis vitali
A.D. 806. privatus est aura. Anno vero sequenti Hardulf rex Chr. E.
Nordhumbre fugatus est a regno suo.

A.D. 813. Egbricht XIV. anno regni sui prædavit in regnis Brittonum ab Oriente usque ad Occidentem, nec fuit
A.D. 812. qui ejus immanitati vel conaretur resistere. Anno autem huic proximo, Carolus rex Francorum et imperA.D. 814. tor Romanus vita exierat. Anno autem huic proximo, S. Leo papa venerabilis corpus deposuit, et Stephan.D. 819. nus ei successit: Stephano vero Paschalis. Post parvum
Death of Cenwulf. vero spatium tempore[1] Cenwlf rex Merce morti datus est. Post quem regnavit Ceolwlf in loco ejus: sed
A.D. 821. tertio ab hoc anno regnum amisit, et Beornwlf sibi illud occupavit.

A.D. 823. § 29. Egbricht XXIV. anno regni sui commisit præ- Chr. E.
Egbert defeats the Mercians at Allington. lium contra Beornwlf regem Merce apud Ellendune; unde dicitur: "Ellendune rivus cruore rubuit, ruina "restitit, fætore tabuit." Ibi autem, maximo gentis exterminio utrinque peracto, Egbricht victor funestus extitit. Inde vero successus urgens suos, et fortunæ instans, misit Adelwlf filium suum, qui postea rex devenit, Alcstan episcopum et Wlfard consulem cum magno exercitu in Cent; qui fugaverunt regem Bal-
The men of Kent and East Anglia take him for their lord. dred ultra Tamesin. Tunc ergo populos Cantiæ, et Sudriæ, et Sudsexe, et Estsexe rex Egbricht in dominium suscepit, quos prius cognatus suus Pren injuste amiserat.[a] Hoc etiam anno rex Estangle cum gente

[1] *temporis spacium*, H.

[a] Henry has misunderstood the statement of the Chronicle, the true meaning of which was seized by Florence, who says that the men of Kent, Surrey, &c., voluntarily submitted to Egbert, "ex cujus pro- "pinquorum manibus prius extorti, "extraneorum regum ditioni per "aliquot annorum curricula inviti "sunt subacti." This seems preferable to the fanciful interpretation proposed by Mr. Earle (*Two Saxon Chron.*, p. 298). On the other hand, history affords no countenance to the notion that the house of Cerdic had ever, for any length of time, ruled in Kent. See Lingard's *Hist. of Engl.*, i. 81, for his view about Eadbert Pren.

sua recepit Egbricht regem in patronum: et postea hoc eodem anno Estangli occiderunt Beornwlf regem Merce; cui successit Ludecen. Eodem anno maximum prœlium fuerat inter Brittones et gentem Davenescire apud Gavelford; ubi multa millia utrinque corruerunt. Anno vero proximo Ludecen rex Merce et quinque consules cum eo occisi sunt.

Fight between the Britons and the men of Devon. A.D. 825.

Chr. E. Egbricht XXVII. anno regni sui fugavit Wilaf regem Merce, qui regi Ludecen successerat, regnumque sibi acquisivit. Cum ergo obtineret omne regnum ex australi parte Humbre, duxit exercitum contra Nordhumbras apud Dore. Illi vero regi magno devote concordiam offerentes et subjectionem, pacifice separati sunt. Anno vero sequente rex Egbricht, misericordia motus, concessit Wilaf ut regnum Merce teneret sub eo. Et inde rex Egbricht duxit exercitum in Nordwales, et eam sibi patrocinio armorum subdidit. Anno vero hos sequente, Wlfredo archiepiscopo Centensi defuncto Ceolnod successit.

A.D. 827. Mercia, Northumbria, and North Wales, submit to the sovereignty of Egbert. A.D. 828. Death of archbishop Wulfred.

§ 30. Egbrichti regis anno XXXIII. redierunt Daci in Angliam, XXXVIII. anno postquam apud Donemutham[a] victi, et fugati sunt. Primum igitur prædaverunt Sepeige. Rex vero Egbricht pugnavit cum exercitu suo contra eos, qui triginta et quinque maximis puppibus advecti fuerant anno sequente apud Carrum, et ibi Dacenses alea belli prævaluerunt: et duo episcopi, scilicet Herefert et Wigfert, et duo duces, scilicet Dudda et Osmod, perierunt. Anno vero sequente venit exercitus Dacorum navalis in Westwales: et Walenses cum Dacis coadunati sunt, et contra regem Egbricht insurrexerunt. Rex vero secunda usus fortuna, Dacos et Walenses contritione contrivit, et triumphose fortissimos fugavit apud Hengistesdune.[1] Anno his proximo Egbricht, rex et monarcha Brittanniæ, fatis concessit. Regnorum,[2] quæ in manu propria tenebat,

A.D. 832. Descents of the Danes. A.D. 833. A.D. 835. A.D. 836. Death of Egbert.

[1] A[2].; *Hengestesdune*, F.; *Hengistendune*, H. Sav.

[2] *Regnorumque*, A. F.

[a] See ante, p. 130, note [a].

filios fecit hæredes: Edelwlfum super Westsexe, Edelstan vero super Cent et Sudsexe et Estsexe. Sed cum jam ad monarchiam Angliæ pervenimus, et ad plagam horribilem quæ per Dacos illata est, liber proprius rebus novis donandus est.

Recapitulation.

§ 31. Verum ut in libro secundo factum est, ea quæ in hoc libro dicta sunt, breviter repetenda sunt; et regnorum singulorum progressio ex ordine dirigetur, ut quod confusum est in tot regum commixtionibus, hæc abbreviatio diligenter elucidet. Unde, cum lectori gratior extitero, fructum laboris desiderabilem Dei gratia percipiam.

Hæc est abbreviatio de regibus Cantuariæ in hoc libro prætractatis.

Kings of Kent.

Lotharius regnavit duodecim annis, et pugna Australium Saxonum neci traditus est.

Eadricus regnavit anno et dimidio, extraneus a regali prosapia.

Nidred[1] et Wibbehard, similiter extranei, regnaverunt VI. annis, et expulsi[2] sunt.

Withred de regia stirpe ortus, regnavit XXXIV.[3] annis in pace, et cum rege Ine concordiam fecit.

Edbriht filius Withredi, cum duobus fratribus, regnum tenuit XXII. annis.

Edelbriht sceptro regni potitus est XII. annis.

Egfert regnum idem XXXIV. annis, ut conjicere possumus ex scriptis, tenuit.

Edbrit Pren regnavit III. annis, et captus est, et abductus a Cenwlfo rege Merce.

Cudred regni infulas obtinuit IX. annis.

Baldred[4] regnavit XVIII. annis; et fugavit eum a regno rex Egbricht Westsexe.

Egbrichtus rex Westsexe, regnum conquisitum dum vixit obtinens, Adelstano filio suo moriens reliquit:

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[1] *Vilred*, F.
[2] A. C. C^2. F. S^2.; *repulsi*, Sav.
[3] *xxxiii.*, A, H.
[4] A.; *Balred*, Sav.

cessavit ergo regia stirps Cantuariæ, et in aliena jura regnum transiit.

Hæc est abbreviatio de regibus Westsexe in hoc libro prætractatis.

§ 32. Cedwalla cum duobus annis regnasset Vectam insulam acquisivit: Cent bis prædavit; pergensque Romam, in albis mortuus est, et insignia regni commutavit. Kings of Wessex.

Ine regnavit XXXVII. annis: vicitque prœlio Gerentem regem Walensem, domuitque bello Australes Saxones: Romamque petens se feliciter regno deposuit.

Adelhardus cognatus regis Ine, regnum sibi ab eodem traditum rexit in pace quatuordecim annis.

Cudredus regnavit sexdecim annis, vicitque Brittannos bis lege prœlii; et regem Edelbaldum.

Sigebertus crudelis regnavit uno anno et paulo plus; et a regno juste expulsus, et postea occisus est.

Kinewlf regnavit viginti tribus annis; quem Kinehard[1] frater regis neci tradidit.

Brictricus regnavit XVI. annis; cujus tempore primum Dacorum sævitia Brittanniam lacessivit.

Egbrichtus regnavit XXXVII. annis, et prædavit in Brittanniam ab Oriente usque ad Occidentem, vicitque Marte Beornwlfum regem Merce, et Baldred regem Cantiæ, et regem Wilaf, et Dacos.

Hæc est abbreviatio de regibus Nordhumbre in hoc libro præsignatis.

§ 33. Alfridus frater regis Egfridi, doctus in scripturis, strenuus in bellis, regnavit viginti annis. Kings of Northumbria.

Osredus filius ejus regnavit XI. annis, et pugnans interfectus est.

[1] G.; *Sigeberth*, F. H.

Cenred regnavit II. annis, et infirmatus, mortis celeritate præventus est.

Osricus regnavit XI. annis, et vitali luce caruit.

Ceolwlfus frater Cenredi prædicti regis, regnavit VIII. annis, et monachus effectus est. Cujus tempore Beda presbyter venerabilis, et Christi philosophus, feliciter decessit.

Ædbrictus[1] cognatus ejus regnavit XXI. annis, effectusque monachus, fragilem vitam fine glorioso perlustravit.

Osulf filius ejus regnavit uno anno, et a familia sua proditus est, et occisus.

Mol Edelwold regnavit VI. annis, et coactus dimisit illud.

Alredus regnavit VIII. annis, et fugatus, depositus est a gente sua.

Aedelred filius Mol regnavit tribus annis, et fugit a facie ducum suorum rebellantium.

Alfwold regnavit X. annis, quem Sigga dux proditione occidit.

Osred, nepos regis prædicti, regnavit uno anno, et a regno fugatus est a suis; et post triennium occisus.

Aedelred filius Mol iterum regnavit quatuor annis, et occisus est a populo suo semper nequissimo.

Ardulf regnavit XII. annis, et a suis fugatus est a regno suo. Postea Nordhumbri, ut apparet, insania nequitiæ præoccupati, aliquantisper sine rege fuerunt, et Egbrichto regi concordati sunt.

Hæc est abbreviatio regum Merce in hoc libro prædictorum.

Kings of Mercia.

§ 34. Edelred filius Pendæ regnavit XXIX. annis, et gloriose monachus effectus est.

Cenred cognatus ejus regnavit V. annis, Romamque petiit, et victoriosus monachatum suscepit.

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[1] C.; *Adbrichtus*, S[2].; *Egbrictus*, A.; *Aedbrichtus*, F. H.

Ceolred, filius Edelredi regis, regnavit octo annis, pugnavitque valide contra regem Ine.

Edelbald superbus regnavit XLI. annis. Hic prædavit Nordhumbre, vicitque gentem Walliæ, præfuitque regibus omnibus Angliæ: sed tandem a Cudredo rege victus; et postea occisus est.

Beornred uno anno regnum tenuit; sed Offa validus eum aufugavit.

Offa XXXIX. annis regnavit. Is regem Westsexe Kinewlf bello minoravit, et Centenses et Nordhumbras.

Egferd, filius Offæ regis, uno ad plenum anno vivere non suffecit.

Cenwlf regnavit XXVI.[1] annis pacifice, et mortuus est communi morte.

Ceolwlf tribus annis regnum tenuit; quod tunc ei Beornulf ferox diripuit.

Beornulf uno anno regnavit, et ab Egbricto rege bello victus demarcuit.

Ludecen rex primo anno regni sui, cum consulibus quinque suis, occisus est.

Wilaf ab rege Egbricto victus bellando, tributarie sub eo regnum tenuit. Regnum vero Eastangle jam regnis aliis variis modis subjectum fuerat.

LIB. V. DE BELLIS DACORUM.[2]

Prologus.

IN hujus historiæ principio, quinque plagis percussam diximus Brittanniam: quarum de quarta, quæ per Dacos facta est, præsenti libro tractabimus: hæc siquidem longe immanior, longe crudelior cæteris fuit. Romani namque sibi Brittanniam brevi subjugaverunt et lege dominantium splendide rexerunt. Picti vero

Among the five plagues before mentioned, that of the Danish raids was the most cruel, the most lasting, and the most destructive.

[1] *xxiii.*, G.

[2] A[2]. F.

et Scotti crebras irruptiones ex boreali parte Brittanniæ faciebant, sed nec eam ex omni parte aggrediebantur, nec nunquam perniciose repulsi tempore non pauco ab invasione cessabant. Saxones autem pro viribus paulatim terram bello capessentes, captam obtinebant, obtentam ædificabant, ædificatam legibus regebant. Nec non et Normanni cito et breviter terram subdentes sibi, victis vitam et libertatem legesque antiquas regni jure concesserunt; de quibus in antea dicendum est. Daci vero terram undique creberrime, diutissime insilientes et assilientes, eam non obtinere sed prædari studebant, et omnia destruere, non dominari cupiebant. Qui si quandoque vincerentur, nihil [1]proficiebant victores,' cum alibi classis et exercitus major insurgeret: miroque modo cum reges Anglorum in orientalem partem contra eos pugnaturi tenderent, antequam hostilibus turmis appropinquarent, advolabat nuntius dicens; "Rex, quonam tendis? Classis Paga-
" norum innumerabilis ex australi parte Angliæ littora
" occupavit, urbesque et villas depopulans, omnia cædi
" tradit et igni." Eadem die accurrebat alius dicens:
" Rex, quo fugam capessis? Terribilis exercitus in
" occidentali parte Angliæ appulit, contra quos nisi
" festinus revertaris, te fugisse existimantes, cæde et
" flamma a tergo persequentur." Adveniebat eadem die, vel crastina, nuntius alius, qui diceret: "Quo ten-
" ditis, proceres? Daci borealibus plagis appulsi, jam
" domos vestras combusserunt, jam res vestras aspor-
" tarunt,[2] jam pueros sursum jactatos lancearum acu-
" mine susceperunt, jam conjuges vestras quasdam vi
" oppresserunt, quasdam secum abduxerunt." Sic tot[3] rumorum miserabili plaga percussi, rex et populus manibus et corde dissolvebantur et tabescebant. Igitur nec cum vincerent, lætitia ut assolet[4] erat eis ulla,

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[1] ' *proficiebat*, A. F.
[2] *asportant*, H.
[3] F.; deest, A.
[4] A. F.; *assolent*, Sav.

nec spes salutis aliqua. Cur autem tanto furore Dei justitia in eos exarserit, causa hæc est. In primitiva Angliæ ecclesia religio clarissime splenduit, ita ut reges et reginæ, duces et episcopi, vel monachatum vel exilium, ut præmonstravimus, appeterent. Processu vero temporum adeo omnis virtus in eis emarcuit, ut gentem nullam proditione et nequitia sibi parem esse permitterent: quod maxime apparet in historia regum Nordhumbre. Sicut autem in regalibus gestis impietas eorum descripta est, ita uniuscujusque ordinis et officii homines dolo et proditione insistebant. Nec erat dedecori nisi pietas; et causa dignissima cædis innocentia. Immisit ergo Dominus omnipotens, velut examina apium, gentes crudelissimas, quæ nec ætati nec sexui parcerent, scilicet Dacos cum Gothis, Norwagenses cum Suathedis, Wandalos cum Fresis: qui ab exordio regni Edelwlfi regis usque ad adventum Normannorum Willelmi regis ductu, ducentis triginta annis terram hanc desolaverunt. Qui etiam nonnunquam ex affinitate Brittanniæ, Dei vindices et stimuli, Galliam pro meritis crudeliter invaserunt. Sed jam ad historiæ ordinem, his explanatis, redeundum est.

The decline of religion and piety among the English brought this chastisement upon them.

Chr. E. § 1. Adelwlf primo anno regni sui, cum ipse adversus hostes prædictos in una parte regni sui persisteret, undique confluente Paganorum multitudine, misit Wlfhard consulem cum parte exercitus ad debellandum Dacos qui cum XXXIII.[1] navibus apud Hamtonam appulerant: ubi, magna strage hostium patrata, clarissime triumphavit. Misit etiam rex Adelwlf[2] Edelhelm consulem ut pugnaret contra alium exercitum apud Port[3] cum exercitu Westsexe. Cumque diu conflixissent, Chr. C. vel G. occiso prædicto consule, Daci victores extiterunt. Anno vero sequente Herebertus consul pugnavit contra eos apud Mercsware,[4] Dacisque vincentibus, suisque fugi-

A.D. 837. Struggle of Ethelwulf to repel the Danes.

A.D. 838.

[1] C. S². F.; *xxxiv.*, A.
[2] A².; *Aedhulf*, F, H.
[3] *Portes*, H.
[4] *Merseware*, H.

entibus, occisus est. Eodemque anno[1] perrexit Paganorum exercitus per orientales partes Angliæ, scilicet per Lindesie et Estangle et Cantiam, gentique
A.D. 839. innumeræ vitam ferro rapuerunt. Anno vero hos se- Chr. E.
quente, terram profundius introiens, exercitus circa Cantuariam et Rovecestriam et Londoniam multitudinem magnam stravit.

A.D. 840. § 2. Adelwlf quinto anno regni sui cum parte exer-
Engagements at Charmouth and the mouth of the Parret. citus, divisi namque erant exercitus, pugnavit contra gentem XXXV. puppium apud Carrum; Dacique victores fuerunt: licet enim parvus fuisset numerus puppium, magnus tamen erat puppes maximas numerus
A.D. 845. ingressorum. Anno vero ab hoc quinto, Alcstan episcopus venerabilis, et dux Ernulfus cum Sumersetis, et dux Osredus cum Dorsetis, pugnaverunt contra Dacos apud Pedredesmuth; et, Deo auxiliante, multos eorum prostraverunt et victoriæ splendorem obtinu-
A.D. 851. erunt. Adelwlf decimo sexto anno regni sui et Edel- Chr. E.
A Danish host defeated near the Thames. baldus filius suus, congregatis omnibus copiis, pugnaverunt cum maximo exercitu, qui cum CCCL.[2] navibus appulerant ad Temesmuth, urbesque præclaras et multis inclitas annis, Londoniam scilicet et Cantuariam, fregerunt, et fugaverunt Britwlf regem Merce victum cum exercitu suo, qui nunquam postea viguit; cui successit Burhred in regnum Merce: ingredientesque Sudreiam regalibus cuneis obviaverunt apud Achlea.[3] Commissum est igitur inter maximos exercitus tantum et tam grave prœlium, quantum nullus retro audierat in Anglia commissum. Videres igitur viros bellatores more segetis utrinque ruere; sanguinisque fluvios capita et membra cæsorum[4] secum volvere. Scribere autem singula nonne nimiæ et fastidiosæ prolixitatis esset? Concessit ergo Deus fortunam belli in se credentibus, et inenarrabilem contritionem se contemnen-

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[1] A.; deest, Sav.; *Eodem anno*, F, H.
[2] S². F.; *ccl.*, A.
[3] *Haclea*, H.
[4] *occisorum*, A. F.

tibus. Rex igitur Adelwlfus victor extitit clarissimus. Eodem anno Edelstan rex Cantiæ et dux Ealhere navali prœlio contra Dacos pugnaverunt apud Sandwic: et magna strage hostium facta, novem puppes eorum ceperunt; aliæ vero fugerunt. Consul quoque nomine Cheorl cum gente Davenescyre pugnavit contra Paganos, multosque percussit, et victor extitit apud Wienbeorne.[1] Hic igitur annus Anglorum genti fortunatus extitit. Hoc anno primum quidem Paganorum exercitus per totam hyemem in hac patria conversatus est apud Tenet.[2]

Naval combat at Sandwich.

And at Wembury

Chr. E. § 3. Adelwlfus decimo octavo anno regni sui, adjuvit Burhred[3] regem ad subjugandum sibi Nordwalenses potentissime; sociavitque ei filiam suam in matrimonio. Anno eodem misit rex Adelwlf Aluredum filium suum Leoni papæ Romam; quem Leo postea in regem benedixit et loco filii suscepit. Hoc anno dux Ealhere cum Centensibus, et Huda cum Sudrigensibus pugnaverunt contra exercitum Paganorum apud Tenet: et magna gens ex utraque parte occisa est, et naufragata; et ambo duces mortui sunt.

A.D. Alfred sent by father Rome.

Fighting on the Isle of Thanet.

Chr. E. Adelwlfus decimo nono anno regni sui, totam terram suam ad opus ecclesiarum decumavit propter amorem Dei, et redemptionem sui: postea vero cum magno honore Romam perrexit, et ibi uno anno conversatus est. Et inde rediens filiam Caroli Calvi regis Franciæ assumpsit in uxorem, et eam secum in hanc patriam adduxit: et cum duobus annis eam tenuisset, hominibus ademptus est; et sepultus apud Wincestre. Hic primum fuerat episcopus[a] apud Wincestre, sed

A.D. 855. Ethelwulf tithes the whole land for the love of God.

He marries Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald. His death.

A.D. 858.

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[1] C. F. S^2.; *Wienorne*, A. S.

[2] C. F. C^2. S^2.; desunt verba *apud Tenet* in Sav.; *apud Teneth*, A.

[3] A.; *Burred*, Sav.

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[a] Malmesbury (Gesta Pontif., ii. § 75) says that Ethelwulf was chosen king on his father's death, from the grade of subdeacon, with the consent of pope Leo. The entire sentence, *Hic primum* .

Egbricto patre suo defuncto, necessitate cogente, factus est rex; et uxore ducta, quatuor filios genuit, qui
A.D. 855. The Danes winter at Sheppey. omnes post eum reges fuerunt. Circa hoc tempus Pagani perendinaverunt tota hyeme apud Sepeige.[1]

Reigns of Ethelbald and Ethelbert, sons of Ethelwulf. § 4. Adelbaldo filio suo reliquit prædictus rex nobi- Chr. C. vel G.
lissimus regnum hæreditarium Westsexe: Adelbricto filio suo alii reliquit regnum Cantiæ et Estsexe, et Sudsexe. Ambo igitur fratres, optimæ indolis juvenes, regnum suum, dum uterque vixit, felicissime tenuerunt. Adelbaldus rex Westsexe cum regnum suum
A.D. 860. quinque annis in pace tenuisset, morte immatura præreptus est; planxit autem omnis Anglia Adelbaldi regis juventutem, et factus est luctus vehemens super eum; et sepelierunt eum apud Sireburne. Sensitque posthac Anglia quantum amiserit in eo.

Adelbricht frater regis prædicti regnavit post eum Chr. E.
super[2] Westsexe, qui prius erat rex Centensis. In diebus ejus venit navalis exercitus, et egredientes destruxerunt Wincestre; et sic

Virg. Æn. ii. 363. "Urbs antiqua ruit multos dominata per annos."

The Danes defeated near Winchester. Tunc vero dux Osric cum Hamtunescyre et dux Edelwlf cum Barrucscyre pugnaverunt contra eundem exercitum. Quibus cum magna contritione fugatis, nostri victores extiterunt.

A.D. 865. § 5. Adelbricti regis anno quinto, venit exercitus Ch. E.
Paganorum apud Tenet; quibus cum Centenses causa induciarum pecuniam promisissent, infra inducias, nocte quadam improvise proruperunt, et Cantiam ex orien-
Death of Ethelbert; His brother Ethelred succeeds. tali parte deprædati sunt. Eodem anno Adelbrictus cum regnasset super Westsexe quinque annis, super Cantiam vero decem annis, mortem gustavit. Post quem
A.D. 866. Adelred frater ejus regni suscepit insignia. Hoc autem

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[1] A[2]. F.; *Sepeigei*, Sav.

[2] *in*, A.

fuerunt, is omitted in S[3]. and H. Goscelin's account (*Vita S. Swithuni*) exactly agrees with that of Malmesbury.

anno venit maximus exercitus Paganorum in terram Anglorum, quorum duces fuerunt Hinguar et Ubba,[a] viri strenuissimi sed crudelissimi: Hinguar erat ingentis ingenii, Ubba vero fortitudinis admirandæ. Perendinantes igitur in hyeme in Estangle, inducias et equos ab iis acceperunt, et quietis gratia fortitudini suæ ad tempus pepercerunt. A.D. 866. A powerful Pagan host, under Hinguar and Ubba, lands on the east coast.

Chr. E. Adelredi regis anno secundo, venit exercitus prædictus, quem Hinguar et Ubba rexerunt, in Nordhumbre apud Eoverwic. Eratque inter gentem patriæ illius, solita proditione, magna discordia, quia regem suum Osbrict abjecerant, et alium degenerem, nomine Ellan, acceperant: ideoque tarde concordati, congregato exercitu, venerunt ad Eoverwic, in qua erat Paganus exercitus; fractoque muro intus irruentes, cum eis pugnaverunt, et ibi occisus est uterque rex Osbrict et Ælla, et innumera multitudo gentis Nordhumbre intra urbem et extra: et qui residui fuerunt, inducias cum Paganis ceperunt. Hoc anno obiit Alcstan episcopus; sepultus est apud Scyreburne, ubi fuit episcopus quinquaginta annis. A.D. 867. It marches upon York; great battle; two Northumbrian kings slain.

Chr. E. Adelredus rex, anno tertio regni sui, ivit Snotingham cum fratre suo Alfredo in auxilium Burhredi regis Merce; exercitus namque prædictus venerat Snotingham, et ibi in hyeme fuit. Congregatis igitur omnibus copiis Anglorum, cum suos obsessos et viribus impares Hinguarus videret, vulpeculari astutia, verbisque delinitis, inducias ab Anglis impetravit: rediensque A.D. 868. Ethelred and Alfred force Hinguar back from Nottingham to York.

A.D. 869.

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[a] *Hinguar et Ubba*] The names of the Danish leaders are not given in the Chronicles under this date. Malmesbury names them, both in the *Gesta Reg.* and the *Gesta Pont.*, but only in connexion with the martyrdom of St. Edmund in 870. In the same connexion they are named by one of the Chronicles ("F." of Mr. Earle). But Ethelwerd distinctly says that the "tyrannus Igware" landed in East Anglia with a large force of Northmen in 866. Henry seems to have arrived at the opinion that the leaders of the expedition of 866 were no other than Hinguar and Ubba by independent inference from subsequent entries in the Chronicles.

A.D. 870. Eboracum, ibi crudeliter uno anno permansit. S. Eadmundus anno [1]Dominicæ Incarnationis' DCCC.LXX., Adelredi regis anno quinto, cœli palatia conscendit. Exercitus namque prædictus Hinguari regis veniens per Merce ad Tedforde, ibi in hyeme permansit, clademque maximam genti miserrimæ intulit. Rex vero Eadmundus magis eligens mortem perferre, quam desolationem suorum videre, captus est ab iis, corpusque sanctissimum sagittis impiorum ad stipitem undique transverberatus: Dei vero clementia multa super eo signavit miracula. Chr. E.

Martyrdom of Edmund, king of East Anglia.

A.D. 871. § 6. Adelredi regis anno sexto, venit exercitus novus et maximus, quasi fluvius inundans et omnia secum volvens, in Westsexe usque ad Redingum; præ nimia vero multitudine cum simul non possent procedere, diversis turmis et locis gradiebantur. Duces eorum autem fuerunt duo reges Basreg[2] et Aldene.[3] Itaque post tres dies dux Edelwlf duobus obvians consulibus exercitus apud Englafeld, pugnavit cum eis et vicit, et unum occidit, qui vocabatur Sidrac. Et post quatuor dies rex Edelred et frater suus cum magna gente venientes Redingum, pugnaverunt cum exercitu; et multi ceciderunt ex utraque parte; et Daci victores fuerunt. Et post quatuor dies iterum pugnaverunt rex Adelred et frater suus Alfred contra totum exercitum apud Escesdune, qui fuit divisus in duas partes: ex una parte fuerunt Basreg et Alfdene reges Pagani, contra quos pugnavit rex Edelred, et occidit regem Basreg: ex alia vero parte fuerunt Pagani consules, contra quos pugnavit Alfred frater regis, et occidit quinque consules; Sidroc senem et Sidroc juvenem et Osbearn et Frena et Harolde: et exercitus fugatus est, et multa millia occisa sunt; duravitque prœlium usque ad noctem. Iterum post quatuordecim dies Adelred rex et frater suus Alfred pugnaverunt cum exercitu Chr. E.

A fresh Danish invasion, under Bagsecg and Healfdene.

Battles at Englefield, Reading, Ashdown, Basing, Marden, and Wilton.

[1] *gratiæ*, A. F.
[2] *Basrecg*, H.
[3] *Halfdene*, H.

apud Basingum; et Daci vicerunt. Iterum post duos menses rex Adelred et frater suus Alfred pugnaverunt cum exercitu apud Meredune; et multi ex utraque parte ceciderunt, et Daci diu fugati in fine vicerunt. Ibi occisus est Heahmund[1] episcopus et multi proceres Angliæ. Post hoc prœlium venit in æstate magnus exercitus apud Redingum. Hoc anno obit Adelred rex post Pascha, sepultus apud Winburnhamminster; qui regnavit quinque annis. Tunc Alfred frater suus, filius Adelwlfi, regnavit super Westsexe; et postea circa unum mensem pugnavit cum pauca gente apud Wiltune[2] contra exercitum, et diu fugavit eum; et postea Daci vicerunt. Hoc anno fuerunt novem prœlia campestria contra exercitum in regno ex australi parte Temese; præter invasiones quas Alfred frater ejus et duces regis sæpe fecerunt. Et hoc anno sunt occisi rex unus et novem comites; et proceres Westsexe ceperunt inducias cum exercitu Paganorum.[3]

Chr. E.

Bishop Heahmund slain.

A.D. 871. Death of Ethelred; Alfred sole king of Wessex.

§ 7. Alfredi regis anno primo, exercitus venit Londoniam a Reding, et ibi per hiemem fuit; et Mercenses ceperunt inducias cum exercitu. Secundo vero anno, rex Haldene duxit exercitum eundem hiematum in Lindesei apud Torcheseige. Tertio autem anno, hiemaverunt apud Rependune. Tunc vero congregati sunt cum eo tres alii reges, Godrun et Oscetin et Anwend,[4] et facti sunt invincibiles; et Burhred regem, qui regnaverat XXII. annis super Merce, trans mare fugaverunt. Rex autem Burhred Rômam perrexit, ibique moriens, sepultus est in ecclesia S. Mariæ apud Anglecnescolam.[a] Daci autem tradiderunt regnum Merce Ceolwlfo cuidam insipienti regi, ad servandum ad opus eorum. Ipse autem juravit, et obsides iis dedit, se redditurum illis regnum quandocunque vellent,

A.D. 872. Healfdene is joined by Godrum, Oscytel, and Anwend.

A.D. 873. The Danes gain the upper hand in Mercia, and drive Burhred into exile.

A.D. 874.

[1] S[2].; *Headmund*, F. S[3].; *Eadmund*, C[2].; *Edmundus*, A.

[2] A. F.; *Wintune*, Sav.

[3] deest A. F.

[4] A. F.; *Awed*, Sav.

[a] "Angel-cynnes scole," the English school at Rome.

et seipsum præsto esse cum omnibus quos adducere posset in auxilium eorum. Chr. E.

A.D. 875. Healfdene settles his Danes in Northumbria.

Alfredi regis anno quarto, exercitus recessit a Rependune et divisus est. Alfdene rex cum parte quadam exercitus perrexit in Nordhumbre et fuit in hieme juxta Tinam, et saisivit terram et divisit eam suis, et coluerunt eam duobus annis; et sæpe prædavit super Pictos. Tres vero reges Dacorum prædicti venerunt cum majori parte exercitus ad Grantebrige, et ibi uno permanserunt anno. Hoc anno pugnavit rex Alfred navali prœlio contra VII. puppes, quarum unam cepit, ceteras fugavit. Anno vero sequente, exercitus trium regum venit apud Werham in Westsexe. Rex vero Alfredus cepit inducias cum exercitu, acceptis ab eo obsidibus ex nobilioribus eorum. Ipsi autem juraverunt ei, quod nunquam alicui antea fecerant, se cito exituros a regno illius; et in proxima nocte furtim recedens exercitus qui equos habebant, perrexerunt Exanceastre. Hoc anno Rollo cum suis Normanniam venit. Chr. E.

Another army occupies Cambridge.

A.D. 876. And the next year lands at Wareham in Wessex.

A.D. 877. Danish fleet destroyed by a storm.

Anno vero sequente exercitus perjurus venit a Werham ad Exanceastre, et navalis exercitus circum remigans tempestate obrutus est, perieruntque CXX. puppes apud Swanawic. Rex autem Alfred cum magna gente secutus est exercitum, qui equos habebant, nec eos consequi potuit ante Exanceastre. Tunc exercitus tradidit illi quotquot obsides ipse volebat, et pacem tenere juravit; et bene tenuit. Tunc exercitus ivit in Merce, et partem regni tenuit, partem dedit Ceolwlfo.

Alfred comes to terms with them, and they retire into Mercia.

A.D. 878.

§ 8. Alfredi regis anno septimo, cum jam Daci omne regnum a boreali parte Temesis obtinerent, regnaretque rex Haldene in Nordhumbre, et frater Haldeni esset in Estangle, tres vero reges prædicti cum Ceolwlfo rege eorum essent in Merce, et Londonia, et Estsexe, regi vero Alfredo non remansisset nisi terra ultra Tamesim; indignum visum est Dacis ut vel hoc ei remaneret. Tres igitur reges venerunt Cipenham in Westsexe cum mira multitudine quæ nuper a Dacia Chr. E.

The next year, they move south-

venerat: operientesque terram quasi locustæ, cum nullus eis posset resistere, occupaverunt eam sibi. Pars igitur populi trans mare fugit, pars Alfredum regem secuta est, qui cum paucis se in nemoribus abscondebat, pars vero subdita est hostibus. Cum autem rex Alfredus jam nec terram haberet, nec spem habendi, respexit in reliquias plebis suæ Dominus. Venit namque frater regis Haldene cum XXIII. navibus in Westsexe in Davenscyre. Gens autem regis Alfredi occidit eum et DCCCXL. homines exercitus sui; captumque est ibi vexillum eorum quod vocabatur Raven. Ergo rex Alfredus, hoc successu confortatus, paravit firmitatem quandam apud Ethelingeie; et sic fretus, pugnavit sæpe cum exercitu, auxilio Sumersetensium
Chr. E. qui ibi propinqui erant. Et in septima hebdomada post Pascha perrexit ad Ecgbrichtestan[1] ex orientali parte Seleuude;[2] et venerunt contra eum omnes Sumerseti et Wilsati et qui residui fuerant de Hantunescyre, læti pro adventu suo: et ipse in crastino inde perrexit ad Æglea, et inde alia die ad Edendune, et ibi pugnavit contra exercitum, et eum fugavit, et eum persecutus est usque ad firmitatem suam; et ibi fuit quatordecim diebus. Tunc exercitus tradidit regi obsides, et juravit se recessurum a regno suo. Promisit etiam quod rex eorum baptizaretur; et factum est: venit enim[3] Godrun princeps regum eorum ad Alfredum regem, et baptizatus est. Alfredus vero patrinus ejus factus, cum eum secum duodecim diebus tenuisset, abeunti multa dedit munera.

A.D. 878. ward to Chippenham.

A Danish force under Healfdene's brother, landing in Devonshire, is defeated with loss.

Alfred takes up a fortified position at Athelney.

Muster at Brixton.

Victory of Ethandun.

Godrun agrees to give hostages, to evacuate Mercia, and to embrace Christianity.

§ 9. Alfredi anno octavo, ivit exercitus prædictus a Chipenham ad Cyrencestre, et ibi hiemavit in pace. Eodem anno[4] extranei, id est Wicingi,' collegerunt no-
Chr. E. vum exercitum, et manserunt apud Fulenham juxta Tamesim. Hoc anno sol obscuratus est. Anno vero sequente exercitus prædictus regis Godrum recessit a

A.D. 879.

The Danes at Fulham.

A.D. 879. Godrun retires into

[1] A. F.; *Egbrichstan*, Sav.
[2] A.; *Salwdu*, Sav.; *Sealwdi*, F.
[3] *ergo*, A.
[4] A.; *Wincigi*, G., Sav.; *Wicingi*, F.

A.D. 880. East Anglia, and settles there. Cyrenceastre et perrexit in Estangliam, et terram illam obtinuit, et divisit. Eodem anno exercitus qui fuit apud Fulenham mare transiit, et ad Gant uno
A.D. 881. anno permansit. Sequenti vero anno pugnaverunt cum
A.D. 882. Francis, et vicerunt eos. Tertio autem anno venerunt per Mese in Franciam. Quo in tempore rex Alfredus navali prœlio quatuor puppes Dacorum cepit, et eos qui inerant, interfecit. Quarto vero anno venit exercitus apud Scat in Cundoet, et ibi uno anno per-
A.D. 883. Exchange of gifts between Alfred and Pope Marinus. mansit. Hoc anno Marinus papa misit Alfredo regi lignum Domini. Alfredus autem misit eleemosynam suam Romæ, et etiam in Indiam ad S. Thomam, secundum votum quod fecerat quando hostilis exercitus hiemavit apud Londoniam.

A.D. 885. Danes at Rochester. § 10. Alfredi regis anno decimo quarto, pars exer- Chr. E. citus qui in Gallia erat venit[1] ad Rovecestriam: et civitatem obsidentes, cœperunt facere ibi aliam firmitatem. Adveniente vero rege, ad puppes fugerunt, et mare transierunt. Misit autem rex Alfred navalem exercitum ad Cent in Estanglia,[a] qui cum venissent Sturemutham obviantes XVI. puppibus Wiccingorum vicerunt eas bello: sed redeuntes cum spoliis et victoria, obviaverunt magno exercitui Wiccingorum, et cum iis pugnantes victi sunt. Eodem anno interfecit aper quidam Carolum regem Franciæ, filium Lodovei, filii Caroli Calvi, cujus filiam Juhetam duxerat rex Edelwlf. Tunc quoque papa Marinus obdormivit.
A.D. 886. Danes at Paris. Alfred recovers London. Anno sequente venit exercitus Dacorum per Secanam ad pontem Parisius, et illic hiemavit. Alfredus rex Londoniam obsedit,[b] quia maxima vis Dacorum secuta fuerat Gallicanum exercitum; omnes autem Anglici statim ei subditi sunt, et receperunt eum: Daci

[1] A. F.; *venerunt*, Sav.

[a] A mistranslation of Chr. E, which has, "of Cænt on East Engle," from Kent to East Anglia.

[b] In the original *ge-sette*, "planted" or "settled." Asser's statement, that Alfred restored and settled the city of London after the havoc of the Danish wars, clears up the passage sufficiently; see however Mr. Earle's note (*Two S. C.* p. 310).

Chr. E. namque aufugerunt. Rex vero tradidit Ædredo duci civitatem in custodiam. Anno vero hos sequente, exercitus recedens a ponte Parisius ivit per Secanam usque ad Marnam, et per Marnam usque ad Cadzi, et in ea, et in Iorna[1] duobus annis conversati sunt. Circa hoc tempus, factione Ernulfi, quinque reges facti sunt in Francia. A.D. 887. Danes at Chezy and on the Yonne.

§ 11. Alfredi regis anno XIX. Godrun rex Dacus, qui fuit filiolus Alfredi regis et regnavit in Estangle, luce demptus est. Hoc anno venit exercitus a Secana ad Scanlaudam, quod est inter Brittanniam et Franciam. Brittones vero cum eis pugnantes, et in flumen quod- A.D. 890.

Chr. E. dam fugantes, multos necaverunt. Hic Pleumundus archi- Election of archbishop

Chr. C. episcopus a Deo et omni populo electus est. Anno vero se- Plegmund. quente exercitus ivit in orientem, et rex Arnulfus cum Francis et Saxonibus et Baveriensibus pugnavit contra exercitum, et repulit eos. Postea rediit in Angliam ille magnus exercitus cum omnibus rebus suis ad portum Limene cum CCL. navibus; qui portus est in orientali parte Cent juxta magnum nemus Andredeslaige, quod CXX. millia in longitudine, XXX. in latitudine continet. Egressi vero construxerunt castrum apud Awldre.[2] Interim venit Hasteng cum LXXX. navibus in portum Tamesis, et paravit castrum apud Middletune: postea vero regi Alfredo juramenta fecit, ne in aliquo ei noceret. Rex ergo ipsi, et uxori suæ, et filiis multa dona dederat; quorum alterum rex ipse in baptismate tenuerat, alterum vero Edredus dux magnus. Hasteng autem semper infidus, castrum construxit apud Beamfled. Cumque isset prædatum super regem, fregit rex castrum prædictum, et cepit ibi uxorem ejus, et filios, et pecuniam, et spolia, et puppes: uxorem vero et filios reddidit Hastengo, quia patrinus eorum erat. Regi autem Alfredo venit nuntius dicens: "Centum puppes venerunt a Nordhumbre "et Estangle, et obsident Exanceastre." Rex igitur A.D. 891. A.D. 893. A Danish army lands at Lympne, and forms a camp at Appledore. Hasting, with a large fleet, enters the Thames. A.D. 894. Alfred contends incessantly with the barbarians at all points.

[1] *Iorra*, C. F.

[2] A. F.; *Avoldre*, Sav.

A.D. 894. dum illuc tendit, exercitus qui erat apud Awldre invasit Estsexe, et castrum fecit apud Scobrih: indeque permeantes, venerunt usque ad Budingtune juxta Savernam, et ibi castrum fecerunt; unde tamen bello repulsi, fugerunt ad castrum suum in Estsexe. Illi autem qui obsederant Exanceastre, audito adventu regis, ad puppes fugerunt, et in mari prædantes manebant. Quartus exercitus venit eodem anno a Nordhumbre usque in Legecestriam; sed ibi obsessi sunt, et tanta fame afflicti sunt, quod etiam equos suos comederent. Chr. C.

A.D. 895. Operations round London. § 12. Alfredi regis anno XXIII Daci qui erant in Legecestria iverunt circum per Nordwales et Nordhumbre ad Mereseige insulam Estsexe, et post in hieme traxerunt puppes suas per Tamesim in flumen Luye: ille autem exercitus qui obsederat Exanceastre deprehensus est prædans juxta Ciceastre, ubi multos ex suis amiserunt, et quasdam ex puppibus suis perdiderunt. Chr. C.

A.D. 896. Anno vero sequenti, exercitus qui erat in Luye, fecit juxta idem flumen castrum quoddam, viginti millibus a Londonia. Venerunt igitur Londonienses ad castrum illud, et cum Dacis pugnantes, quatuor ex ducibus eorum occiderunt, et victoriam in tempore opportuno dedit suis Dominus omnipotens. Cum ergo fugissent Daci ad castrum, fecit rex aquam Luye findi in tria brachia, ne puppes suas per eam reducere possent. Quod Daci comperientes, relictis puppibus, perrexerunt usque ad Quadruge[1] juxta Savernam, et ibi castrum fecerunt, et ibidem hiemaverunt; commendatis uxoribus suis in Estangle. Rex vero cum exercitu persecutus est eos: at Londonienses puppes Dacorum relictas quasdam ad Londoniam duxerunt, quasdam combusserunt.[a] Hi igitur his tribus

[1] *Quathruge*, C. C[2]. F.

[a] Henry misconceives the action at the stockade on the Lee; he makes it a victory of the Londoners, but it was the other way. Florence interprets the Chronicle correctly.

Chr. C. annis prædictis, scilicet ex quo Daci ad portum Limene appulerunt, Anglis multa mala fecerunt, sed et ipsi multo plura toleraverunt. Anno vero quarto, divisus est exercitus partim in Nordhumbre, et partim in Estangle; pars vero transfretans ivit in Secanam: postea tamen quædam puppes Dacorum venerunt juxta littora Westsexe, quæ crebris irruptionibus sæpe prædantes, et sæpe pugnantes, cladem non modicam provincialibus Westsexe contulerunt. De multis vero conflictibus unum pertractabo, quia insoliti fuit eventus. Rex Alfredus naves longas, scilicet XL. remorum, vel plurium, fecit parari contra puppes Dacorum prædictas: sex autem puppes Dacorum, cum in quodam littore Davenscyre starent, præoccupaverunt eas novem regiæ naves. Quod Daci videntes, tres rates contra eos commoverunt, aliæ namque tres stabant in littore immobiles, Nereo scilicet retracto. Sex igitur puppes Anglorum pugnaverunt contra tres puppes[1] Dacorum. Tres vero reliquæ progressæ sunt ad tres naves Dacorum in littore stantes. Tres igitur naves Dacorum contra sex desperate et omnino audacissime et diu pugnantes, conflictum asperrimum peregerunt. Vicit tamen numerus major, duæque rates Dacorum captæ sunt, tertia vero aufugit, omnibus tamen occisis qui inerant, præter quinque. Hoc autem perpetrato, cum ad naves sociorum, quæ juxta puppes Dacorum ex adverso littore erant, reverti vellent, exsiccatæ sunt: quod Daci videntes, egressi de tribus puppibus pugnabant contra gentem Anglorum quæ erat in tribus ratibus. Videres autem gentem sex navium bellum aspicientem, et auxilium ferre nequientem, pugnis cædere pectus, et unguibus rumpere crines. Angli tamen viriliter agebant, et Daci fortissime instabant. Ceciderunt ex Anglis XLII., et ex Dacis CXX. Daci tamen Lucheman præpositum regalis exercitus acrius insistentem occiderunt: ob quam rem Angli dum paulatim

A.D. 897.

Remarkable naval combat.

[1] *naves*, A.

A.D. 897. cederent, Daci pene victores visi sunt. Sed ecce, Chr. C. mari redeunte ad puppes, Daci maris alta invadunt, quos postea IX. puppes Anglorum sero et frustra persecutæ sunt. Ventus vero adversus victores Dacos aggreditur, et duas ex puppibus eorum ad terram projecit, unde homines capti et adducti ad regem, omnes suspensi sunt apud Wincestriam; qui vero in tertia puppe erant, valde sauciati appulerunt in Estangle. Eodem anno perierunt XX. naves cum hominibus juxta australia littora.

The king hangs the crews of two Danish ships at Winchester.

A.D. 901. Death of Alfred.

§ 13. Alfredus rex, cum regnasset viginti octo annis et dimidio super totam Angliam, præter illas partes quæ subditæ erant Dacis, mortis sensit aculeum. De cujus regimine laborioso, et inextricabili vexatione, versifice proloqui dignum duximus:

His panegyric.

Nobilitas innata tibi probitatis honorem,
Armipotens Alfrede, dedit, probitasque laborem,
Perpetuumque labor nomen: cui mixta dolori
Gaudia semper erant, spes semper mixta timori.
Si modo victor eras, ad crastina bella pavebas:
Si modo victus eras, ad crastina bella parabas.
Cui vestes sudore jugi, cui sica cruore
Tincta jugi, quantum sit onus regnare, probarunt.
Non fuit immensi quisquam per climata mundi,
Cui tot in adversis vel respirare liceret,
Nec tamen aut ferro contritus ponere ferrum,
Aut gladio potuit vitæ finisse labores.
Jam post transactos vitæ regnique dolores,
Christus ei sit vera quies, sceptrumque perenne."

A.D. 901. Edward the Elder succeeds his father.

§ 14. Edwardus filius regis Alfredi, paternum regnum tenuit XXIV. annis. Ædelwoldus vero frater[a] Chr. C. suus junior accepit uxorem, et saisivit Winburnam sine voluntate tam regis quam nobilium regni: quapropter ivit rex Edwardus cum exercitu usque ad

[a] Henry seems not to have known the meaning of "fædran sunu," patruelis.

Chr. C. Bathan[1] juxta Winburnam. Ædelwoldus autem cum hominibus suis in Winburna permanens januis clausis, dicebat quia ibidem persisteret aut occumberet. Nocte tamen inde recedens, ivit ad exercitum qui erat in Nordhumbre.[2] Illi vero nobilitati juvenis congaudentes, constituerunt eum regem et principem super reges et duces suos. Rex autem saisivit uxorem ejus, quam juvenis prædictus ultra vetitum episcopi duxerat, quia sacrata fuerat in sanctimonialem. Eodem anno obierat Edred dux Davenescyre[3] uno mense ante obitum Alfredi regis; qui cum eo multa fidelis et fortis gesserat bella.

A.D. 901. His cousin Ethelwold joins the Danes.

Chr. C. Edwardi regis anno tertio, Ædelwoldus frater regis, coactis viribus, duxit navigium immensum in Estsexe; et Estsexenses sine mora subditi sunt. Anno vero sequente duxit exercitum gravissimum in Merce, et prædavit eam undique usque ad Cricalade. Ibique transiens Tamesim, cepit in Brethdenne[4] et circumquaque quicquid aderat. Sicque patrato facinore suo, domum reversi sunt cum gaudio. At rex Edwardus congregans exercitum quam citius potuit, ivit post eos, et terram eorum totam prædatus est inter Dicum[a] et Usam usque ad paludes in Nord; postea cum inde recedere vellet, præcepit per totum exercitum suum ut omnes simul recederent: et recesserunt omnes præter Centenses, qui remanserunt ultra præceptum regis, et rex misit propter eos VII. nuntios. Tunc exercitus Dacorum ibi eos intercepit, et pugnavit cum eis; ibique occisus est Siulf dux, et Sighelm dux, et Adelwald baro regis, et Cenwlf abbas, et Sigebricht filius Siulfi, et Eadwold filius Accæ, et plures alii, licet

A.D. 904.

A.D. 905. Great battle in the Fen country; the Kentish troops suffer heavy loss; Ethelwold killed.

[1] *Batan*, C. S[2].
[2] A[2].; *Nordh*, Sav.
[3] A.; *Davene*, Sav.
[4] S[2]. S[3]. F.; *in Brithende*, A.; *Inbrithenden*, Sav.

[a] Henry could make nothing of the "dicum" of the Chronicles. These "dicas," or fen-dykes, were, according to the explanation of Florence, the boundary of the territory of St. Edmund king and martyr, *i.e.* of the monastery of Bury St. Edmund's.

A.D. 905. ditiores nominentur. Et ex parte Dacorum occisus est Chr. C.
rex Eoric, et Ædelwoldus juvenis, quem elegerant in regem, et Beorthsigt filius Brithnodi adeling, et Isopo[1] hold, et Oscetel hold, et plures alii, quos omnes nominare nequivimus, et multus populus cecidit ex utraque parte; et ex parte Dacorum plures occisi sunt, licet ipsi victoriam obtinuissent. Hoc eodem anno obiit Ealcswid uxor[a] regis Edwardi.

A.D. 906. § 15. Edwardus rex anno quinto, constituit inducias
A.D. 910. cum Estanglis et Nordhumbris apud Itingforde. Anno vero sequenti, misit exercitum rex fortissimum ex Westsexe et Merce, qui prædam maximam ceperunt ab exercitu qui erat in Nordhumbre, tam hominum quam animalium. Multisque Dacorum occisis, manserunt in terra eorum quinque hebdomadis prædantes.

A.D. 911. Anno sequenti, exercitus Dacorum venit in Merce præ- Chr. C.
Edward meets the Northumbrian Danes in Mercia, and wins a great victory; king Healfdene killed.
datum. Rex autem congregaverat centum puppes, et misit eas contra exercitum: quas postquam comperuit exercitus, putavit ab eis habere auxilium,[b] et quod securius possent ire quoquo vellent. Porro rex misit exercitum post eos ex Westsexe et Merce, qui consecuti sunt eos a tergo cum domum reverterentur, et cum eis pugnaverunt. Bellum ingens est commissum. Contrivit autem Dominus infideles contritione magna, et ex eis multa millia mors cruenta devoravit, corrueruntque principes eorum in confusione, et devorati in pulvere sorduerunt. Occidit namque rex Haldene, et rex Eowils,[2] et Uthere consul, et Scurfa consul, et Owlf[3] hold, et Benesing hold, et Hanlaf niger,[4] et Wrfer[5] hold[6] et Offerd hold, et Offerd hlyte, et Hah-

[1] C. F. S[2]. ; *Hispo*, A.
[2] F. ; *Eolwlf*, A.
[3] *Oswulf*, F.
[4] A. ; *Hanlafinger*, Sav.
[5] *Werfer*, F.
[6] desunt in F.

[a] Ealhswith was not the wife but the mother of Edward the Elder; his wife's name was Elgiva.

[b] Henry has misunderstood the Chronicler, who merely says that the Danes, supposing that the chief part of Edward's forces was on board the ships, thought they might plunder in Mercia without disturbance.

mund hold,' et Gudferd hold, et alius Gudferd.[a] Servi autem Domini victoria tanta potiti, exultantes in Deum vivum, in hymnis et concentibus Dominum
C hr.C. exercituum benedicebant. Anno sequente, defuncto Edredo duce Merce, rex Edwardus saisivit Londoniam et Oxinefordiam, omnemque terram Mercensi provinciæ pertinentem.

A.D. 912. On the death of the ealdorman of Mercia, Edward seizes London and Oxford.

Edwardus rex anno IX. regni sui construxit Herefordiam, castrum non immensum sed pulcherrimum, inter Beneficiam et Mimeram et Luyc, flumina non profunda sed clarissima. Eodem anno construxit burgum quendam Witham in Estsexe, et interea manebat apud Mealdune: et ei subdita est magna pars gentis illius, quæ prius erat in subditione Dacorum. Sequenti vero anno[b] exiit Dacorum exercitus ab Hamtonia et Legecestria, et fregerunt inducias quas rex iis dederat; et fecerunt cædem magnam Anglorum apud Hocheneretune, et ibi circum in Oxinefordscyre. Et postquam domum redierunt, statim exiit alia caterva, et ivit ad Ligetune. Gens autem patriæ illius eos comperiens, pugnavit cum eis, et eos fugavit, et totam prædam quam ceperant, eis abstulit, et etiam equos eorum.

A.D. 913. He fortifies Hertford and Witham.

A.D. 917.

Chr. C. § 16. Edwardi regis anno undecimo, venit magnus navalis exercitus ab austro ex Lidwicum, et duo consules Uhter et Rahald; et circuierunt in West, quousque venerunt ad littus Saverne, et ibi prædati sunt in Nordwales ubicunque poterant juxta littora, ceperuntque Camelegeac episcopum et duxerunt eum ad puppes suas. Rex autem Edwardus redemit eum quadraginta libris. Postea exercitus exiit, volens prædari super Yrcingafeldas; et tunc obviaverunt eis Le-

A.D. 918. Hostilities in the west of England; the Danes are defeated several times.

[a] The names of Benesing, Anlaf, Thurferth (Wrfer), Osferth, and the two Guthferths, only occur in Chronicles B. and C. The second Osferth of Henry appears to be imaginary.

[b] Henry is here following one or other of the Chronicles A, B, or C, which have no entry from 913 to 917; thus he falls into the error of describing the events of 917 as happening in the year "following" 913.

geceastrenses, Herefordiensesque, et homines ex aliis castris quæ ibi erant propinqua, et cum eis pugnantes
A.D. 918. eos fugaverunt: occideruntque Rahald consulem, et Chr. C.
Geolcil [a] fratrem Utheri consulis, magnamque partem exercitus, et fugaverunt eos in castrum quoddam, obsidentes eos ibi, quousque illi dederunt eis obsides, juraveruntque se recessuros a terra regis. Rex autem fecit custodiri littora Saverne ex australi parte a Walia usque ad Afenam, ita quod ipsi nullo modo ex illa parte irrumpere præsumpserunt. Ipsi tamen bis furtim exierunt; una vice ex orientali parte Weced, alia vice apud Portlocan:[1] et utraque vice pauci evaserunt qui occisi non essent, præter illos qui poterant natare ad puppes. Et tunc manserunt in insula Stepen cum magna miseria, ita quod cibus eis defecit, et multi fame mortui sunt, quia cibum conquirere nequibant.
and retire to Ireland. Tunc recesserunt ipsi in Deomedum, et inde in Hiber- Chr. C.
Edward fortifies Buckingham: the Danes in those parts submit to him. niam. Eodemque anno rex Edwardus ivit cum exercitu ad Buchingaham, ibique mansit quatuor hebdomadis; fecitque vallum ex utraque parte aquæ, antequam inde recessisset. Et Turchetel consul ibi subditus est regi; omnesque consules et meliores barones qui appendebant ad Bedefordiam, et plures ex illis qui appendebant ad Hamtoniam.

A.D. 902. Edwardi regis anno duodecimo, fuisse prœlium apud Chr. C.
Battles at Holme and Totanhale. Holme inter Centenses et Dacos scripturæ veterum dicunt: quis autem victor fuerit nonne indeterminatum
A.D. 904. relinquunt? [b] Secundo ab hoc anno luna valde obscu- Chr. C.
A.D. 905. rata est, et magno fuit horrori videntibus: tertio anno

[1] C. F. S[2].; *Portlocon*, C[2].; *Pordacan*, A. S.

[a] This "Geolcil" appears to be a name invented by Henry, and applied to the unnamed brother of Earl Uther, whom the Chronicles mention as having fallen on this occasion.

[b] On the confusion of dates in this and the next paragraph, see the Introd., § 43. Holme is connected by Ingram (*Sax. Chron.*, p. 125) with "Holmsdale in Surrey," a locality which does not appear on the Ordnance Map. More probably it is the large plain or stony common near Dungeness, between Lydd and the sea, known to this day as "The Holme Stone."

Chr. C. apparuit cometa: quarto [a] anno Legecestria renovata est: A.D. 907.
quinto anno corpus S. Oswaldi translatum est a Bar- A.D. 909.
denei in Merce: sexto anno Anglici et Daci pugna- A.D. 910.
verunt apud Totanhale. Quis autem cuneorum horrendos aggressus, ignitas collisiones, formidabiles tinnitus, feras irruptiones, miserabiles occasus, clamores horrisonos scriptis exequetur? Tandem suos divina pietas victoria decoravit, et Dacos infideles cæde simul et fuga dehonestavit. Eodem anno Edelfled domina [1] Merce, quæ sub Etheredo patre suo infirmo regnum' Merce regebat, construxit burgum Brimesbirih.[2] [b]

Chr. C. § 17. Edwardi regis anno XVIII. mortuus est Ethered A.D. 911.
dominus Merce pater Edelfled, qui fuerat diu infirmus, Death of Ethered (see p. 155).
et dedit terram suam filiæ suæ; quia nullum filium A.D. 912.
habebat. Secundo ab hoc anno Edelfled domina Merce Ethelfleda, his widow, fortifies Tamworth and other places,
construxit burgum ad Scoriate, et eodem anno burgum A.D. 913.
apud Bruge: tertio anno, Edelfled domina Merce con- A.D. 914.
struxit burgum Tamewrthe in principio æstatis; et
ante Augustum, illum apud Stafforde: quarto, Edelfled
domina Merce construxit burgum Edesbirih in principio
æstatis; et in fine Augusti illum apud Wirengewic:
quinto, Edelfled domina Merce construxit burgum apud A.D. 915.
Cereburih post Natale; et illum apud Wardebirh in
æstate; et eodem anno illum apud Rumcoven: sexto, A.D. 916.
misit exercitum in Walliam, Walensibusque victis, fregit
Brecanammere; in qua cepit uxorem regis Walensis
cum XXXIII. hominibus: septimo, Edelfled domina Merce
adquisivit Derebi cum provincia ei appendicia. Cum

[1] ' desunt in C. F. C^2.; *domina quæ*, C. F.

[2] S^2.; *Brunesburih*, A.; *Brismesbirith*, F.

[a] It should be "quinto"; but it is the *fourth* entry in the intercalated Mercian narrative of C, which Henry is here following. Similarly the notice of the translation of St. Oswald is the *fifth*, and that of the battle of Totanhale the *sixth* entry, in the same narrative.

[b] Bramsbury, Bramsby, or Bransby, near Torksey in Lincolnshire. Bransby would be conveniently situated as a post for watching the lower Trent in advance of Lincoln. The Trent was a favourite line of approach with the Danes; Torksey had been the winter quarters of a Danish army in 873.

A.D. 917. and takes Derby and Leicester from the Danes.

autem multitudo hostium intra Derebi conclusa, egredi contra eam non auderet, castellum acerrime invasit, et in ipso portæ introitu prœlii maxima vis exarsit, ubi quatuor duces fortissimi Edelfled cæsi sunt; sed sui Chr. C.

A.D. 918.

nihilominus portam et muros fregerunt. Octavo, Edelfled domina Merce conquisivit Legecestriam, et major pars exercitus, qui ibi erat, subdita est; Eboracensesque illi promiserant, et quidam eorum fidem dederant, quidam

12 Jun. Death of Ethelfleda.

vero juraverant quod forent in auxilium ejus. Post illam autem conventionem ipsa obiit apud Tamewrthe, duodecim diebus ante festum S. Johannis, octavo anno ex quo obtinuit dominium Merce, et sepulta est apud Gloucestre in porticu S. Petri. Hæc igitur domina tantæ potentiæ fertur fuisse, ut a quibusdam non solum domina vel regina, sed etiam rex vocaretur ad laudem et excellentiam mirificationis sui. Et ut æstimatum et dictum est, nisi fati velocitate prærepta fuisset, viros virtute transisset universos; unde ad tantæ probitatis memoriam, camenam diuturnitatis largitricem vel pauca dicere compulimus:

Her panegyric.

O Elfleda potens, O terror virgo virorum,
Victrix naturæ, nomine digna viri.
Te, quo splendidior fieres, natura puellam,
Te probitas fecit nomen habere viri.
Te mutare decet, sed solam, nomina sexus,
Tu regina potens, rexque trophæa parans.
Jam nec Cæsarei tantum meruere triumphi,
Cæsare splendidior, virgo virago, vale.

A.D. 919. Edward deposes his niece Alfwen from

Edwardus rex vicesimo sexto[1] anno regni sui, ex- Chr. C.
hæreditavit ex dominio Merce totius Alfwen sororem[a]

[1] *quarto*, F.

[a] Finding Ælfwyn described in the Chronicles as the daughter of Ethered, whom he supposed to be the father of Ethelfleda, Henry could only infer that Ælfwyn and Ethelfleda were sisters. He might have learned from Ethelwerd that Ethelfleda was Edward's sister, and from Florence (a. 912) that she was Alfred's daughter and Ethered's wife; but to the chronicle of the first he does not seem to have had access; that of the latter, which in its laborious accuracy and

Chr. C. Adelfled, quæ postea regnum illud tenuit, magis curans an utiliter vel inutiliter ageret,[1] quam an juste vel injuste. Postea vero construxit burgum apud Glademuthan. Nec longe post migravit a corpore apud Ferandune, et Alfwarde filius ejus cito post patrem defecit apud Oxineforde; et sepulti sunt apud Wincestre. Nec multo ante Sidric[2] rex Northumbre occiderat fratrem suum Nigellum: quo scelere patrato, rex Reginaldus conquisiverat Eoverwic.

A.D. 920. the government of Mercia.
A.D. 921.
A.D. 924. Death of Edward.
Chr. E. A.D. 921.
A.D. 923.

Chr. C. § 18. Adelstan filius Edwardi electus est rex in Merce, et sacratus apud Kingstun: qui regno quidem parum vixit, sed clare gestis non parum splenduit; qui a fortissimis lacessiri, sed bello nunquam potuit vinci.

A.D. 924. Athelstan succeeds.

Chr. E. Chr. C. (a. 944). Curriculo siquidem sequentis anni, Gudfridum regem Dacorum, patrem Reginaldi prædicti regis, bello lacessitus, bello repulit, repulsum fugavit, fugatum perdidit.

A.D. 927.

Chr. E. Nec multo post adversa percussus fortuna, fratrem suum Edwinum, magni vigoris juvenem, et bonæ indolis, maris fluctibus flebiliter amisit. At vero rex Adelstan, his transactis, gentem perfidam Dacorum et infidam Scottorum in exterminium traducere disponens, confertissimum duxit exercitum terra et mari in Nordhumbram et Scotiam; cui cum non esset qui resistere inciperet, vel qui resistere persisteret, ubique terrarum progrediens et pro libitu prædans, cum triumphali rediit lauro.

A.D. 933.
A.D. 934. His triumphant march through Northumbria and the lowlands of Scotland.

Adelstan rex anno gratiæ DCCCCXLV., regni vero sui anno quarto, commisit prœlium ad Bruneburh, prœliorum maximum, contra Anlaf regem Hiberniæ, qui vires suas gente Scottorum et Dacorum in Anglia conversantium adauxerat. De cujus prœlii magnitudine Anglici scriptores quasi carminis modo proloquentes, et extraneis tam verbis quam figuris usi,

A.D. 937. Victory of Brunanburh

[1] A. F.; deest, Sav.

[2] A.; *Sedric*, Sav.; *Sidhric*, F.

solidity offers so great a contrast to his own, he seems only to have consulted in its continuations. See Book VII., § 35.

A.D. 937. translatione fida donandi sunt, ut pene de verbo in verbum eorum interpretantes eloquium, ex gravitate verborum gravitatem actuum et animorum gentis illius condiscamus.

Translation of the old poem describing the battle.

§ 19. "Rex Adelstan, decus ducum, nobilibus tor- Chr. C.
" quium dator, et frater ejus Edmundus, longa stirpis
" serie splendentes, percusserunt, in bello, acie gladii
" apud Brunesburh.[1] Scutorum muros fiderunt, nobiles
" ceciderunt, domesticæ reliquiæ defuncti Edwardi. Sic
" namque iis ingenitum fuerat a genibus cognationum, ut
" bellis frequentibus ab infestis nationibus defenderent[2]
" patriæ thesauros et domos, pecunias et xenia. Gens vero
" Hibernensium, et puppium habitatores, fatales corru-
" erunt; colles resonuerunt. Sudaverunt armati, ex quo
" sol mane prodiit, micans hilariter, lætificans profunda,
" Dei luminare, fax Creatoris, usque quo idem nobilis
" ductor occasu se occuluit.[3] Ibi viri jacuerunt multi a
" Dacia oriundi, telis perforati, sub scutis lanceati, simul
" et Scotti bello fatigati. Gens vero Westsexe, tota
" simul die; prius electi, post indefessi, invisæ gentis globos
" straverunt; viri elegantes, hastas cædebant, viri Mercenses
" acuta jacula mittebant, duro manus ludo. Sanitas ibi
" nulla his qui cum Anlavo trans maris campos in ligni
" gremio terram petierunt, Marte morituri. Quinque
" occubuerunt in loco belli reges, juvenes gladiis per-
" cussi, ducesque septem regis Anlavi; absque numero
" ceciderunt Scotti, deperiitque Normannorum tumor. Nec
" enim paucos ad litem belli, duxerant secum: cum paucis vero
" in maris fluctus[4] rex navi provectus, intrinsecus gemebat.
" Simul et Froda ductor Normannus, cumque suis notis dux
" Constantinus, de Martis congressu, jactare nequierunt,
" ubi cognationis suæ fragmen apparuit, ubi amici sui
" corruerant, in statione populi bello prostrati, et filium

[1] *Brunesburith*, A.; *Brunebirih*, F.
[2] A. A[2]. F.; *defendere ut*, Sav.
[3] A. A[2].; *occulit*, Sav.
[4] F.; *fluetibus*, A.

[a] In this version of the famous Brunanburh war song, the words printed in smaller type do not correctly render the original.

Chr. C. " suum in loco prœlii vulneribus demolitum carum reli- A.D. 937.
" quit. Nec Gude Dacus declamare potuit, licet verbis blan-
" dus, et mente vetustus. Nec Anlaf ipse, cum reliquiis
" suis mentiri potuit, quod ad hoc negotium sui præsti-
" terint in campo belli, ictuum immanitate, telorum
" transforatione, in concilio proborum. Matres vero et
" nurus planxerunt suos belli alea cum Edwardi filiis lusisse;
" cum Normanni, navibus clavatis, et Anlaf tabefactus,[1]
" ultra profundum flumen, terras suas, mœsto animo,
" repetissent. Postea frater uterque rediit Westsexe,
" belli reliquias post se deserentes, carnes virorum in
" escam paratas. Ergo corvus niger, ore cornutus, et
" buffo livens, aquila cum milvo, canis lupusque mixtus
" colore, his sunt deliciis diu recreati. Non fuit bellum
" hac in tellure majus patratum, nec cædes tanta præ-
" cessit istam, postquam huc venerunt, trans mare latum,
" Saxones et Angli, Brittones pulsuri: clari Martis fabri,
" Walenses vicerunt, reges fugaverunt, regna susceperunt."

His causa recreandi interpositis ad historiam redeamus.

Chr. E. § 20. Adelstanus rex cum regnasset quatuordecim annis, hominibus ultra non apparuit. Successit autem ei in regno Eadmundus filius suus, et regnavit sex annis et dimidio:[2] cujus regni anno quarto occisus est, per proditionem regis Franciæ,[3] Willelmus filius Rollonis, qui terram quæ vocatur Normannia a rege Franciæ conquisierat. A Rollone autem gens Normannorum duxit originem.

A.D. 940. Death of Athelstan; his brother Edmund succeeds.

A.D. 942. Murder of William Longue Epée.

Will. Gemet. v. 1.

Chr. C. Eadmundus rex ducens exercitum in illam partem Merce quæ Paganis diu subdita fuerat usque ad latissimum[4] flumen Humbre, belli sorte, Dacos vicit, et Quinque Urbes victoriosus cepit: Lincolniam, Legecestriam, et Stanfordiam, et Snotingeham, et Derebi. Dacos igitur, qui etiam eo tempore Normanni sunt

A.D. 941. Edmund conquers the Five Burghs.

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[1] A[2]. F. H.; *labefactus*, Sav.
[2] *qui regnavit ix. annis*, H.
[3] *per proditionem, comitis fraude Ernulfi*, H.
[4] H.; *altissimum*, A. A[2]. F.

vocati, penitus extirpavit, et ab urbibus prædictis infidelitate remota, Dei gratia fidei fulgorem restituit.

A.D. 942. Two Danish kings converted.

Eo in tempore obiit rex Anlaf, de quo prædiximus : Chr. E. postea vero rex Eadmundus suscepit quendam alium Chr. C. Anlaf regem Dacorum in baptismate, tam viribus regis cedentem, quam prædicationi credentem. Et post paucos dies Reginaldum regem Eboracensem, de quo prædiximus, quia Eboracum conquisierat, tenuit ad manum episcopi.

A.D. 944.

§ 21. Eadmundus rex cum redisset ad Westsexe et Chr. C. honorabili triumpho susceptus esset, reges prædicti Dacorum, scilicet Anlaf filius Sidrici et Reginaldus filius Gudferdi, fregerunt pacem quam cum eo constituerant, deprædantes in parte regni sibi direpta. Rex igitur fortissimus Eadmundus cum militari copia provectus in Nordhumbre, bello commisso, reges utrosque et a regno fugavit, et Nordhumbram primus regum Westsexe in dominio proprio tenuit. Sequenti vero anno totam Cumberland, quia gentem provinciæ illius perfidam et legibus insolitam ad plenum domare nequibat, prædavit et contrivit; et commendavit eam Malculmo regi Scotiæ hoc pacto, quod in auxilio sibi foret terra et mari.

Expeditions into Northumberland and Cumberland; the latter is given to Malcolm of Scotland as a fief.

A.D. 945.

A.D. 946. Edmund is assassinated.

Eadmundus rex invictus cum regnasset feliciter sex Chr. C. annis et dimidio, et omnia ei prospere contigissent, et solus diceretur rex in Anglia, nefanda proditione confossus est et omnibus sæculis detestanda, die S. Augustini; cui morte inæstimata prærepto parcat Christi pia benignitas.

26 May.

Edred succeeds.

§ 22. Edredus frater Eadmundi regis, filiusque regis Chr. E. Adelstani, fratri suo successit in regno: et eodem anno Nordhumbras, jugum dominationis suæ ferre nolentes, cum valida armatorum manu petiit, totamque sibi conquisivit. Inde vero in Scotiam vexilla direxit.

A.D. 947. He compels the Northumbrians and Scots to submit to his rule.

Scotti igitur nimio terrore percussi, sine bello subdiderunt se regi, et juraverunt ei tam Nordhumbri quam Scotti debitam domino fidelitatem: quod tamen juramentum diu non duravit. Edredo namque reverso in

Chr. E. australes regni sui partes, Anlaf,[a] qui a regno Nord- A.D. 949.
humbre aufugatus fuerat, rediit cum magna classe in But they soon rebel, and choose Anlaf, and afterwards Hyrc, for their king. A.D. 952.
Nordhumbram, et cum gaudio susceptus est a suis, et regno iterum restitutus: quod in fortitudine tenuit quatuor annis. Quarto autem anno, solita infidelitate utentes, Nordhumbri fugaverunt regem eorum Anlaf, et susceperunt Hyrc filium Haraldi in regem: sed ille iterum brevi tenuit regnum.

Edredus rex eximius,[1] VII. anno regni sui, receptus A.D. 954.
est iterum in regno Nordhumbre; gens namque patriæ illius dominum diu non perferens unum, tertio anno regni sui Hyrc filium Haraldi, ut leviter acceperat, Hyrc deposed in favour of Edred.
leviter abjecerat, et regem Edredum ad se sponte vocatum regni sede reponunt.

Edredus rex eximius et invictus, cum super omnes A.D. 955. 23 Nov.
partes Angliæ tandem rex solus regnasset, fatis exi- Death of Edred; he is succeeded by his nephew Edwy.
gentibus, hominem exuit, octavo anno postquam diademate insigni sublimatus fuerat.

Chr. E. § 23. Edwi filius regis Edmundi[2] super universam Angliam post hunc[3] regnavit. Edmundus namque filius [b] Adelstani probissimi regis, filii Edwardi fortunati principis, filii Alfredi laboriosi ducis, filii Edelwlfi magni patris, filii Egbricti, qui regnum Westsexe maxime primus in sublime provexit, et in monarchiam suæ fortitudinis diligentia protelavit, duos filios habuit; Edwi primogenitum, et Edgar[4] minorem, quos secundum ordinem nativitatis ordo regnandi disposuit. Secundo autem anno regni ejus Wlstan archiepiscopus A.D. 956.
vitali privatus est aura. Rex autem prædictus Edwi non illaudabiliter regni infulam tenuit.

Edwi rex anno regni sui quinto, cum in principio A.D. 959.
regni[5] ejus decentissime floreret, prospera et lætabunda Death of Edwy.
exordia mors immatura perrupit.

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[1] A.; deest, F.
[2] *frater . . . Edredi*, H.
[3] *pro fratre*, H.
[4] *Eadgar*, G.
[5] F. A[2].; *regnum*, Sav.

[a] This was Anlaf Cwiran, a different person from the Anlaf son of Sihtric previously mentioned.

[b] It should be "frater."

A.D. 959. Prosperous reign of Edgar the Peaceful.

§ 24. Edgarus pacificus, frater regis prædicti, XVI. annis regnavit: in diebus ejus hæc terra maxime meliorata est, et Dei omnipotentis gratia, quam ipse pro posse suo devotissimus meruit, semper dum vixit in pace regnavit. Ille namque Christi fidem in regno suo validissime dilatavit, et opera salutis exemplo suo clarissime fecundavit. Dilectus namque Deo et hominibus, gentes terræ suæ semper pacificare studuit, nec aliquis prædecessorum suorum tanta pace et gaudio regnum tenere potuit. Ipse siquidem nomen Dei honorabat, et de lege Dei sæpius inquirens, libenter eam discebat, et gaudenter docebat, et verbis et operibus populum suum bonorum operum exercitationi promptus invitabat. Domini autem omnipotentia servo suo Edgaro, bene gesta, non solum in futuro, verum etiam in præsenti sæculo retribuit; quia reguļos omnes et consules et patriæ totius gentem cum tremore et amore pro velle suo subdidit, absque prœlio et aliqua Martis perturbatione. Fama vero et nomen regis clarissimum terris universis dilatabatur amplissime, et veniebant extranei videre gloriam ejus et audire doctrinam oris ejus. In hoc tamen peccabat, quod Paganos eos qui in hac patria sub eo degebant nimis firmavit, et extraneos huc adductos plus æquo diligens valde corroboravit: nihil enim [1] in rebus humanis perfectissimum est. Chr. E.

He was a God-fearing king, who extended religion, and gave his subjects peace.

But he showed too much favour to Danes and foreigners.

Chr. E., a. 959.

Malm. *Gest. Reg.*, ii. 8.

A.D. 963.

A.D. 964. Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, drives the canons from his cathedral, and brings in monks.

§ 25. Edgari pacifici anno quinto, Edelwoldus venerabilis feliciter episcopatum Wincestre suscepit. Hic secundo episcopatus sui anno, quosdam canonicos in veteri monasterio Wincestre degentes et ordinem suum pigre et negligenter observantes ejecit, et monachos imposuit. Quæ ecclesia nostris temporibus loco avulsa est, quia nimis conjuncta erat matri ecclesiæ, quæ sedes est episcopi: [a] consensu igitur episcopi et abbatis Chr. E.

[1] *namque*, A. F.

[a] The secular canons were not expelled only from the cathedral or old minster at Winchester by St. Ethelwold, but also from the new minster. See *Gest. Pont.*, book ii., § 75. It was not the former, as

ejusdem monasterii extra muros urbis fundata est.[1] A.D. 964.
Edelwoldus vero egregius præsul ædificator sepium
fuit, avertens semitas iniquitatis, et plantans radices
charitatis. Ipse namque seminator optimi consilii fuit;
cujus monitis rex Edgarus novellas plantationes et
Malm. *loc. cit.* arbusta teneritudinis Deo gratissima instituit. Abba- Under his guidance, Edgar founds or restores the abbeys of Glastonbury, Abingdon, Peterborough, and Thorney.
tiam namque Glastinbirh construxit;[2] abbatiam Aban-
dune super Tamesim composuit; abbatiam apud Burch
prope Stanfordiam stabilivit; abbatiam Thornei prope
illam quæ est apud Burch, in mediis paludibus, loco
tamen amœnissimo fixit.[3] Consilio etiam Edelwoldi
episcopi, Ailwinus consul ejusdem regis abbatiam Ra-
mesei in insula pulcherrima intra easdem paludes fixit.
Est autem palus illa, de qua loquimur, latissima, et
visu decora, multis fluviis decurrentibus irrigata, mul-
tis lacubus magnis et parvis depicta, multis etiam sil-
vis et insulis florida: intra quam sunt ecclesia Heli- Abbeys and churches of the Fen country.
ensis, abbatia Ramesiensis, abbatia Chateric, abbatia
Thorneie, abbatia Crulande; sed juxta eam sunt abba-
tia Burgensis, abbatia Spaldinge, ecclesia S. Ivonis
super Usam fluvium Huntendoniæ, ecclesia S. Egidii[a] St. Giles' church, Cambridge.
super Grentam fluvium Cantabrigiæ,[4] ecclesia S. Tri-
nitatis in Tedfordia.[b]

[1] *situm est*, H.

[2] *quam pater ejus fundaverat, ipse perfecit*, H, manu paulo recentiore.

[3] Addit H. ad calcem paginæ, manu coetanea, "Et in Wiltonia "monasterium virginum magno "studio condidit, multa diligentia "illustravit. Denique per regnum "Anglorum quadraginta construi "fecit monasteria, et alia monachis "alia virginibus deputavit."

[4] *Grantebrugie*, H.

Henry carelessly writes, but the latter, which was removed outside the walls in 1111, and known thenceforward as Hyde Abbey. The two buildings were so near that the chanting of the two choirs was mutually disturbing.

[a] *ecclesia S. Egidii.* By this appears to be meant the church of St. Giles on the north side of Cambridge, near the castle, built in the reign of Henry I. on the original site of the monastery founded by Picot the sheriff, after the monastery had received increased endowments, and been removed to Barnwell. See Lysons' *Magna Britannia.*

[b] The church of the Holy Trinity stood near the old cathedral of Thetford; it was built by bishop Arfast soon after the Conquest. (Martin's *Hist. of Thetford.*)

A.D. 969. Devastation of the Isle of Thanet.

Rex Edgarus undecimo anno regni sui, jussit præ- Chr. E.
dari insulam Tenet, quia jura regalia spreverant, non ut hostis insaniens, sed ut rex malo mala puniens.

A.D. 972. Edgar meets his vassal kings at Chester.

§ 26. Edgarus rex XIII. anno regni sui sacratus est in die Pentecostes apud Bathan:[1] inde vero post Pentecosten duxit exercitum suum ad Legecestre, ubi venerunt contra eum sex reges, qui omnes ditioni ejus[2] subjecti sunt, et omnes illi domino debitam dederunt fidem, se terra et mari servituros ei ad ejus imperium.

A.D. 975.

Edgarus pacificus, rex magnificus, Salomon secundus, cujus tempore nunquam exercitus advenarum venit in Angliam, cujus dominio reges et principes Angliæ sunt subjecti, cujus potentiæ Scotti etiam colla dedere, cum regnasset sedecim annis et duobus mensibus, feliciter vivens feliciter obiit. Nec potuit male mori qui bene vixerat, qui tot ecclesias Deo fundaverat, qui tot bona perennia brevi tempore statuerat: cujus plantationum greges[3] quanto instantius Deum laudare non cessant, tanto beati regis in cœlestibus gloria crescere non desistit. De cujus laude musam aliquantulum dicere pro meritis promovimus:

Death of Edgar.

His panegyric.

" Auctor opum, vindex scelerum, largitor honorum,
" Sceptriger Edgarus regna superna petit.
" Hic alter Salomon, legum pater, orbita pacis;
" Quod[4] caruit bellis, claruit inde magis.
" Templa Deo, templis monachos, monachis dedit
" agros,
" Nequitiæ lapsum, justitiæque locum.
" Novit enim regno verum perquirere falso, Luc. xvi. 9.
" Immensum modico, perpetuumque brevi."

A.D. 975. Edward succeeds.

§ 27. Edwardus filius Edgari regis, qui dicitur Chr. E.
Sanctus, regnavit pro patre suo: cujus regni principio apparuit cometa, signum scilicet maximæ famis quæ in anno sequente secuta est. Tunc vero consul quidam nequissimus, Elfere nomine, abbatias plures quas

Destruction of monasteries by

[1] G.; *Bahan*, C. F. S²; *Baham*, A. C². S.
[2] A. A².; *eis*, Sav.
[3] A. F. H.; *gratiæ*, Sav., M. H. B.
[4] F.; *Quo*, A.

rex Edgarus et Edelwold episcopus construxerant, quorundam potentum assensu et factione destruxit. Inde Dominus ad iram permotus pristinam renovare statuit cladem. A.D. 975.

Chr. E. Edwardi sancti regis anno quarto, omnes optimates Anglorum ceciderunt a quodam solio apud Calne præter S. Dunstanum, qui trabe quadam apprehensa restitit; unde quidam eorum valde læsi sunt, quidam vero mortui. Signum scilicet Dei excelsi fuit, quod proditione et interfectione regis sui ab amore Dei casuri essent, et a diversis gentibus digna contritione conterendi. A.D. 978. Incident at Calne; St. Dunstan; a presage of divine wrath and impending chastisement.

Edwardus rex[1] sanctus cum quinque annis regnasset, occisus est proditione gentis suæ perfidæ, die advesperascente, apud Corvesgate: et inimicitias, quas viventi ingesserant, in mortuum protelantes, sepelierunt eum sine regio honore apud Warham; ut sicut vitam[2] regis extinxerant, ita et nomen ejus extinguerent. Hic vero compertum est, contra divinam providentiam non sufficere pravum cor hominis et inscrutabile. Quem enim perfidi terris abjecerant, Deus in cœlo gloriose suscepit: et memoria æterna insignivit eum Dominus, cujus mentionem proditores obnubilare studuerant. Inde Dominus iterum ad iram promotus et plus solito irritatus, genti pessimæ malum inextricabile conferre cogitavit. Dicitur autem quod noverca ejus, mater scilicet regis Edelredi, dum ciphum ei porrigeret, cultello percusserit.[3] 18 Mar. Edward treacherously murdered, by the act, as was alleged, of his stepmother.

Flor. Wig. a. 978.

Chr. E. § 28. Edelred[4] filius Edgari regis, et frater Edwardi, coram ducibus Anglorum sacratus est in regem apud Kingstun omine sinistro, sicut de eo, cum parvulus esset, S. Dunstanus prophetaverat. Minxit namque A.D. 978. Accession of his half-brother, Ethelred.

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[1] A.; deest, Sav.

[2] *gentem*, A.; *sicut regem*, F.

[3] *Dicitur . . . percusserit*, om. H.; alia autem manus, sed coetanea, scripsit in margine hæc quæ sequuntur: "Beatus Dunstanus tale "fertur accepisse oraculum,—Quum "Angli in sanguinem fratris tui "regis sanctissimi conspiraverunt, "non deficiet ab eis sanguis et gla- "dius, donec superveniens populus "ignotæ linguæ eos in exterми- "nium et in ultimam redigat servi- "tutem. Novissime tamen visi- "tabit eos Dominus."

[4] *Adelred*, F.

cum baptizaretur in sacro fonte: unde vir Domini Chr. E.
exterminium Anglorum in tempore ejus futurum præ-
A.D. 979. dixit. Post parvum vero tempus ex quo Edeldred
A.D. 980. regnavit, transtulit Alfere consul corpus S. Edwardi a
Warham ad Scaftesbirh cum debito honore, nutu Dei
A.D. 981. compellente. Venerunt autem tertio anno regis Edel-
Renewed Danish descents on the coast. redi septem puppes Dacorum, quasi prænuntiæ futuræ
vastationis, et prædaverunt Hamptune. Postea vero
A.D. 983, 985. Alfere consul prædictus [1] vitam deseruit; cui successit
A.D. 984. Alfricus, quem rex crudeliter exulavit. Eo tempore S.
Deaths of St. Ethelwold and St. Dunstan. Adelwold episcopus, pater monachorum et sidus Anglo-
rum, Domini visionem, quam semper optabat, adeptus
A.D. 988. est. Nec longe post S. Dunstanus archiepiscopus a
mundi tenebris transiit ad cœli gloriam. His autem
duobus luminaribus Anglorum genti subtractis, caruit
Anglia lorica protectionis suæ; et vindictæ Dei præ-
meditatæ desolata patuit. Successit vero S. Dunstano
A.D. 986. Adelgarus; Adelgaro vero post annum Siricius. Rex
autem Edelred crudeliter destruxerat episcopatum Ro-
veceastre. Inde iterum Dominus ad iram promotus,
quod facere paraverat non distulit; veneruntque Daci
ex multis partibus, et operuerunt Angliam quasi nubes
A.D. 988. cœli. Ex una igitur parte Wecheporte prædata est. Chr. C.
Inde autem Daci progredientes exercitui Anglorum
obviati sunt; qui confligentes Godam ducem eorum
occiderunt, et partem illam exercitus in exterminium
redegerunt. Ex alia vero parte Wic prædata est.
A.D. 991. Britnod vero consul cum magnis viribus obvians eis
Battle of Maldon; death of Byrhtnoth. pugnavit et victus est, et gladiis cæsus occubuit, et
phalanges ejus in perniciem redactæ sunt.

A.D. 991. § 29. Edelredi regis anno decimo tertio, primum Chr. E.
Tribute first paid to the Danes. statuerunt Angli, consilio infausto Siricii archiepiscopi,
quod ipsi censum Dacis persolverent, quatenus a rapinis
et cæde cessarent: et dederunt eis decem mille libras.
Hoc autem malum usque in hodiernum diem duravit,
This "Danegeld" still paid to the et diu, nisi Dei pietas subveniat, durabit. Regibus
namque nostris modo persolvimus ex consuetudine,

[1] A. F.; deest, Sav.

Chr. E. quod Dacis persolvebatur ex ineffabili terrore. Post A.D. 991.
hæc rex Dacis insidias molitus est. Alfric vero consul, English kings.
quem rex exulaverat et postea tamen receperat, præ- A.D. 992.
munire fecit exercitum. Jure autem dicitur: "Quem Treason of Alfric.
"semel graviter læseris, non facile tibi fidelem credi-
"deris." Cum ergo venisset regia classis a Londonia,
quibus præerant Alfricus et Toroldus consules, ut in-
terciperent Dacos, præmoniti omnes evaserunt. Tunc
exercitus major Dacorum obviam puppibus regiis vene-
runt, qui navali prœlio pugnantes et multos Londo-
niensium cædentes, puppes totas armatas triumphose
ceperunt, et Alfricum consulem qui inerat. Eodem Death of St. Oswald of York.
anno S. Oswaldus Eboracensis archiepiscopus transit ad
gloriam cœli; et Eadwlf suscepit sedem Eoverwic.
Exinde Bebanburh fracta est et prædata, et post inde A.D. 993.
meavit exercitus in Humber, et prædati sunt ex utra-
que parte in Lindsey et Nordhumbre. At vero Angli,
militaribus copiis aggregatis, cum contra eos acies
direxissent, ante ipsam collisionem inceperunt fugam
Frena, et Godwine, et Fridegist, qui duces erant exer-
citus Anglorum. Ea tempestate fecit Edwinus[1] erui
oculos Alfgaro filio Alfrici consulis, unde odium et
infamia ejus crudelitatis adaucta est. Tunc Ricardo
veteri defuncto successit Ricardus filius ejus in Nor- Accession of Richard II., duke of Normandy.
Chr. E. mannia. His transactis, Anlaf et Suain Londoniam A.D. 994.
impetierunt cum nonaginta quatuor navibus in nati- Olaf and Swein foiled in an attack on London.
vitate S. Mariæ. Cujus gloriosæ virginis auxilio libe- 8 Sept.
rati sunt Christiani a Paganis: urbem namque assili-
entes et flammis demoliri parantes, inæstimata con-
fusione repulsi sunt. Quamobrem spe frustrati in
Eastsexe et Cent et Sudsexe et Hamtunescire, acceptis
equis, sæviores solito perrexerunt, omnia cæde et in-
cendio replentes. Idcirco rex, missis nunciis, promisit
censum eis et cibum; quod concedentes, hiemaverunt
in pace apud Hamtune. Rex autem Edelred mittens Olaf be-
comes a
pro rege Anlaf, datis obsidibus, honorifice suscepit Christian,

[1] Ita omnes codd. pro *Edelredus*.

A.D. 994. and promises to invade England no more.

eum apud Andovre: tenensque eum ad confirmationem episcopi, multis lætificavit muneribus. Anlaf itaque se nunquam amplius sine pace venturum in terram Anglorum regi promisit; promissumque tenuit. His temporibus obiit Siricius archiepiscopus; post quem Alfricus pallio est potitus. Chr. E.

A.D. 995.

A.D. 997. Ravages by the Danes in the West of England.

§ 30. Edelredi regis anno decimo nono, Daci circa Cornugalliam perrexerunt in Savernam, prædantes in Davene et Sudwales, egredientesque ad Wecheport cum ferro et flamma; inde reversi sunt circa Penwihtstrict, ex australi parte, venientesque in Tamremutham, et inde apud Lideford, facibus et flammis omnia commendabant; et monasterium Ordulfi apud

A.D. 998. Esingestoche combusserunt. His transactis, perrexerunt hostes in Fronmudham, exeuntesque a puppibus perambulaverunt Dorsete cum clade solita, nullo resistente. Hoc tamen anno quandoque perendinabant in Vecta insula, et pascebantur de Hamtunescire et Sudsexe.

A.D. 999. Post hæc vero venerunt in Tamesim, et inde per flumen Medewei ad Rovecestriam. Illic igitur Centenses congregati sunt, cuneisque constructis acerrime bellum inceperunt. Daci vero semper et soli bello intenti,

A.D. 1000. Ethelred defeats the Danes in Cumberland. Martio tandem potiti sunt campo. Exinde rex Edelred ivit in Cumberland cum exercitu gravissimo, ubi maxima mansio Dacorum erat: vicitque Dacos bello maximo, totamque fere Cumberland prædando vastavit.

A.D. 1001. His actis venit quidam exercitus Dacorum ad Exanmutham, et ibi castrum expugnare satagentes, viriliter resistentibus cesserunt. Itaque diffusi sunt per patriam circumquaque cum ducibus solitis, Marte et Vulcano. Congregati sunt ergo contra eos Summerseti, et pugnaverunt apud Penho. Daci vero semper bellis exercitati belli fortuna potiti sunt. Sed jam liber hic Dacorum, magnitudinis suæ meritis, termino donandus est. Chr. E.

§ 31. More autem solito lux apertionis, ex ordinata abbreviatione genita, perstrictis hujus libri summitatibus, lectori diligenter anteponenda est.

Affairs of the kingdom of Kent.

De regno Cantiæ pauca dicenda sunt: siquidem cum Egbrictus rex Westsexe, Baldredo fugato, regnum Cantiæ in dominio suo tenuisset, Adelstano filio suo moriens illud reliquit. Adelstano vero defuncto, ad fratrem Edelwlfum regem Westsexe regnum illud rediit, quod cum hæreditario jure Adelberto filio suo reliquisset, et alius filius ejus Athelbaldus rex Westsexe post v. annos periisset, regnum utrumque Adelbricto subditum est, et nunquam postea divisum. Hic igitur omnino regnum Cantiæ explicit.

De regno vero Westsexe hæc elucidatio adhibeatur.

Summary of the foregoing book.

§ 32. Ethelwlfus regnavit XIX. annis, victusque a Dacis apud Carrum perniciose vicit eos apud Aclea.

Athelboldus filius regis prædicti regnavit quinque annis; et sepultus est apud Scireburnam.

Ethelbricht frater ejus regnavit V. annis; cujus duces et exercitus Dacos vicerunt apud Wincestre.

Athelred frater eorum V. annis, et paulo plus; qui contra Dacos apud Redingum mire, cum fratre suo, conflixit.

Alfredus [1] frater ejus' regnavit XXVIII. annis et dimidio; de quo nihil breviter dici potest, quia multa fecit et miranda.

Edwardus [2] filius Alfredi' XXIIII.[3] annis, et pugnavit contra Dacos in Nordhumbre, et in egressione Merce vicit eos gloriose, et occidit reges fortes; vicit quoque Dacos apud Totenhale, et conquisivit Merce.

Adelstan filius Edwardi quatuordecim annis; qui fecit maximum prœlium apud Bruneburh.

Edmundus [4] filius Adelstani' VI. annis et dimidio; qui super Dacos Quinque Urbes cepit, et eisdem victis, Nordhumbram in dominio tenuit.

Edredus frater Edmundi IX. annis omnes Angliæ partes feliciter obtinuit.

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[1] A.; desunt, Sav.
[2] A.; desunt, Sav.
[3] A. F.; *xxiii.*, Sav.
[4] A.; desunt, Sav.

Edwi filius Edmundi IV. annis eodem spatio et potentia tenuit.

Edgarus filius Edmundi, XVI. annis pacifice et gloriosius omnibus aliis imperavit.

Edwardus [1] filius Edgari' rex sanctus, V. annis regnum tenuit, et feliciter occisus est.

Edelred frater ejus, ira Dei perturbatus, ærumnose regnavit; de quo nobis multa restant dicenda.

Affairs of Northumbria,

§ 33. De regno vero Nordhumbre paulisper tangendum est. Osbrictus namque tempore regis Athelwlfi regnavit ibidem; quem more suo abjicientes, constituerunt Ellam regem. Qui utrique cum a Dacis occisi fuissent, regnaverunt Daci multo tempore in Nordhumbre: scilicet rex Haldene, et Gudfert, et Nigellus, et Sidric, et Reginaldus, et Anlaf. Confuse autem regnaverunt Daci; ita quod modo ibi rex unus erat, modo duo, modo reguli multi: postea vero Edredo regi Westsexe in dominium contigit et successoribus ejus. Hic igitur omnino regnum Nordhumbre explicit.

of Mercia, A.D. 851.

§ 34. De regno vero Merce paucis dicendum est. Brituulf namque rex Merce tertio anno regni sui fugatus est a Dacis. Burhred etiam cum regnasset viginti et duobus annis fugatus est a regno. Daci ergo regnum illud sibi conquisitum prius Ceolwlfo ad servandum tradiderunt, postea vero sibi minute diviserunt. Itaque [2] pars patriæ et procerum quandoque erat sub legibus Westsexe: Eadmundus vero rex Westsexe totam sibi in dominium subdidit. Hic igitur regnum Merce dominio Westsexe penitus subjectum explicit.

and of East Anglia.

§ 35. Regnum vero Estangle, quod dudum regnis aliis, ut prædictum est, variis modis subjectum fuerat, nunc reges Westsexe vel Cantiæ in dominio tenebant, nunc alicui vel aliquibus dabant. Igitur rex unus ibi erat aliquando, multi aliquando [3] reguli: ultimus tamen Anglorum sub rege Westsexe regnavit ibidem S. Eadmundus; quo interfecto, regnavit Godrun Dacus: postea

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[1] ' A.; desunt, Sav.

[2] *Ita quod*, A. F.

[3] A. F.; *alii*, Sav.

regnum minutim Daci partiti sunt, fuitque sub eis usque dum regi Edwardo ex maxima parte subjecta est. Hic igitur regnum Eastangle dominio Westsexe contingens explicit; et jam ad primordia causamque adventus Normannorum pervenimus.

LIB. VI. De Adventu Normannorum.

§ 1. Anno millesimo ab Incarnatione Domini, Ricardi consulis Normannorum filiam rex prædictus Edeldred in conjugem assumere prægogitavit ad tuitionem regni sui. Ille enim vir[1] fortissimus erat, et omni regno Francorum formidabilis: ipse autem se suosque valde debilitatos videbat, futuramque cladem non mediocriter horrebat. Hoc autem Dei nutu factum esse constat, ut veniret contra improbos malum. Genti enim Anglorum, quam sceleribus suis exigentibus disterminare proposuerat, sicut et ipsi Brittones peccatis accusantibus humiliaverant,[2] Dominus omnipotens duplicem contritionem proposuit, et quasi militares insidias adhibuit. Scilicet ut hinc Dacorum persecutione sæviente, illinc Nordmannorum conjunctione accrescente, si ab Dacorum manifesta fulminatione evaderent, Nordmannorum improvisam cum fortitudine cautelam non evaderent. Quod in sequentibus apparuit, cum ex hac conjunctione regis Anglorum et filiæ ducis Normannorum, Angliam juste, secundum jus gentium, Normanni et calumniati sunt et adepti sunt. Prædixit etiam eis quidam vir Dei, quod ex scelerum suorum immanitate, non solum quia semper cædi et proditioni studebant, verum etiam quia semper ebrietati et negligentiæ domus Domini dediti erant, eis insperatum a Francia adventurum dominium, quod et eorum excellentiam in æternum deprimeret, et honorem sine termino restitutionis eventilaret. Prædixit etiam

A.D. 1000. Ethelred desires to marry the daughter of Richard duke of Normandy.

Consequences of this union to the English nation.

Predictions of ruin and humiliation.

[1] A. F.; deest, Sav.

[2] A. F.; *humiliaverat*, Sav.

A.D. 1000. quod non ea gens solum, verum et Scottorum, quos vilissimos habebant, eis ad emeritam confusionem dominaretur. Prædixit nihilominus varium adeo sæculum creandum, ut varietas quæ in mentibus hominum latebat, et in actibus patebat, multimoda variatione vestium et indumentorum designaretur. Hac igitur providentia, cum, legatariis ad ducem Normannorum missis, rex Anglorum suæ petitionis concessionem obtinuisset, statuto tempore, tanto digni[1] ministerio, ad dominam suam recipiendam et adducendam, proceres Anglorum mittuntur in Normanniam; quæ longo et digno regibus apparatu dirigitur in Angliam.

A.D. 1002. Marriage of Ethelred to Emma. § 2. Millesimo secundo anno, Emma, Normannorum Chr. E. gemma, venit in Angliam et diadema nomenque reginæ suscepit. Quo proventu rex Adelred in superbiam elatus et perfidiam prolatus, omnes Dacos qui cum pace erant in Anglia clandestina proditione fecit

13 Nov. The massacre of St. Brice's day. mactari una eademque die, scilicet in festivitate S. Bricii. De quo scelere in pueritia nostra quosdam vetustissimos loqui audivimus, quod in unamquamque urbem rex præfatus occultas miserit epistolas, secundum quas Angli Dacos omnes eadem die et eadem hora, vel gladiis truncaverunt impræmeditatos, vel igne simul cremaverunt subito comprehensos. Eodem anno rex præfatus Lefsium ducem exulavit, quia Effic regis vicecomitem occiderat.

A.D. 1003. Fury of the Danes. Near Exeter they defeat the English levies in a great battle: treason of Alfric. Millesimo tertio anno, ira Daci exarserunt digna, sicut ignis, quem sagimine[2] velit aliquis extinguere. Advolantes igitur quasi multitudo locustarum, quidam Execestriam venerunt, et urbem totam funditus destruxerunt, et omnia spolia secum, cineribus tantum relictis, deportaverunt. Hugonem vero Normannum, quem ibi jam regina Emma vicecomitem statuerat, in perniciem compegerunt. Congregatæ sunt itaque gentes Hamptunescire et Wiltunescire pugnatum cum

[1] A.; *digno*, Sav. | [2] A. F.; *sanguine*, Sav.

Chr. E. exercitu. Cum autem appropinquarent ad prælium, finxit se dux eorum Alfricus infirmum, et cogebat se ad vomitum; sicque gentem Anglorum, quam ducebat, prodidit. Et quoniam verum est quod vulgo dicitur, "Quando dux deficit, exercitus vilescit," Daci videntes defectum hostium, persecuti sunt eos usque ad Wiltune, quam prædantes et comburentes venerunt ad Salesbiri; et inde ad puppes suas cum præda et triumpho remearunt. A.D. 1003.

§ 3. Anno IV°, Suain rex Dacorum fortissimus, cui Deus regnum Angliæ destinaverat, cum navibus multis venit ad Nordwic, et eam prædatus est et combussit. Quod Wlfketel [1] dux illius provinciæ videns, fecit pacem cum exercitu; improvisum ejus adventum sustinere non sufficiens. Infra pacem vero exercitus post tres hebdomadas furtim perrexit ad Tedford, et eam prædatam combussit. Quod comperiens dux Wlfketel, mane ex improviso cum parva manu revertenti ad puppes occurrit exercitui; quibus graviter et diu resistere, sed non suffecit persistere. A.D. 1004. Sweyn lands in Norfolk; plunders and burns Norwich and Thetford.

Chr. E. Anno V°, Daci redierunt in patriam suam. Ne tamen interea plaga carerent Angli, tanta desolatio famis Brittanniam invasit, quantam nullus hominum meminisse potuit. A.D. 1005. A year of famine.

Anno VI°, cum Suain vir audacissimus cum magna classe redisset ad Sandwic, quem semper comitabantur tres sociæ, prædatio, combustio, occisio, frenduit omnis Anglia, et commota est velut aruudinetum, Zephiro vibrante, collisum. Rex autem, congregato exercitu, cum toto auctumno contra eos persisteret, nihil profecit; illi namque classem alio dirigentes, ludum solitum exercebant. In principio vero hiemis in insula Vecta manserunt; et sicut per prophetam dictum est, "Dies "festos vertam in luctum," in Natali Domini perambulaverunt Hamtonescire et Bercscire, usque ad Redinges, A.D. 1006. Amos viii. 10. Hampshire and Berkshire over-

[1] A.; *Usketel*, Sav.; *Ulfketel*, F.

A.D. 1006. run and laid waste by the Danes.

inde ad Walingeford, inde ad Coleseige, inde juxta Æsesdune[1] ad Chichelmeslaue. Quocunque autem pergebant, quæ parata erant hilariter comedentes, cum discederent, in retributionem procurationis, reddebant hospiti cædem, hospitio flammam. Revertentibus autem Dacis ad mare, obviavit exercitus Westsex et pugnavit cum eis. Quid autem aliud profecit, nisi quod spoliis suis Dacos victus ditavit? Vidit igitur gens Wincestre exercitum hostilem, superbum et audacem, juxta portas urbis transeuntem, et cibum quem ultra L. milliaria a mari conquisiverat, et spolia quæ a bello victis acceperat, secum deferentem. Rex autem Adelred cum mœstitia et confusione erat ad firmam suam in Salopscire, sæpe rumorum sauciatus aculeis. Chr. E.

A.D. 1007. Thirty thousand pounds given to them to keep the peace. A new traitor appears, in the person of Edric of Mercia.

§ 4. Anno VII°, rex et senatus Anglorum dubii quid agerent, quid omitterent, communi deliberatione gravem conventionem cum exercitu fecerunt; et ad pacis observationem triginta millia librarum ei dederunt. Eodem anno, Dei providentia, ad perniciem Anglorum factus est Edricus dux super Merce, proditor novus sed maximus.

A.D. 1008. Ship and armour tax laid upon all England.

Anno VIII°, qui est annus XXX^us^ regni prædicti regis, fecit rex parari per totam Angliam ex trecentis et decem hidis navem unam, et ex octo hidis loricam et galeam.[a] Hida autem Anglice vocatur terra unius aratri culturæ sufficiens per annum. Chr. E.

A.D. 1009.

§ 5. Anno IX°, Ricardo Normannorum duci misit rex nuncios suos, causa consilii et auxilii postulandi. Puppes autem prædictæ congregatæ sunt apud Sandwic, et viri optime armati: nec fuit tantus numerus navium tempore alicujus in Brittannia. Illusit autem eos Deus. Siquidem rex exulaverat Wlnod puerum nobilem Sudsexe; ille vero cum XX. navibus cœpit

[1] F. S[2].; *Esendune*, A.

[a] See a valuable note by Mr. Earle (*Two Saxon Chron.*, p. 336) on this important passage.

Chr. E. prædari juxta littora maris. Igitur Brictric frater ducis Edrici laudem sibi volens adquirere, LXXX. ex puppibus prædictis secum duxit, et hostem vivum vel defunctum se regi allaturum promisit. Sed inter eundum, ventus ultra modum horribilis naves ejus omnes ad terram perniciose jactavit: Wlnod vero superveniens, statim eas combussit. Sinistris angariatæ nunciis, puppes reliquæ Londoniam redierunt: exercitus quoque divisus est; et sic omnis labor Anglorum cassatus est. Tempore igitur messis, venit exercitus Dacorum novus et innumerabilis apud Sandwic; et inde ad Cantuariam progressi, statim cepissent eam, nisi ter mille libras dando, cives pacem impetrassent. Daci ergo in Vectam devenerunt: et inde Sudsexe et Hamtunescire et Bercscire prædati sunt. Rex autem Ædelred, collectis omnibus Anglorum viribus, regredientibus Dacis obviavit, finemque sævitiæ eorum imposuisset, nisi dux Edricus, semper proditor, rumoribus fictis et terroribus falsis regi pugnam dissuasisset. Postea Daci redeuntes hiemaverunt in Tamese, Londoniamque sæpe assilientes, sæpe repulsi sunt. Trans Natale vero perrexerunt per Chiltern ad Oxineford. Qua combusta redeuntes, perstantes in Cantia puppes suas contra se adductas[a] in Quadragesima emendaverunt.

A.D. 1000. Disaster upon disaster befals the English.

The Danes burn Oxford.

Chr. E. § 6. Anno X°, venerunt Daci apud Gipeswic in die Ascensionis Domini, et insurrexerunt in Wlfketel[1] ducem exercitus; et Estangli protinus fugerunt. Sed homines Grantebrigescire viriliter obstiterunt; unde, dum Angli regnaverunt, laus Grantebrigiensis provinciæ splendide floruit. Cuneis vero inter se invincibiliter confligentibus, mortisque casum vilipendenti-

A.D. 1010. Fighting in Suffolk.

Bravery of the men of Cambridgeshire.

[1] A.; *Owlfketel*, Sav.

[a] *contra se adductas.* These words have no support in the Chronicles or in Florence. They appear to mean, "brought round to "meet them."

A.D. 1010. bus, occisus est Athelstan sororius [a] regis, et Oswi dux, et Edwi frater Evici, et Wulfric consul, et multi cum eis principes. Anglis vero cum memoria fugæ nulla adesset, Turcetil Mireneheved, id est "Caput formicæ,' primus fugam incepit, et opprobrium meruit sempiternum. Daci vero victores, terram Estangle tribus mensibus, et etiam paludes præcedenti libro descriptas, cum ecclesiis, vel prædati sunt, vel combusserunt. Destruxerunt etiam Tedford; combusserunt quoque Grantebrige: et inde recedentes per montana amœnissima loci delectabilis qui vocatur Balesham,[1] quosquos invenerunt in eodem loco, neci dederunt; puerosque jactantes super acumina lancearum recipiebant. Quidam vero fama dignus extenta, in gradus turris templi, quod adhuc ibidem stat, ascendit; et tam loco quam probitate munitus, ab omni solus exercitu se defendit. Inde vero Daci transeuntes per Estsexam venerunt ad flumen Tamesis. Nec segnes, inde promoverunt acies in Oxinefordscire, et in Bokinghamscire; et sic juxta Usam ad Bedeford, et sic ad Temesford. Flumen vero Usæ per tria castra, quæ sunt capita provinciarum, decurrit: scilicet, Bukingham, Bedeford, et Huntendune. Huntendonia vero, id est, "Mons venatorum," loco Godmundcestre, nobilis quondam urbis, nunc vero villæ non inamabilis, ex alia parte fluminis sita, castris duobus prædictis, tam situs fulgore quam sui decore, tam prædictarum paludum vicinitate quam ferarum et piscium fertilitate longe præminet. Ad festum vero S. Andreæ diverterunt ad Northamtune. Qua combusta, pertranseuntes cis [2] Tamesim, totam terram combusserunt; et ad Natale classi suæ se reddiderunt.

The Danes gain the victory, and devastate East Anglia.

The brave man of Balsham.

Local tradition.

Chr. E.

The invaders overrun Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, and Huntingdonshire.

Description of Huntingdon.

Northampton burnt.

[1] A. A^2.; *Valesham*, Sav.; *Belesiam*, F.

[2] *circa*, A. F.

[a] The word in the Chronicle is "aðum," which may mean either son-in-law or brother-in-law.

Chr. C. § 7. Anno XI., cum jam Daci prædassent, ex boreali parte Tamesis, Estangle et Grantebrigescire et Oxinefordscire et Bukinhamscire et Estsexe et Middlesexe et Herfordscire et Bedefordscire, et partem Huntedunescire, quæ est ex ea parte fluminis, et multum in Hamtunescire;[a] ex australi parte Tamesis, Kent et Sudreie et Hastings et Sudsex et Bercscire et Hamptescire, et multum in Wiltunescire; metropolim Angliæ Cantuariam obsederunt,[1] et proditione ceperunt. Almar enim, quem Alfegus archiepiscopus a morte liberaverat, eam prodidit. Ingressi igitur ceperunt Alfegum archiepiscopum, et Godwine episcopum, et Lefwine abbatem,[b] et Alfword præpositum regis, et clericos cum monachis, et viros cum mulieribus; sicque victores ad puppes redierunt. Videres autem spectaculum horrendum, faciem urbis antiquæ et pulcherrimæ totam in cineres redactam, cadavera civium per vicos densissime jacentia, sanguine solum flumenque nigrescentia, fletum et ejulatum puerorum et mulierum in captivitatem transducendorum, caput fidei fontemque doctrinæ Anglorum vinculis mancipatum opprobriose pertrahi.

A.D. 1011. The whole south-east of England ravaged by the Danes.

They besiege, take, and sack Canterbury.

Chr. E.

§ 8. Anno XII., cum Sabbatum adesset in hebdomada Paschali, commoti sunt Daci erga archiepiscopum, quia prohibebat pecuniam dari pro se. Erant etiam ebrii vino, quod venerat ab austro. Adducto igitur archiepiscopo in medio eorum, jactaverunt in eum ossa et capita boum: unde cum Deo omnipotenti grates lætissimas ex intimo corde redderet, percussus est capite cum securi. Cecidit ergo vir Dei, sanctoque cruore terram aspergens, anima beata cœli decoravit

A.D. 1012. Martyrdom of St. Alphege, the archbishop.

[1] S². F.; *obsiderunt*, A.

[a] *multum in Hamtunescire.* These words correspond to Chr. C. rather than Chr. E.

[b] It should be "abbatissam;" but the chronicle used by Henry seems here to have conformed to Chr. E., which has "Leofwine "abb'" (abbatem), rather than to Chr. C., which gives "Leofrune "abb't" (abbatissam).

A.D. 1012. templa. Mane autem episcopi Ednod et Helhun sus- Chr. E.
ceptum corpus cum debito honore detulerunt, et sepelierunt ad monasterium S. Pauli: quo in loco Deus merita sancti martyris ostendit. Successit autem ei Lefwing archiepiscopus. Tunc vero rex nimis sero pacem fecit cum Dacorum exercitu, dans eis VIII. millia librarum.[a] Nunquam enim tempore opportuno pax fiebat, donec nimia contritione terra langueret. Subdiderunt autem se regi XLV. puppes Dacorum, promittentes quod Angliam tuerentur, rex vero inveniret eis victum et vestitum.

The king concludes a peace.

A.D. 1013. § 9. Anno XIII., Suain rex Dacorum venit per Humbram usque Gainsburh: statimque subditus est ei Ucthred dux Nordhumbre et tota gens illa. Gens etiam Lindeseie, et gens Urbium Quinque, et omnes ex boreali parte Watlingestrate dederunt ei obsides. Rex vero tradidit obsides et puppes Cnut filio suo custodiendas; pergensque ad Oxinefordiam et Wincestriam, gentes illas in ditionem accepit. Inde revertens Lundoniam, populum multum amisit in Tamesi; quia non curabant ire ad pontem. Cives vero, quia rex Adelred inerat, fortiter ei restiterunt. Suain igitur inde recedens ivit ad Wallingford, et inde ad Bathan: et omnis Westsex subdita est ei. Postea vero cum Suain reversus esset ad puppes suas, Londonienses etiam subditi sunt ei; quia timebant ne eos in perniciem redigeret. Quod videns rex Ædelred, misit Emmam reginam Ricardo fratri suo in Normanniam: et postea Edwardum et Ælfredum filios suos. Suain vero ab omni populo habebatur pro rege, jussitque dari per Angliam victum et censum exercitui suo: Turchil vero similiter jussit dari exercitui suo qui erat in Grenewic. Rex autem Ædelred petiit Withland, quo per Natale moratus, transfretavit fugitivus ad Ricardum Normanniæ ducem.

Sweyn enters the Humber; all the country north and east of Watling Street submits to him; he takes Oxford and Winchester; even London treats with him. Then Ethelred sends his wife and sons to Normandy, and after Christmas follows them himself.

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[a] So Chr. E. Chr. C. says "ehta and feowertig þusend punda."

Malm. *Gest. Pont.*, p.155.

§ 10. Anno XIV., Suain jam rex Anglorum, in exordio regni sui subita morte periit. Exercitus autem ejus elegit Cnut filium suum in regem. Angli vero in Normanniam Ædelredo regi nuncios direxerunt, intimantes ei quod si humanius solito vellet eos tractare, nullum eo libentius se in regem recepturos. Ille autem per Edwardum filium suum præmissum omnia rege et populo digna spondens eis, adveniens ab omni Anglorum gente cum lætitia susceptus est. Cnut vero cum exercitu suo moratus anud Gainsburh usque ad Pascha, cum[1] hominibus Lindeseie concordatus est. Quod audiens rex Adelred, cum maximo exercitu superveniens, provinciam illam combussit, et provinciales pene omnes interfecit. Cnut vero intime dolens gentem illam sui causa destructam, perrexit cum navibus ad Sandwic; ibique emittens obsides nobilissimos, qui erant patri suo traditi, abscidit eis manus et nasum. Chr. E. Præter hoc malum jussit rex exercitui qui erat apud Greenwic reddi XXI. mille librarum. Addidit autem Dominus malis solitis malum insolitum; mare namque ascendens solito superius villas cum populo submersit innumero.[2]

A.D. 1014. Sudden death of Sweyn: the army elect Cnut king.

Ethelred returns: he punishes the people of Lindsey for submitting to Cnut.

Anno XV., dux Edricus prodidit Sigeferd et Morchere proceres egregios; vocatos namque in cameram suam fecit occidi. Edmundus vero[1] filius regis Adelredi terram eorum saisivit, et uxorem Sigeferdi duxit. Cnut vero rediit a Dacia in Sandwic, veniensque in Westsexe ad Frothemutham, inde prædavit Dorsete et Sumersete et Wiltescyre. Rex vero Adelred jacebat infirmus apud Chosam.[3] Tunc Edmundus filius regis et dux Edricus, congregato exercitu contra Cnut, cum simul venissent, voluit dux prodere juvenem. Ideoque divisi sunt, et prœlium dimissum est. Igitur Westsexe subdita est Cnut regi Dacorum.

A.D. 1015. Murder of Sigfert and Morcar.

Cnut obtains possession of Wessex,

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[1] A. F.; deest, Sav.

[2] In H. addit hic scriba, sed non eodem atramento, *Post hec ivit Cnut cum exercitu suo in Daciam.*

[3] *Chosham*, F. S².

A.D. 1016. § 11. Anno XVI., dux Edricus cum XL. navibus[1] subdens se Cnut regi, et rex cum C.LX. [2]navibus, convenerunt in Tamasim; pergentesque apud Crikelade, Warwicscyre ferro et flamma destruxerunt. Rex autem Adelred fecit edictum ut quicunque Anglorum sanus esset secum in bello procederet. Cum autem congregata esset gens innumera, dictum est regi, quod sui prodere volebant eum. Quamobrem dimisso exercitu rediit Londoniam. Edmundus vero ivit ad Uctred ducem Nordhumbre; prædaveruntque simul in Staffordscire et in Scropscire et in Legeceastre. Cnut vero ex alia parte ivit per Bukingehamscire in Bedefordescire, et sic in Huntendunescire, et inde juxta paludes ad Stanford; et sic in Lincolnescire, et inde in Snotingehamscire, et sic in Nordhumbre erga Everwic. Quod audiens Uctred dimisit prædationem suam et reversus est in Nordhumbre, et necessitate subditus est Cnut, et cum eo tota Nordhumbre; et dedit obsides: et tamen ibi occisus est. Edmundus vero rediit Londoniam ad patrem suum. Sed Cnut statuens Hyrc consulem super Nordhumbre in loco Uctredi, rediit ad puppes suas ante Pascha; post Pascha vero cum navigio suo tendebat Londoniam.

and of Northumbria.

Death of Ethelred; his son, Edmund Ironside, succeeds.

Adelred cum regnasset XXXVII. annis, post multos labores et anxietates vitæ suæ, decessit in Londonia, antequam navigium hostile advenisset.

A.D. 1016. War between Edmund and Canute; the Danes fail to take London.

§ 12. Post quem Edmundus filius ejus electus est in regem, qui cognominatus[3] est "Ireneside," id est, "Ferreum latus;" quia maximi vigoris, et mirabilis patientiæ bellicis erat in negotiis. Edmundus rex ivit in Westsexe, et omnis gens ei subdita est. Interea venerunt Dacorum puppes ad Grenewic, et inde Londoniam: facientesque foveam magnam ex australi parte, traxerunt puppes suas ex occidentali parte pontis, fodientesque circa urbem ita quod nemo intrare vel exire pos-

Chr. D., a. 1057. Flor. Wig. a. 1016.

Malm, *Gest. Reg.* ii. 10.

Chr. E.

[1] *puppibus*, A. F.
[2] *cxl.* H.
[3] *vocatus*, A. F.

Chr. E.

set, urbem sæpe et graviter assilierunt; sed cives eis caute et [1] viriliter restiterunt.' De bellis vero regis Edmundi, et de fortitudine ejus, nonne hæc scripta sunt in historiis veterum cum laude summa? A.D. 1016.

§ 13. Edmundus primum bellum gessit contra exercitum Dacorum apud Peonnam juxta Gillinges, successusque manifestior contigit Edmundo. Secundum bellum gessit contra Cnut regem apud Sceorstan; ubi pugnatum est acerrime.[a] Dux vero Edric et Almer Derling erant in prœlio contra regem Edmundum: igitur multi ex utraque parte ceciderunt, et exercitus per se divisi sunt. Tertio cum manu electa bellatorum venit Londoniam; et fugato exercitu ad puppes qui obsederat urbem, fortissime liberavit eam; et cum debito triumpho ingressus est in eam. Quartum bellum gessit contra eundem exercitum post duos dies apud Brendforde. Multi autem suorum in eo transitu nimis festinantes flumine submersi sunt; ipse tamen belli festivum decus obtinuit. Rex igitur Cnut summo timore perstrictus, manum suam multis copiis ad se mandatis augmentavit. Cogitaverunt etiam Cnut rex et dux Edricus, ut quem armis vincere nequibant proditione vincerent. Igitur dux Edricus concordatus est ei ut eum proderet. Ivit ergo consilio ejus in Westsexe, ut maximum contra Cnut duceret exercitum. Cnut vero interea Londoniam obsidens, terra et aqua fortiter assilivit: sed cives ei viriliter obstiterunt. Quinta vice rex Edmundus transiens iterum Tamasim fluvium apud Brendeforde, ivit in Kent pugnatum cum Dacis. Sed in ipsa obviatione præcedentium vexillatorum, horror nimius Dacos invasit, et in fugam versi

Battles at Penn and Sherston.

Siege of London raised;

battle at Brentfor

Edric treacherously joins Edmund.

Edmund defeats the Danes in Kent; but the victory is incomplete through

[1] *' fortiter obstiterunt,* A. F.

[a] The traitorous cry of Edric, urging the English to flee because Edmund had fallen, was, according to Malmesbury (*Gest. Reg.* ii. 10), an incident of this battle of Shersston, not, as Henry represents it of the battle of Assandune.

A.D. 1016. treachery of Edric.

sunt. Edmundus vero persequutus est eos cum occisione magna usque ad Eilesford.[1] Quod si eos persequi persisteret, ultimus ille dies bello Dacisque fuisset. Dux vero Edricus consilio nequissimo fecit eum resistere. Consilium pejus datum non fuerat in Anglia. Sextum bellum commisit Edmundus cum maxima gente, et Cnut cum omnibus Dacorum exercitibus congregatis, in Estsexe apud Esesdune. Bello igitur acerrimo et finali pugnatum est, et utrique invincibiles, cæde despecta, persistebant. Apparuit autem ibi virtus Edmundi juvenis. Cum enim Dacos solito acrius pugnare videret, loco regio relicto, quod erat ex more inter draconem et insigne quod vocatur "Standard," cucurrit terribilis in aciem primam.[a] Vibrans igitur gladium electum et brachio juvenis Edmundi dignum, modo fulminis fidit aciem: abrumpensque mediam pertransiit, seque sequentibus obruendam dedit. Inde in aciem regalem advolat; ubi cum clamor et stridor horrendus inciperet, videns dux Edricus ruinam Dacorum imminere, clamavit Anglorum genti: "Flet Engle, flet Engle: ded is Edmund:" quod sic[2] interpretatur: "Fugite Angli, fugite Angli: "mortuus est Edmundus." Sic igitur clamans, fugam cum suis primus incepit, quem tota gens Anglorum in fugam subsecuta est. Illic igitur miranda strages Anglorum facta est: illic occisus est Ednod dux, et Ælfric dux, et Godwine dux, et Wlfketel dux de Estangle, et Ailward filius Alfsi ducis, et omnis flos nobilitatis Brittanniæ. Rex vero Cnut, tanta fretus victoria, Lon-

Chr. E.

Final battle of Assandune; Canute remains master of the field.

Virg. Æn. ix. 759.

Local tradition?

Chr. E.

[1] *Illesford*, A.; *Adilesforde*, F. | [2] A. F.; deest, Sav.

[a] These details about Edmund's behaviour at the battle of Assandune appear to proceed from Henry's own invention. He had already mentioned the dragon (a. 752) as the ensign of Wessex. But the traitorous words of Edric may easily have been transmitted by local tradition among the men of Essex, and so have come to Henry's ears. In the *Enc. Emmæ* a speech beginning "O Angli, aut hodie "bellabitis," &c., is put in Edmund's mouth at Assandune, but there is no mention of the dragon.

doniam et sceptra cepit regalia. Septima tamen vice congregati sunt exercitus in Gioucestrescyre. Hinc autem formidantes fortitudinem regis Edmundi, illinc vero regis Cnut, dixerunt inter se proceres: "Cur in- "sensati necis periculum totiens incurrimus? pugnent "singulariter, qui regnare student singulariter." Placuit sententia regibus; nec enim mediocris erat rex Cnut probitatis. Positi igitur reges in Olanie,[1] duellum inceperunt.[a] Telis igitur et lanceis utrinque fractis super arma omnium armorum præstantissima, rem gladiis egere. Audiebant igitur, et videbant horribiles tinnitus et igneas collisiones populus uterque cum gemitu et clamore. Tandem vigor incomparabilis Edmundi fulminare cœpit. Cui Cnut rex cum magno vigore resistens, et tamen sibi timens, inquit: "Juvenum omnium fortis- "sime, quæ necessitas est alterum nostrum, regnandi "causa, ferro perire. Simus fratres adoptivi, regnumque "partiamur, imperemusque, ego rebus in tuis, tuque in "meis. Dacia quoque tuo disponatur imperio." His verbis juvenis mens generosa delinita est: et osculum pacis invicem datum est. Conveniente igitur populo, et præ gaudio lacrimante, Edmundus regnum suscepit Chr. E. Westsexe; Cnut vero regnum Merce suscipiens reversus est Londoniam.[2]

A.D. 1016.

Single combat between Canute and Edmund.

Canute, afraid of being worsted, proposes a partition of the dominions of both: Edmund agrees.

§ 14. Edmundus rex post paucos exhinc dies proditione occisus est apud Oxineford. Sic autem occisus

30 Nov A few days afterwards

[1] A. F.; *Molaniæ*, Sav.

[2] Plura hic habet H. in margine, quæ infra in Appendice referuntur.

[a] The language of the Chronicles implies only a peaceful meeting between Canute and Edmund in the isle of Olney, nor does any historian of earlier date than Henry say a word about a *duel*, though Malmesbury and the author of the *Encomium Emmæ* speak of Canute having *declined* a proposal for a combat. Although, therefore, modern attempts to substantiate the story have not been wanting, (on which see Mr. Earle's note,) historical criticism, guided by present lights, must reject it as fictitious. The circumstantial account given by Ailred in the *Genealogia Regum Anglorum*, which was written between 1151 and 1154, is plainly nothing but a rhetorical expansion of Henry's narrative.

A.D. 1016. Edmund is treacherously slain at Oxford by the son of Edric.

est. Cum rex hostibus suis terribilis et timendissimus in regno floreret, ivit nocte quadam in domum evacuationis ad requisita naturæ, ubi filius Edrici ducis in fovea secretaria delitescens consilio patris, regem inter celanda cultello bis acuto percussit; et inter viscera ferrum figens, fugiens reliquit.[a] Edricus igitur ad regem Cnut veniens, salutavit eum dicens: "Ave rex solus." Cui cum rem gestam denudasset, respondit rex: "Ego "te ob tanti obsequii meritum cunctis Anglorum pro- "ceribus reddam celsiorem." Jussit ergo eum excapitari, et caput in stipite super celsiorem Londoniæ turrim figi.[b] Sic periit Edmundus rex fortis cum uno anno regnasset; et sepultus est juxta Edgar avum suum in Glastengebirh. Malm. *Gest Reg.*

Canute orders the assassin to be beheaded.

A.D. 1017. Canute marries Emma, Ethelred's widow.

§ 15. Cnut rex Anglorum Emmam ducis Normannorum filiam, uxorem regis Adelredi, duxit. Postea vero rex dignam retributionem nequitiæ Anglis reddidit. Ipse namque in dominio suo Westsexam habebat, Hyrc Nordhumbram, Turchillus Estangle, Edricus Merce. Chr. E.

His cruelties, tyranny, and fiscal exactions.

Rex vero Cnut Edricum occidit, Turchillum exulavit,[c] Hyrc fugere compulit:[d] præterea summos procerum aggressus, Normannum ducem interfecit, Edwi Adelinge exterminavit, Adelwoldum detruncavit, Edwi Ceorleking exulavit; Bridric ferro vita privavit. Fecit

[a] The Chronicles and Florence are silent as to the manner of Edmund's death. Malmesbury says that he was murdered by two servants, who were bribed by Edric of Mercia. Florence says that his death happened at London, but considering the recent treaty, and the state of things generally, this seems very unlikely. Henry's statement, that he was murdered at Oxford, is probable enough, but there are no means of verifying it. The author of the *Encom. Emmæ* lurs the matter over.

[b] All the Chronicles, and Florence following them, say that Edric was put to death the year after Edmund's murder, *i.e.* in 1017. Florence adds that Canute performed this act of justice because he feared that Edric would betray him as he had betrayed his former masters, and that he ordered his dead body to be thrown over the walls of London, and left unburied.

[c] Turchil was banished by Canute in 1021, but taken into favour again two years afterwards. How he came to his end is related by Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, ii. 11.

[d] The banishment of Eric is mentioned by Malmesbury, but not by the Chronicles, nor by Florence.

quoque per Angliam mirabilem censum reddi, scilicet LXXII.[1] mille librarum, præter undecies mille librarum quas Londonienses reddiderunt. Dignum igitur exactorem Dominus justus Anglis imposuit. A.D. 1018.

Cnut tertio anno regni sui ivit in Daciam, ducens exercitum Anglorum et Dacorum in Wandalos. Cum autem hostibus, crastina die conflicturus, appropinquasset, Godwinus consul Anglorum ducens exercitum, rege inscio, nocte profectus est in hostes. Igitur improvidos invasit, occidit, fugavit. Rex vero summo mane, cum Anglos fugisse vel ad hostes perfide transisse putaret, acies ordinatas in hostem dirigens, non invenit in castris nisi sanguinem et cadavera et prædam. Quamobrem summo honore deinceps Anglos habuit, nec minori quam Dacos. Hic actis in Angliam rediit. Hoc circa tempus Leving archiepiscopo defuncto, Athelnod[2] successor ejus Romam petiit. Cum quo Lefwinus abbas Eliensis profectus, abbatiam injuste sibi ablatam, papa Benedicto jubente, rehabuit. Archiepiscopus vero Roma rediens, corpus S. Alfei a Londonia transtulit Cantuariam.

A.D. 1019. Expedition against the Wends; in which the valour shown by Godwin and his men causes Canute to respect the English.

Malm., *Gest. Reg* ii. 11.

A.D. 1020.

Chr. E.

A.D. 1022. Church affairs.

A.D. 1023.

§ 16. Cnut regis anno octavo, dux Normannorum Ricardus secundus, pater Emmæ reginæ Anglorum, vivere non adjecit. Post quem Ricardus filius suus anno prope uno imperavit: et post eum Robertus frater ejus octo annis. Anno vero sequenti ivit cum exercitu Anglorum rex in Daciam contra Ulf et Eilaf: qui gravissimam contra eum multitudinem terra et mari adduxerunt de gente Speon.[a] Ibi ergo periit populus multus Anglorum et Dacorum ex parte Cnut; et Speon vicerunt.

Chr E.

A.D. 1024. Death of Richard II. of Normandy.

A.D. 1025. Disastrous expedition of Canute into Denmark.

Cnut rex anno duodecimo ivit ab Anglia cum quinquaginta puppibus in Norwegiam, et bello fugavit Olaf regem Norwegensium, regnumque illud recepit in suam

A.D. 1028. He conquers Norway; death of Olaf.

[1] A. F.; *lxxxii.*, Sav. | [2] A.; *Athelnold*, Sav.

[a] For "Sweon"; *see* p. 77, note 6.

A.D. 1030. subditionem. Cum vero inde redisset in Angliam, rex Olaf rediens in Norwegiam a patriæ illius gente occisus est: remansitque Cnut regnum illud dum vixit.

A.D. 1031. Circa hoc tempus Roberto regi Francorum successit Henricus filius suus. Malm., *Gest. Reg.* ii. 11.

Death of Robert, duke of Normandy; his son, William the Bastard, succeeds.

Cnut regis anno decimoquinto, Robertus dux Normanniæ in peregrinatione Ierosolimitana mortuus est; cui successit Willelmus nothus filius suus, in puerili ætate. Chr. E.

Canute goes to Rome; his lavish gifts and offerings.

Rex vero Cnut Romam splendide perrexit; et eleemosynam, quæ vocatur "Romscot," quam antecessores sui dederant ecclesiæ Romanæ, perenniter assignavit. Flor. Wig. a. 1031. Enc. Emmæ. Quis autem numeret eleemosynas ejus et dapsilitates ejus et magnalia quæ gessit rex magnus in peregrinatione illa? Non fuit rex sub occidentali limite, qui tam splendide, tam famose Romæ sancta loca petisset. Eodem vero anno Roma rediens perrexit in Scotiam: et Melcolm rex Scotiæ subditus est ei, et duo alii reges Melbeathe et Jermarc.[a] Chr. E.

A.D. 1036. 12 Nov. Death of Canute. His power and the extent of his dominion.

§ 17. Cnut rex cum viginti annis regnasset, vivere destitit apud Scaftesbirh, et sepultus est apud Wincestre in veteri monasterio. De cujus regis potentia pauca sunt perstringenda: nec enim ante eum tantæ magnitudinis rex fuerat in Anglia. Erat enim[1] dominus totius Daciæ, totius Angliæ, totius Norwagiæ, simul et Scotiæ; enimvero, extra numerum bellorum quibus maxime splenduit, tria gessit eleganter et magnifice. Primum est, quod filiam suam imperatori Romano cum ineffabilibus divitiis maritavit. Malm., *Gest. Reg.* ii. 12. Secundum, quod Romam pergens, omnes malas exactiones in via quæ per Gallias Romam tendit, quæ vocantur tolonea vel transversa, data pecunia sua, diminui fecit usque ad Ib. ii. 11.

[1] *namque*, A. F.

[a] At this place, in one of the Lambeth MSS. (No. 118), and in a MS. in the National Library at Paris of the sixteenth century (No. 6044), which seems to be a copy of Lambeth 118, the laws of Canute, or "Danelage," are inserted at length.

Tradition? medietatem. Tertium,[a] quod cum maximo vigore imperii, sedile suum in littore maris, cum ascenderet, statui jussit. Dixit autem mari ascendenti "Tu meæ "ditionis es; et terra in qua sedeo mea est : nec fuit "qui impune meo resisteret imperio. Impero igitur tibi "ne in terram meam ascendas, nec vestes nec membra "dominatoris tui madefacere præsumas." Mare vero de more conscendens pedes regis et crura sine reverentia madefecit. Rex igitur resiliens ait: "Sciant omnes "habitantes orbem, vanam et frivolam regum esse poten-"tiam, nec regis quempiam nomine dignum præter Eum, "cujus nutui cœlum, terra, mare, legibus obediunt æter-"nis." Rex igitur Cnut nunquam postea coronam auream cervici suæ imposuit, sed super imaginem Domini, quæ cruci affixa erat, posuit eam in æternum, in laudem Dei Regis magni: cujus misericordia Cnut regis anima quiete fruatur.

A.D. 1036. Among other memorable acts, he commanded the tide not to rise and wet his feet, and then drew a moral lesson from the futility of the command.

Canute's humility.

Chr. E. § 18. Haraldus, filius Cnut regis et Ailivæ filiæ Alfelmi ducis, electus est in regem. Fuit namque placitum magnum apud Oxenford; ubi Lefricus consul et omnes principes ex boreali parte Tamesis cum Londoniensibus elegerunt Haraldum, ut conservaret Flor. Wig. a. 1035. regnum fratri suo Hardecnut, qui erat in Dacia. Godwinus vero consul, pater Haraldi postea regis, et prin-Chr. E. cipes Westsexe cœperunt contradicere; sed non profuit. Consilium ergo inierunt quod Emma regina cum regis defuncti familia conservaret Westsexe apud Wincestre in opus filii sui: Godwinus vero consul dux eis esset in re militari.

Harold I. succeeds.

Haraldus rex exulavit Emmam reginam, novercam scilicet suam; quæ divertens ad Baldewinum consulem Flandriæ accepit ab eo castrum Bruge, ut ibi et inde degeret: Willelmo namque Normannorum domino adhuc in ætate puerili cum rege Francorum manente,

A.D. 1037. Banishment of Emma, the dowager queen.

[a] This is the famous story of Canute's commanding the tide to retire; it is found in no writer earlier than Henry, but was eagerly adopted by a crowd of later historians.

A.D. 1038. Eadsi made archbishop of Canterbury.

Normannia fiscus regalis erat. Anno sequente Athelnod archiepiscopo Cantuariensi migrante, successit Eadsi. Malm. *Gest. Reg.* ii. 12.

§ 19. Haraldus rex cum regnasset IV. annis et mensibus IV. mortem sensit apud Oxenford; et sepultus est apud Westminster. Chr. E. In diebus illis redditæ fuerant XVI. puppibus ab unoquoque portu[a] VIII. marcæ argenti, sicut et patris sui tempore.

A.D. 1040. 17 Mar. Death of Harold.

A.D. 1041. 17 June. Herthacnut, Emma's son, succeeds.

Hardecnut, filius regis Cnut et Emmæ reginæ, veniens a Dacia apud Sandwic, illico susceptus est et electus in regem simul ab Anglis et Dacis. Hujus anno secundo redditus est census exercitui Dacorum: scilicet XXI. mille librarum et LXXXIX. [1]libræ; [2]et postea sunt redditæ XXXII. puppibus XI. mille libræ′ et XLVIII. libræ. Eodem anno venit Edwardus filius Edelredi regis a Normannia, ad regem Hardecnut fratrem suum: ambo etenim erant filii Emmæ, filiæ Ricardi consulis.

He receives a visit from Edward, his half-brother.

A.D. 1042. His death.

§ 20. Hardecnut rex morte præreptus est cum regnasset II. annis, in medio flore juventutis suæ apud Lamhuthe; qui claræ indolis et benignæ juventutis fuerat suis. Tantæ namque largitatis fertur fuisse, ut prandia regalia quatuor in die vicibus omni curiæ suæ faceret apponi, malens a vocatis apposita fercula dimitti, quam a non vocatis apponenda fercula reposci; cum nostri temporis consuetudo sit, causa vel avaritiæ, vel, ut ipsi dicunt, fastidii, principes semel in die tantum suis escas anteponere.[b] Sepultus est autem rex Hardecnut in veterimonasterio apud Wincestre, juxta Cnut patrem suum.[3] Chr. E. Proceres igitur Anglorum, jam Dacorum

[1] *xcix.*, F.

[2] ′ F.; desunt, A.

[3] "Et antequam sepultus esset, "electus est Edwardus frater ejus "ab omni populo; et sacratus est "ab Eadsi archiepiscopo apud "Wincestre in die Paschæ." Sic H. et Sav. in margine. Locus *Proceres igitur . . . . . indic Paschæ* deest in H.

[a] Not understanding the "æt "ælcere hamulan" of the Chronicle, (which Mr. Earle interprets "for each rowlock-thong,") Henry renders the words "ab unoquoque "portu."

[b] Robert de Mellent is said by Malmesbury (*Gest. Reg.* v.) to have been instrumental in bringing in this custom.

Chr. B. dominio liberati, hilares pro Alfredo primogenito filio Edelredi, ut regni diademate sublimetur, nuntios mittunt. Ille autem cum esset patre Anglicus, et matre Normannus, aliquos ex consanguineis matris suæ, multos ex coævis commilitantibus a Normannia secum duxit in Angliam. Godwinus vero cum esset consul fortissimus, et proditor sævissimus, præcogitavit se Edwardo fratri minori et simpliciori posse dare filiam suam in reginam. Hunc vero Alfredum,[a] quia primogenitus erat et magnæ probitatis, nullo modo filiam suam dignaturum prævidebat. Intimavit igitur proceribus Angliæ, Alfridum nimiam copiam Normannorum secum adduxisse; terras Anglorum eis promisisse; gentem fortissimam et subdolam inter eos instirpare, Anglis securum non esse: hos persolvere pœnas oportere, ne alii post hæc audeant pro regis cognatione se Anglis ingerere. Capti sunt igitur et ligati Normanni qui venerant cum Alfredo: et cum ordine sederent, novem semper excapitati sunt et decimus, remansit apud Gildeforde. Cum autem omnes interfecti essent nisi decima pars, nimium visum est Anglis tot superesse; feceruntque decimam decimari,

A.D. 1042. The English lords send to Normandy for Alfred, son of Ethelred. He comes over, attended by many Normans. The English, instigated by Godwin, massacre most of the Normans, and carry Alfred to Ely, where his eyes are put out, and he dies.

Chr. C. et sic paucissimi evaserunt. Alfredum vero captum duxerunt in Ely, et oculos ejus eruerunt, et mortuus est. Miserunt ergo pro Edwardo juniore in Normanniam nuntios et obsides, mandantes ei quod paucissi-

A.D. 1036.

[a] The story of the tragic end of Alfred, eldest son of Ethelred, is beset with difficulties and inconsistencies, of which an interesting article in the Appendix to the first vol. of Mr. Freeman's history of the Norman Conquest, gives a clear account. Three different dates are assigned to it, one 1036, while Harold was reigning; this is given by the Chronicles C. and D., and by Florence, and is the most trustworthy: the second 1040, in the interval between the death of Harold and the arrival of Hardacnut; this is the account of Malmesbury: the third 1042, after the death of Hardacnut; this is the date assumed by Henry, whose version reads like a careless abridgment of the narrative of Florence, transferred to a wrong date, and imputing imaginary motives. The Encomiast rightly describes the maltreatment of Alfred and his followers as having taken place during the reign of Harold; he also seems to implicate Godwin in the deed, though not in express terms; this, however, Mr. Freeman, writing with a bias in favour of Godwin, will not admit.

A.D. 1036. mos Normannorum secum adduceret, et eum in regem
A.D. 1043. fidelissime stabilirent. Paruit Edwardus, et cum paucis
Edward, the brother of Alfred, is chosen king. venit in Angliam; et electus est in regem ab omni
A.D. 1044. populo, et sacratus est ab Eadsi archiepiscopo apud
Eadsi resigns the primacy, Wincestre in die Paschæ. Eadsi vero archiepiscopus dimisit archiepiscopatum propter infirmitatem, et sacratus est Siward in loco ejus. Tunc quoque factus est Stigandus episcopus Estangle.

Edward marries Edgitha, the daughter of Godwin. § 21. Edwardus rex, in patrocinium regni sui, duxit filiam Godwini fortissimi consulis, nomine Edgitham, sororem regis Haraldi futuri.[1] Circa hoc tempus tanta fames Angliam invasit, quod sextarius frumenti, qui equo uni solet esse oneri, venundaretur v. solidis, et
A.D. 1047. etiam plus. Postea vero Stigandus, qui erat episcopus in Estangle, factus est episcopus etiam apud Wincestre.
He banishes her brother Sweyn. Rex autem exulavit Suain consulem, filium Godwini prædicti consulis: qui recedens ad Baldwinum con-
A.D. 1049. sulem Flandriæ, ibidem hiemavit apud Bruge.

A.D. 1047. Battle of Walesdun. Edwardi regis anno sexto, commissum est bellum apud Walesdune inter Henricum regem Francorum et Chr. E.
proceres Normanniæ, qui nolebant Willelmum in dominum recipere. Quos cum dux Willelmus victos
A.D. 1048. obtinuisset, quosdam exulavit, quosdam corpore minuit. Malm., *Gest. Reg.*, iii.
Danish freebooters. Venerunt eo tempore duo principes Dacorum, Lothen et Hirling, apud Sandwic; ubi capta innumerabili Chr. E.
præda, auri quoque et argenti copia, per mare gyrantes Estsexam prædati sunt. Inde vero dirigentes iter in Flandriam, vendita præda sua, reversi sunt unde venerant.
A.D. 1049. Sweyn allowed to return to England. Anno sequenti rediit Suain consul in Angliam impetratum pacem a rege. Quod cum Haraldus frater ejus et Beornd consul divertissent, venit postea ad Godwinum patrem suum apud Pevense; cui humillime supplicans et fratribus suis Haraldo et Tosti et Beornd consuli, obtinuit ab eis ut Beornd consul secum proficisceretur usque ad Sandwic ad amicitiam regis impetrandam. Beornd igitur introiens in naves Suain

[1] Vide App.

Chr. E. consulis ad auxilium ejus, nequiter occisus est ab eis: cadaverque ejus projectum sepelierunt amici sui apud Wincestre, juxta Cnut regem avunculum suum. Suein vero reversus est in Flandriam. Sequenti vero anno Suein regi concordatus est cautela Godwini patris sui. Eo tempore Leo papa tenuit synodum apud Verzelei, ubi Ulf episcopus Dorcescestriæ[a] interfuit: et pœne fractus est baculus ejus episcopalis, nisi majus pretium dedisset: nesciebat enim officium suum sicut episcopum deceret. Eadsi archiepiscopus vita cassatus est. Obierat etiam Siwardus successor ejus.

A.D. 1049. He treacherously kills his cousin Beorn.

A.D. 1050.

Synod of Vercellæ.

Death of Eadsi and of Siward.

§ 22. Edwardus, decimo anno regni sui, dedit Roberto episcopo Londoniæ archiepiscopatum Cantuariæ. Regi vero delatum est quod Godwinus gener[b] suus, et Suein filius ejus, et Haraldus prodituri eum essent. Quos in causam vocatos, cum sine obsidibus venire recusarent, rex exulavit. Itaque Godwinus et Suein iverunt in Flandriam, Haraldus vero in Hiberniam. Rex vero in iram promotus, dimissa regina, thesaurum suum et terras ei abstulit. Deditque Odoni consulatum Davenesyre et Sumersete et Dorsete: Algaro vero filio Lefrici consulis dedit consulatum Haraldi.

A.D. 1051. Robert, a Norman, raised to the primacy.

The king banishes Godwin and his sons.

Edwardi regis anno XI. Emma Normannigena, uxor regum et mater regum, morem mortis pertulit. God-

A.D. 1052. Death of Emma.

[a] Dorchester in Oxfordshire. The first West-Saxon see was founded here by Birinus in 635; but when, about forty years afterwards, Mercia began to encroach on Wessex, the seat of the bishopric was moved further south by bishop Headdi (676–703), who translated the relics of S. Birinus to Winchester. A Mercian see of Dorchester was then founded by archbishop Theodore, in 680, with Ætta for its first bishop. How long this bishopric endured is not known; it did not exist in the time of Offa the great king of Mercia (Matt. Paris, *Vitæ Duorum Offarum*); perhaps it was abandoned about the time (752) of the disastrous defeat of the Mercians by the West Saxons at Burford, one result of which must have been to bring all the upper Thames valley under West-Saxon control. Florence says that the bishopric was re-founded by Edward the Elder, and gives the succession of bishops from Leofwine (about 965) to Remigius, (the next but one after this Ulf,) who, as we shall see, removed the see to Lincoln.

[b] An oversight for "socer."

A.D. 1052. Godwin and his sons harry the English coast.

winus autem consul et Suein filius ejus, currentes velis extensis a Flandria ad insulam Wiht, prædati sunt eam; prædati sunt quoque Portland. Haraldus vero veniens ab Hibernia prædatus est apud Portlocan; et inde veniens ad patrem suum in Wiht, perrexerunt in Pevense, et inde ad Nesse et in Rumene, et in Hithe, et in Folcestane, et in Dovere, et in Sandwic, et in Scepeie; ubique accipientes obsides et puppes. Quidam Chr. E. vero exeuntes, Middeltune villam regis combusserunt; classis vero per Nordmutham tendens in Londoniam, obviavit L. puppibus, quibus rex inerat. Tunc igitur per internuncios, consilio Stigandi episcopi, datis obsidibus, concordati sunt rex et gener suus: redditque illi et suis terras et omnia quæ prius habuerant; et iterum accepit reginam suam. Robertus vero archiepiscopus et omnes Franci, quorum consilio rex consulem exulaverat, exulati sunt. Stigandus autem factus est archiepiscopus Cantuariæ. Circa hoc tempus Siwardus consul fortissimus Nordhumbre, pœne gigas statura, Chr. D. manu vero et mente prædura, misit filium suum in Scotiam conquirendam.[a] Quem cum bello cæsum patri renuntiassent, ait: "Recepitne vulnus letale in Tradition? "anteriori vel posteriori corporis parte?" Dixerunt nuntii, "In anteriori." At ille: "Gaudeo plane, "non enim alio me vel filium meum digner funere." Siwardus igitur in Scotiam proficiscens regem bello vicit, regnum totum destruxit, destructum sibi subjugavit.

The king perforce is reconciled to them: the archbishop, and all the Normans at the court, are banished: Stigand made primate.

A.D. 1054. What earl Siward said when he heard of his son's death in battle.

Siward's triumphant invasion of Scotland.

A.D. 1053. Earl Godwin choked

§ 23. Edwardus XII. anno regni sui cum pranderet apud Windleshores,[b] ubi plurimum manere solebat,

[a] Florence, under 1054, following Chr. D., says that Siward and his son invaded Scotland in that year, and that the son was killed. No trace of the anecdote given in the text occurs in any writer earlier than Henry. Shakspere has made use of it in *Macbeth*, Act v., Sc. 8; he found it in Holinshed.

[b] *Windleshores.* This seems to be an oversight merely, like Henry's calling earl Godwin the "gener" instead of the "socer" of the king. All the Chronicles, Florence, and

Malm., *Gest. Reg.*, ii. 13. Godwinus, gener suus et proditor, recumbens juxta eum dixit: "Sæpe tibi, rex, falso delatum est me proditioni "tuæ invigilasse; sed si Deus cœli verax et justus est, "hoc panis frustulum concedat ne mihi[1] guttur per- "transeat, si unquam te prodere vel cogitaverim." Deus autem justus et verax audivit vocem proditoris; et mox, eodem pane strangulatus, mortem prægustavit æternam.[a] Haraldus vero filius ejus habuit consulatum patris sui; sed Algarus consul Cestriæ habuit consulatum Haraldi. A.D. 1053. in the act of perjuring himself. Chr. C.

Chr. E. Malm., *Gest. Reg.*, iii. Ord. Vit., vii. 2. § 24. Edwardi regis anno XIII. pugnaverunt proceres Normanniæ contra gentem Francorum apud castrum quod vocatur Mortuum-mare; et interfectus est Radulphus[b] camerarius, princeps exercitus Francorum; contigitque victoria Normannis. Et quidem rex Henricus Francorum, et dux Willelmus Normannorum bello non intererant. Anno sequente, Siwardus consul rigidissimus, profluvio ventris ductus, mortem sensit imminere, dixitque, "Quantus pudor me tot in bellis "mori non potuisse, ut vaccarum morti cum dedecore "reservarer! Induite me saltem lorica mea impenetra- A.D. 1054 Battle of Mortemer. A.D. 1055. Memorable death of earl Siward.

[1] A. F.; deest, Sav.

Malmesbury, either expressly say or imply that Godwin's sudden death took place at Winchester.

[a] The Chronicles C. and D., and Florence, speak of Godwin's death as awfully sudden, (it seems to have resulted from a paralytic or apoplectic seizure,) but know nothing of the theatrical circumstances which later writers, desirous from courtly motives of blackening Godwin's character, imported into the narrative. Malmesbury, S. Ailred in his *Vita S. Edwardi Regis*, and Ingulfus, are agreed in saying that Godwin's chief object in his speech was to clear himself of guilt concerning Alfred; Henry alone represents it as having been to dispel any mistrust that the king might entertain of his loyalty. See Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, ii., note W.

[b] This Radulfus, whom Malmesbury in his account of the battle of Mortemer does not mention, must be the Radulfus de Monte Desiderii (Ralph de Montdidier) named by Orderic. He was not, however, *the* leader, but only one of the leaders of the French army, nor was he killed in the battle, but taken prisoner.

A.D. 1054. " bili, præcingite gladio, sublimate galea; scutum in " læva, securim auratam mihi ponite in dextra, ut mili- " tum fortissimus modo militis moriar." Dixerat; et ut dixerat, armatus honorifice spiritum exhalavit.[a] Sed quia Walteof filius ejus adhuc parvulus erat, datus est Chr. E.

The treason of Alfgar. consulatus ejus Tosti filio Godwini consulis. Eodem anno Algarus consul Cestriæ exulatus est, quia de proditione regis in consilio convictus fuerat. Ille vero pergens ad Griffinum regem Nordwales, rediens cum eodem rege combussit Hereford et ecclesiam S. Athel-

A.D. 1057. bricti. Postea venit Edwardus filius Edmundi Irenside

Death of Edward, son of Edmund Ironside, and father of St. Margaret of Scotland. in terram istam; et statim mortuus est, et sepultus apud Londoniam in ecclesia S. Pauli. Hic fuit pater Margaretæ reginæ Scottorum, et Edgari Atheling. Margareta vero fuit mater Matildis reginæ Anglorum,

Death of Leofric about this time; munificent piety of his wife, Godiva. et Davidis urbanissimi regis Scottorum. Lefricus quo- Malm., *Gest. Pont.*, § 173. que consul nobilissimus Cestriæ defunctus est eo tempore: cujus uxor Godiva, nomine perpetuo digna, multa probitate viguit, et abbatiam apud Coventre construxit, et auro et argento incomparabiliter ditavit. Construxit etiam ecclesiam Stow sub promontorio Ib., § 177. Lincolniæ, et multas alias. Algarus vero filius ejus Chr. E. suscepit consulatum Cestriæ.

A.D. 1062. § 25. Edwardi regis anno XXII., cum jam Henrico Chr. E. rege defuncto Phillippus filius ejus regnaret, Willelmus dux Normannorum subjugavit sibi Cenomanniam. Haraldus vero transiens in Flandriam, tempestate compulsus est[1] in Ponticam provinciam. Quem captum, consul Malm., *Gest. Reg.*, ii. 13.

Harold, son of Godwin, being in Normandy, Ponticus Willelmo duci Normanniæ reddidit. Haraldus Ord. Vit., lib. iii., vero juravit Willelmo super reliquias sanctorum mul- ch. 11.

[1] *venit*, A. F.

[a] This story, which Henry perhaps heard from some old retainer of the great Northumbrian earl, is thoroughly Scandinavian in its spirit. It may be compared with the account of the funeral voyage of king Hake in the Heimskringla, and even bears a general resemblance to the narrative of the death of Odin.

tas et electissimas, se filiam ejus ducturum, et Angliam post mortem Edwardi regis ad opus ejus servaturum.[a] Summo igitur honore susceptus et muneribus amplis ditatus, cum reversus esset in Angliam perjurii crimen
Chr. E. elegit. Anno vero sequenti Haraldus et Tosti perrexerunt in expeditionem in Walliam. Gens vero patriæ subdita est eis, et obsides dedit. Post ea siquidem occiderunt regem suum Griffinum, et attulerunt Haraldo caput ejus; Haraldus vero statuit ibi alium regem.
Legend. Contigit autem eodem anno quod in aula regia apud Windleshores, Tosti Haraldum fratrem suum regi vina propinantem capillis coram rege ipso arripuerit.[b] Invidiæ namque et odii fomitem ministraverat, quod cum Tosti ipse primogenitus esset, arctius a rege frater suus diligeretur. Igitur, impetu furoris propulsus, non potuit cohibere manus a cæsarie fratris. Rex autem perniciem eorum jam appropinquare prædixit, et iram Dei jam non differendam. Tantæ namque sævitiæ fratres illi erant, quod cum alicujus nitidam villam conspicerent, dominatorem de nocte interfici juberent totamque progeniem illius, possessionemque defuncti obtinerent: et isti quidem justiciarii erant regni. Tosti igitur furibunde discedens a rege et a fratre suo, perrexit ad Hereforde, ubi frater suus corrodium regale maximum paraverat; ubi ministros fratris sui omnes detruncans, singulis vasis vini, medonis, cervisiæ, pigmenti, morati, siceræ, crus humanum vel caput vel brachium imposuit. Mandavitque regi quod ad firmam suam pro-

A.D. 1062 swears to duke William that he will help him to acquire the English throne on Edward's death.

A.D. 1064. Success of Harold in Wales.

Death of Griffin.

Fierce quarrel between Harold and Tosti; the latter takes an atrocious revenge,

[a] This account is in general agreement with the narratives of Malmesbury and Orderic, except that whereas Henry places Harold's visit to Normandy in 1063, Malmesbury assigns it to 1065. The Chronicles and Florence are silent.

[b] The legend of the fraternal struggle occurs also in S. Ailred's *Vita S. Edwardi*, but in a different form; Harold and Tosti are boys playing before their father and the king; it is Harold who pulls Tosti's hair, not Tosti who pulls Harold's. The holy king takes occasion from this boyish quarrel to prophesy the deadly feud between the brothers when grown to manhood.

A.D. 1064. for which he is sent into exile.

perans cibos salsatos sufficienter inveniret, alios secum deferre curaret.[a] Rex ergo eum ob scelus adeo infinitum delegari et exulari præcepit.

A.D. 1065. Morkar at the head of a northern army advances to Northampton: the king agrees to recognise him as earl of Northumbria.

§ 26. Edwardi regis anno XXIV. Nordhumbri hæc audientes, Tosti consulem suum, qui multas eis cædes et clades ingesserat, fugaverunt: omnemque familiam suam interficientes tam Anglos quam Dacos, ceperunt thesauros et arma ejus in Eoverwic. Constituerunt igitur Marcherum filium Algari consulis super eos consulem: qui cum gente illa et cum Lincolnesire et Snotinghamsire et Derbisire perrexit usque ad Hamtune; et Edwinus frater suus venit contra eum cum hominibus consulatus sui, et plures Brittanni cum eo. Tunc venit Haraldus consul ad eos. Ipsi vero miserunt eum ad regem et nuncios cum eo, precantes ut possent habere Marcherum consulem super eos. Quod rex concessit, et remisit Haraldum ad eos ad Hamtune, qui hoc eis affirmavit. Ipsi vero interim comburentes et prædantes et occidentes, provinciæ illi non pepercerunt, sed multa millia hominum secum abducentes cum petitionem suam obtinuissent, multis annis deteriorem partem illam regni reddiderunt. Tosti vero et uxor sua ad Baldwinum consulem Flandriæ divertentes, hiemaverunt. Chr. E.

Tosti takes refuge in Flanders.

A.D. 1066.

§ 27. Millesimo sexagesimo sexto anno gratiæ, perfecit Dominator Dominus de gente Anglorum quod diu cogitaverat: genti namque Normannorum asperæ et callidæ tradidit eos ad exterminandum. Enimvero cum basilica S. Petri apud Westminster dedicata esset in die Sanctorum Innocentium, et postea in vigilia Epiphaniæ rex Edwardus mundo decessisset, et sepultus

28 Dec.

5 Jan.

[a] This latter part of the Tosti legend seems, as was remarked by Mr. Petrie, (M. H. B., p. 761,) to be the result of a careless transfer by Henry to Tosti of the destructive raid made by the Welsh prince Caradoc in 1065 on the well-stored house which had been prepared by Harold for the king. The cause and manner of Tosti's exile were, of course, widely different from what is here stated.

Chr. E. esset in eadem ecclesia, quam ipse construxerat et possessionibus multis ditaverat, quidam Anglorum Eadgar Atheling promovere volebant in regem. Haraldus vero, viribus et genere fretus, regni diadema invasit. Willelmus vero dux Normanniæ tribus de causis mente stimulatus et intrinsecus irritatus est. Primo, quia Alfredum cognatum suum Godwinus et filii sui dehonestaverant et peremerant: secundo, quia Robertum episcopum et Odonem consulem et omnes Francos Godwinus et filii sui arte sua ab Anglia exulaverant: tertio, quod Haraldus in perjurium prolapsus, regnum quod jure cognationis suum esse debuerat, sine aliquo jure invaserat. Principes vero Normannorum convocans, auxilium Angliæ conquirendæ ab eis petiit. Quibus ad se consiliandos euntibus, Willelmus filius Osberti dapifer ducis interfuit: qui gravissimum iter ad Angliam capessendam gentemque Anglorum fortissimam perhibens, contra paucissimos in Angliam ire volentes acerrime litigavit: quod audientes proceres, valde gavisi, fidem dederunt ei, ut quod ipse diceret omnes concederent. Ingressus igitur ante eos coram duce, dixit: "Paratus sum in hac expeditione "cum omnibus meis devote proficisci." Oportuit ergo omnes Normannorum principes verbum ejus prosequi.[a] Classis itaque maxima parata est ad portum qui vocatur S. Walerici.[1] Quod audiens rex Haraldus, vir bellis acerrimus, cum navali exercitu contra Willelmum ducem in mare profectus est. Interea venit Tosti consul in Humbram cum LX. puppibus: Edwinus vero consul veniens cum exercitu fugavit eum. Ille vero fugiens in Scotiam, obviavit Haraldo regi Norwagiæ cum CCC. puppibus: et Tosti, gavisus valde, subditus

A.D. 1066. Death of Edward.

Harold seizes on the government.

Irritation of duke William, and its causes.

Ord. Vit., lib. iii. 11.

He consults his barons on the question of asserting his right to England by force.

Through a trick of FitzOsbern, they are all entangled in a pledge to assist him in doing so.

A fleet is assembled at St. Valery.

Chr. E.

Meanwhile Tosti joins Harald Harfagr king of Norway; their joint forces enter the Humber; they defeat

[1] *S. Odmeri* (=Audomeri), H.

[a] This story about the conduct of William FitzOsbern, though it fits in well enough with what is said by Ordericus, appears to originate with Henry. William of Jumièges does not mention FitzOsbern; William of Poitou names him among six or seven chief counsellors of the duke, but that is all.

A.D. 1066. Edwin and Morcar. 20 Sept.

est ei. Deinde ambo venerunt in Humbram usque ad Eoverwic; et juxta urbem pugnaverunt cum eis Edwinus et Marcherus consules: cujus locus pugnæ in australi parte urbis adhuc ostenditur. Haraldus vero rex Norwagiæ et Tosti cum eo Martis omine glorioso potiti sunt. Quod audiens Haraldus rex Anglorum,[1] cum manu valida obviavit eis apud Steinfordesbrige. Pugna igitur incepta est, qua gravior non fuerat. Coeuntes namque a summo mane usque ad meridiem, cum horribiliter ruentes utrinque perseverarent, maximus numerus Anglorum Norwagenses cedere sed non fugere compulit. Ultra flumen igitur repulsi, vivis supra mortuos transeuntibus, magnanimiter restiterunt. Quidam vero Norwagensis, fama dignus æterna, super pontem restitit, et plus XL. viris Anglorum securi cædens electa, usque ad horam diei nonam omnem exercitum Anglorum detinuit solus: usquequo quidam navim ingressus per foramina pontis in celandis eum percussit jaculo. Transeuntes igitur Angli, Haroldum regem et Tosti occiderunt, et totam Norwagensium aciem vel armis straverunt vel igne deprehensos combusserunt.

Chr. E.

25 Sept. Harold marches against them; gains a great victory at Stanford bridge; Harald and Tosti slain.

Chr. C.

Malm. *Gest. Reg.* ii. 13.

Hearing of William's landing, Harold marches hastily back to meet him.

§ 28. Haraldus rex Anglorum eadem die reversus ad Eoverwic cum summa lætitia, dum pranderet, audivit nuntium dicentem sibi: "Willelmus dux Normanniæ "littora australia occupavit, et castellum construxit "apud Hastings." Rex igitur non segnis advolans, aciem suam construxit in planis Hastinges. Willelmus vero v. catervas equitum splendide promovit in hostem; quibus terribiliter dispositis orationem hujuscemodi habuit:[2]

Hist. Rames., cap. cxx.

Chr. E.

§ 29. "Vos[a] alloquor, Normanni, gentium fortissimi,

[1] A. F.; *Angliæ*, Sav.

[2] Deest oratio quæ sequitur in H. et S^2. Post "promovit in hostem," sequitur in H.; "Quidam vero no- "mine Taillefer," vid. § 30.

[a] This speech of William before the battle is a rhetorical flight of Henry's own invention; no contemporary author mentions anything of the kind.

Chr. E. " non quasi vestræ probitatis incertus, non quasi de " victoria non securus: quæ nunquam casu aliquo vel " impedimento a vobis evadere potuit. Quod si semel " non vincere potuissetis, exhortandi forsitan essetis, ut " probitas vestra præradiaret. Quod autem nativum " vobis est et quasi necessarium, qua indiget exhor- " tatione? O mortalium validissimi, quid potuit rex " Francorum bellis proficere cum omni gente quæ sunt " a Lotaringa usque ad Hispaniam contra Hasting [a] " antecessorem nostrum? Qui quantum voluit Franciæ " sibi adquisivit, quantum voluit regi permisit; dum " placuit, tenuit; dum satiatus est, ad majora anhelans, " reliquit. Nonne Rou pater meus, dux primus et " author nostræ gentis, cum patribus nostris regem " Francorum Parisius in medio regni sui bello vicit?

A.D. 1066. Speech of William to his troops.

He illustrates the irresistible valour of the Norman chivalry by reference to signal feats of arms performed by their fathers.

Will. Gemet. ii. 17. " nec Francorum rex potuit sperare salutem, nisi et " filiam suam et terram, quæ ex vobis Normannia

Ib. iv. 7-9. " vocatur, supplex obtulisset? Nonne patres vestri " regem Francorum in Rotomago ceperunt et tenue- " runt, donec Ricardo puero, duci vestro, Normanniam " reddidit,[b] eo pacto, quod in omni collocutione regis " Franciæ et ducis Normanniæ gladio dux accinge- " retur, regem vero nec gladium nec etiam cultellum " ferre liceret? Hanc æternam sanctionem patres " vestri regi magno cogentes statuerunt. Nonne idem " dux patres vestros usque ad Mirmandam [c] juxta

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[a] *Hasting.* The proceedings of this barbarian in France and elsewhere are described by Dudo of St. Quentin in his Chronicle (Duchesne, *Hist. Norm.*, p. 62), and also in the more polished history written by William of Jumièges. With either or both of these Henry may easily have been familiar.

[b] This is unhistorical. The count Hugo mentioned in the next note pledged himself, after giving up his prisoner Renaud, the son-in-law of duke Richard II., to appear at Rouen before the latter; mis-reading this story, Henry seems to have transformed it into the groundless fable given in the text.

[c] Mirmanda was a place somewhere in Burgundy,—its exact position is unknown,—which was stormed by the Normans under the young Richard, son of duke Richard II., about 1025, when they marched to punish Hugo, the count of Chalons. See Bouquet, x. 190.

A.D. 1066. " Alpes adduxit: et urbis ducem, generum scilicet
" suum, sponsæ suæ prœlians parere coegit? Et ne
" parum sit vobis homines vicisse, vicit et ipse diabo-
" lum, corporaliter colluctans et prosternens, ligansque
" manus ejus post terga, confusumque victor angelo-
He reminds them of the glorious victory which they themselves had gained at Mortemer. " rum reliquit.[a] Sed quid prisca narro? Nonne vobis
" congredientibus in eo tempore apud Mortemer,[b] Franci
" præcipites præposuere fugam bellis, calcaria telis?
" Vos autem, Radulfo summo duce Francorum inter-
" fecto, fama spoliisque potiti, naturale bonum solita
" necessitate tenuistis. Eja! procedat aliquis Anglo-
" rum, quos centies antecessores nostri et Daci et
" Norwagenses bellis vicerunt: demonstretque gentem
" Rou ex ejus tempore usque nunc semel militiæ nau-
" fragia perpessum esse, et ego victus abscedo. Nonne
" igitur pudori nobis est gentem vinci solitam, gentem
" arte belli cassam, gentem nec etiam sagittas haben-
" tem, contra vos, O fortissimi, quasi bello ordinatam
" procedere? Nonne vobis pudet regem Haraldum
" contra me in præsentia vestri, perjurum, faciem suam
" vobis ostendere ausum fuisse? Mihi tamen stupori
" est, quod eos, qui parentes vestros cum Alfredo
" cognato meo proditione nefanda excapitaverunt, ocu-
" lis vestris vidistis, et eorum capita nefanda adhuc
" humeris eorum supersunt. Erigite vexilla, viri; nec
" sit iræ promeritæ modus vel modestia. Ab oriente
" ad occidentem videatur fulmen gloriæ vestræ; audia-
" tur tonitruum impetus vestri, vindicesque generosis-
" simi sanguinis."

Battle of Hastings. § 30. Nondum peroraverat dux Willelmus: omnes ira accensi ultra quam credi potest secundum acies suas impetu ineffabili provolabant in hostem, ducemque jam sibi soli loquentem relinquebant. Quidam vero nomine Taillefer dudum antequam coirent bella-

[a] There seems to be a confusion here between duke Richard II. or III. and Robert le Diable, son of the first-named duke, and father William the Conqueror.

[b] *Mortemer.* See above, § 24.

tores, ensibus jactatis ludens coram gente Anglorum, A.D. 1066.
dum in eum omnes stuperent, quendam vexilliferum Anglorum interfecit.[a] Secundo similiter egit. Tertio idem agens, et ipse interfectus est; et acies sibi offen- Death of Taillefer.
derunt. Incipit letifera nubes sagittarum. Tonitruum sequitur ictuum. Insilit ignita collisio galearum et ensium. Cum ergo Haraldus totam gentem suam in una acie strictissime locasset, et quasi castellum inde construxisset, impenetrabiles erant Normannis. Docuit igitur dux Willelmus genti suæ fugam simulare; fugientes autem, ad quandam foveam magnam dolose protectam devenerunt: ubi multus numerus eorum corruens oppressus est. Dum igitur Angli insequendo persistunt, acies principalis Normannorum mediam Anglorum catervam pertransiit. Quod videntes qui persequebantur per foveam prædictam, redire compulsi ibidem ex magna parte perierunt. Docuit etiam dux Willelmus viros sagittarios ut non in hostem directe, sed in aera sursum sagittas emitterent, cuneum hostilem sagittis secarent[1]: quod Anglis magno fuit detrimento. Viginti autem equites strenuissimi fidem suam dederunt invicem, quod Anglorum catervam perrumpentes, signum regium, quod vocatur Standard,[b] arriperent. Quod dum facerent, plures eorum occisi sunt: pars autem eorum, via gladiis facta, Standard asportavit. Interea totus imber sagittariorum cecidit

[1] *cecarent*, F.

[a] Henry could not have borrowed this account of Taillefer from Wace, for the *Roman de Rou* was not finished till 1160. Gaimar, in *L'Estorie des Engles*, gives the story in fuller detail; it also occurs in the *Carmen de Bello Hastingensi*, printed in the *Mon. Brit. Hist.*, supposed to be by Wido bishop of Amiens. Taillefer, or "Incisor Ferri," is there described as a mimus or histrio. Malmesbury, who is followed by Wendover, does not name Taillefer, but says (*Gest. Reg.*, iii. § 242), "Tunc cantilena "Rollandi inchoata, ut martium "viri exemplum pugnaturos ac- "cenderet, inclamatoque Dei aux- "ilio, prælium consertum," &c. Jumièges and Poitou are silent.

[b] William of Poitou and the author of the *Carm. Hasting.* both speak of the English "standard."

A.D. 1066. Harold is slain.

circa regem Haraldum: et ipse in oculo percussus[1] corruit. Erumpens[2] autem multitudo equitum regem vulneratum interfecit, et Girdh consulem interfecit,[3] Chr. E. et Lewine consulem fratres ejus cum eo. Sic igitur contritus est exercitus Anglorum; Willelmus vero tanta potitus victoria, susceptus est[3] a Londoniensibus pacifice, et[3] coronatus est apud Westminster ab Aldredo Eborancensi archiepiscopo. Et facta est mutatio dexteræ Excelsi; quam cometa ingens in exordio ejusdem anni designaverat. Unde dictum est:

"Anno milleno sexageno quoque seno
"Anglorum metæ flammas sensere cometæ."

Commissum est autem bellum mense Octobris,[4] in festivitate S. Calixti. Quo in loco rex Willelmus abbatiam nobilem postea pro defunctis suis construxit, et eam digne nomine Belli[a] vocavit.[b]

A.D. 1067. Affairs in the North. Edgar Atheling betroths his sister to Malcolm of Scotland.

§ 31. Willelmus rex anno sequenti mare transiit Chr. E. ducens secum obsides et thesauros. Et eodem anno rediens, divisit terram militibus.[5] Sed Eadgar juvenis cum multis militibus pergens in Scotiam, Melcolm regi Scotorum Margaretam sororem suam desponsavit. Chr. E.

A.D. 1068.

Cum autem rex Roberto comiti consulatum Nordhumbre dedisset, provinciales eum et cum eo d.cccc. homines occiderunt. Tunc Eadgar juvenis cum omni gente Nordhymbre venit Eouerwic, et burgenses cum eo pacem fecerunt. Rex vero adveniens cum exercitu civitate prædata magnam gentis perfidæ stragem dedit. Eadgarus autem reversus est in Scotiam.[c]

A.D. 1069.

§ 32. Willelmi regis anno tertio venerunt duo[d] filii Chr. E.

[1] *ictus*, F.
[2] *Irrumpens*, F.
[3] Om. F.
[4] *Septembri*, F.
[5] *militibus suis*, C^3. S. S^2. F.

[a] The full title of Battle Abbey was "Sancti Martini de Bello." See Malm., *Gest. Pont.*, ii. § 97.

[b] The portion of the *Historia Anglorum* printed in the *Mon. Hist. Brit.* ends at this point.

[c] The words *reversus . . . Scotiam* are erased in H., and a passage inserted, for which see Appendix, A.

[d] *duo filii.* Chr. D. says, "þreo "Swegenes suna."

Chr. E. Swein regis Dacorum et Osbertus[a] consul frater suus cum ccc. puppibus in Humbram. Ad quos Waltef consul et Eadgar juvenis venerunt; junctique simul Daci et Angli castellum de Eouerwic ceperunt, multosque Francorum perimentes, principes eorum vinctos et thesauros ad puppes tulerunt, et inter Usam et Trentam hiemaverunt. Rex autem adveniens Dacos aufugavit, et Anglos illius provinciæ destruxit. At consul Waltef cum rege concordatus est. A.D. 1069. A formidable rising in Yorkshire, aided by the Danes and earl Waltheof, is quelled by William with extreme severity. Waltheof submits to the king.

Chr. E. Anno sequenti, Baldewino Flandriæ consule defuncto, cujus jam filiam rex Willelmus duxerat, successit filius suus Ernulfus, quem rex Willelmus Anglorum et Philippus rex Francorum manutenebant. Robertus[b] autem Frisiensis frater ejus bello confligens occidit Ernulfum consulem et Willelmum filium Osberti de quo prædiximus, et multa millia hominum utriusque regis. A.D. 1070. Affairs of Flanders.

Ord. Vit., iv. 2.

Chr. E. § 33. Willelmi regis anno v., Marcherus et Edwinus consules cæperunt prædari per campos et nemora. Edwinus autem occisus est a suis. Marcherus vero et Hereward[1] et Alwinus episcopus venerunt in Ely. Rex vero ducens exercitum terra et mari, insulam obsedit, pontem paravit, domum belli artificiose construxit, quæ usque hodie perstat; viros prædictos occidit introiens insulam[2] præter Herewardum, qui suos viriliter strenuissimus eduxit. A.D. 1071. Edwin and Morkar outlaws; Edwin killed; William takes Ely and kills many of his opponents; Hereward escapes.

Chr. E. Sequenti anno duxit rex exercitum terra et mari in Scotiam, Melcolm vero rex Scotorum homo suus Chr. E. effectus est, et obsides ei dedit. Anno sequenti rex A.D. 1072. Expeditions to Scotland and into Maine. A.D. 1073.

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[1] C[3]. S. S[2].; *Heruuard*, A[2].; *Heward*, A., et *Hewardum* infra.

[2] *introiens insulam cepit*, C[3]. S[2].; *occidit*, F. A[2]. S.

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[a] *Osbertus.* Osbearn, Chr. E.

[b] *Robertus . . frater ejus.* Chr. E. only says "mæg," kinsman. In translating the word "frater," Henry follows the erroneous account of Ordericus Vitalis, who knows nothing of the short reign of Baldwin VI., from 1067 to 1071; in succession to his father Baldwin V. Ernulf, or Arnulph, was the son of this Baldwin VI., and nephew of Robert the Frisian. Malmesbury (G. R., iii., § 256) states the relationship rightly.

duxit exercitum Anglorum et Francorum in Cenomanniam. Angli vero terram illam destruxerunt, villas comburendo, vineas cedendo, et eam regi subdiderunt.

A.D. 1074. Edgar Atheling gives himself up to William, and is well treated.

Proximo vero anno ivit rex in Normanniam, et Eadgarus juvenis concordatus ei in curia regis diu permansit. Chr. E.

A.D. 1075. Norman plot, to which Waltheof is privy, to drive William out of England. It fails; Waltheof is executed, and the other conspirators dispersed.

§ 34. Willelmi regis anno IX., Radulfus, cui rex consulatum Estangle dederat, regem a regno expellere præcogitavit, consilio Waltef consulis et Rogeri, qui fuit filius Willelmi filii Osberti; cujus sororem consul prædictus duxit, et in ipsis nuptiis hanc proditionem prolocuti sunt. Proceres vero regni ejus[1] viriliter obstiterunt, unde ipse naves introiens apud Norwic recessit in Daciam. Rex autem rediens in Angliam, Rogerum consulem cognatum suum misit in carcerem. Chr. E.

A.D. 1076. Sed Waltef consulem decollari fecit apud Wincestre, et sepultus est apud Crulande.

A.D. 1075. Ceterorum vero qui nuptiis pravis interfuerant, multos fugavit, multos oculis privavit. Radulfus autem consul adducens Cnut filium Swein regis Dacorum, et Hacun consulem, rediit in Angliam cum cc. puppibus. Sed cum non auderent contra regem Willelmum pugnare, transfretaverunt in Flandriam. Chr. E.

Death of Edgitha, widow of Edward the Confessor. Eodem anno Edith regina decessit, et sepulta est juxta Edwardum virum suum apud Westminstre.

A.D. 1076. Anno sequenti rex transfretans obsedit Dol. Britanni autem castellum tenuerunt viriliter, donec rex Franciæ adveniens liberavit eos. Chr. E.

A.D. 1077. Postea vero rex Franciæ et rex Willelmus concordati sunt.

A.D. 1079. Malcolm ravages Northumberland. Rex autem Scotorum Melcolm prædatus est in Nordhymbre usque ad Tine, et prædam maximam multosque homines in vinculis secum reduxit. Chr. E

Battle of Gerberoi. William curses his son. Rex quoque Willelmus seditione militari agens contra Robertum filium suum apud Gerberie, quod est castrum in Francia, equo suo propulsus est; et Willelmus filius ejus[2] vulneratus, et multi ex suis

[1] *ei*, C³. A². S. S². F.

[2] *filius suus*, S². Sav.; *ejus*, C³. F.

Chr. E. occisi. Maledixit autem rex Roberto filio suo.[a] Porro Nordhymbri proditione occiderunt Walkerum episcopum Dunhelme[1] in quodam palatio pacifice statuto juxta Tinam,[b] et c. homines cum eo. A.D. 1080. Walchere, the Norman bishop of Durham, killed in a riot.

Chr. E. § 35. Willelmus rex anno xv. duxit exercitum in Walliam, et eam sibi subdidit. Odonem episcopum fratrem suum postea in carcerem posuit. His transactis, regina Matildis obiit. Eo tempore cepit rex ab unaquaque hida Angliæ vi. solidos. Turstanus vero abbas Glastingebiri turpe scelus commisit. Tres namque monachos sub altari positos occidi fecit, et xviii. vulnerati, ita quod sanguis eorum cucurrit ab altari super gradus, et a gradibus super aream.[2] A.D. 1081. A.D. 1082. Death of queen Matilda. A.D. 1083. Bloody affray at Glastonbury abbey.

Chr. E. § 36. Willelmus rex anno xviii., quo in anno Urbanus effectus est papa Romanus, rediit a Normannia in Angliam, cum tanto exercitu, Francorum, Normannorum, Britannorum, quod mirum videbatur, quomodo hæc terra pascere posset eos. Didicerat enim, fama crebrescente, quod rex Daciæ Cnut et Robertus Frisiensis consul Flandriæ volebant ditioni suæ Angliam Martis aggressibus[3] supponere. Cum autem apparatus eorum Deo volente defecisset, remisit magnas partes exercituum ad natale solum. Misit autem de hinc rex potentissimus justitiarios suos per unamquamque scyram, id est, provinciam Angliæ, et inquirere fecit per jusjurandum quot hidæ, id est, jugera uni aratro sufficientia per annum, essent in unaquaque villa, et quot animalia. Fecit etiam inquiri quid unaquæque urbs, castellum, vicus, villa, flumen, palus, silva redderet per annum. Hæc autem omnia in cartis scripta delata sunt ad regem, et in[4] thesauros reposita usque hodie servantur. Eodem anno Mauricius effectus est A.D. 1085. The king comes over from Normandy with a large army. Royal commission of inquiry, leading to the compilation of the Domesday Book.

[1] *Dunelmie*, S[2].
[2] Codd. fere omnes; *arenam*, Sav.; *aeram*, H.
[3] Codd.; *gressibus*, Sav.
[4] *inter*, A[2]. S. S[2]. F.

[a] For this malediction, uttered by the Conqueror on his son after Gerberoi, Henry appears to be the sole authority. Compare, however, Malmesbury, *G. R.*, iv. 2.
[b] *Tinam*, a mistake for *Wire*

A.D. 1085. Maurice bishop of London. episcopus Lundoniæ, qui templum maximum[a] quod necdum perfectum est incepit.

A.D. 1086. § 37. Willelmus rex fortis anno XIX. regni sui, cum Chr. E. de more tenuisset curiam suam in Natali apud Gloucestre, ad Pascha apud Wincestre, ad Pentecosten apud Londoniam, Henricum filium suum juniorem virilibus induit armis. Deinde accipiens hominium omnium[1] terrariorum Angliæ cujuscunque feudi essent, juramentum etiam fidelitatis recipere non distulit. Postea rex adquisitis magni thesauri copiis super quoscunque aliquam causam invenire poterat, sive juste sive injuste ivit in Normanniam.

All landowners in England obliged to do homage to the king, and take the oath of fealty.

A.D. 1087. The subjugation of England being now complete, § 38. Anno vicesimo primo regni Willelmi regis, cum jam justam Domini voluntatem super Anglorum gentem Normanni complessent, nec jam vix aliquis princeps de progenie Anglorum esset in Anglia, sed omnes ad servitutem et ad mœrorem redacti essent, ita etiam ut Anglicum vocari esset opprobrio, hujus auctor vindictæ Willelmus vitam terminavit. Elegerat enim Deus Normannos ad Anglorum gentem exterminandam, quia prærogativa sævitiæ singularis omnibus populis viderat eos præminere. Natura siquidem eorum est ut, cum hostes suos adeo depresserint, ut adjicere non possint, ipsi se deprimant, et se terrasque suas in pauperiem et vastitatem redigant; semperque Normannorum domini, cum hostes contriverint, cum crudeliter non agere nequeant, suos etiam hostiliter conterunt. Quod scilicet[2] in Normannia et Anglia, Apulia, Calabria, Sicilia, et Antiochia, terris[3] quas eis Deus subjecit, magis magisque apparet.[4] In Anglia igi- Chr. E. tur injusta telonea et pessimæ consuetudines his temporibus pullulaverunt. Principes omnes auri et argenti cupiditate cæcati adeo erant, ut illud de eis vere

William dies.

The Norman character notorious for cruelty and pugnacity.

Unjust taxes, iniquitous customs, and corrupt administration were

[1] C[3]. A[2]. S[2].; *omnium hominum*, A., omisso *hominium*.
[2] *liquide*, S[2]. Sav.
[3] *terris optimis*, S. S[2]. A[2]. F[4].
[4] S. F. S[2].; *appararet*, A.

[a] According to the Peterborough Chronicle (E.) this minster was burnt down in 1087.

Juv. Sat. xiv. 208 (ex Ennio). Chr. E.

dici potuisset,[1] Unde habeat nemo quærit, sed oportet habere. Quanto magis loquebantur de recto, tanto major fiebat injuria. Qui justitiarii vocabantur, caput erant omnis injustitiæ. Vicecomites et præpositi, quorum erat officium justitia et judicium, furibus et raptoribus atrociores erant, et omnibus sævissimis sæviores. Rex ipse cum ad firmam terras suas, quanto carius poterat, dedisset, alii magis offerenti, et deinde, alii, semper negligens pactum, et ad majora studens, dabat. Nec erat cura quanta injuria pauperibus a præpositis fieret. In hoc igitur anno pestes infirmitatis et famis Angliæ Deus inmisit, ut qui febribus evaderet fame moreretur. Inmisit etiam tempestates et tonitrua, quibus multos hominum occidit, nec animalibus nec pecori pepercit.[2] Iverat autem hoc anno rex Willelmus in Franciam, prædavitque regnum regis Philippi, et multos suorum neci dedit. Combussit quoque castrum nobile quod vocatur Maante,[3] et omnes ecclesias quæ ibi inerant, plebemque multam, et duos anachoritas sanctos igni tradidit. Quibus de causis Deus irritatus, regem cum inde veniret[4] infirmitati, postea morti concessit. De cujus regis potentissimi vita bona perstringenda sunt et mala, ut a bonis sumantur exempla, et a malis discatur cautela.

A.D. 1087. the rule of his government.

Plagues and calamities of all kinds afflicted the people during his reign.

William's last raid into France.

He burns Mantes, with all the churches there, and two holy anchorites. On his return he sickens and dies.

§ 39. Willelmus omnibus Normanniæ consulibus fortior fuit, omnibus Anglorum regibus potentior fuit, omnibus prædecessoribus suis laude dignior fuit. Erat autem sapiens sed astutus, locuples sed cupidus, gloriosus[5] sed famæ deditus. Erat humilis Deo servientibus, durus sibi resistentibus. Posuerat namque consules et principes in carcerem; episcopos et abbates possessionibus suis privaverat; fratri proprio non pepercerat; nec erat qui resisteret. Auferebat potentissimis etiam auri et argenti millia, ad castella solus

His character.

Chr. E.

He was gentle to the clergy, but stern to all that resisted his will.

[1] *posset*, C³. S. S².
[2] S².; *peperit*, A.
[3] C³. F. A². S.; *Naante*, A.; *Anaante*, S².
[4] *rediret*, A². S². F.
[5] A². S².; *gloriose*, A.

A.D. 1087. His rapacity. His cruelty in enforcing the forest laws. The New Forest. His intolerable pride. His power and possessions. Maintains internal order. He founded Battle abbey, and the monastery at Caen, in the church of which he was buried. His queen founded a nunnery at Caen.

omnes fatigabat construenda. Si cervum caperent Chr. E. aut aprum, oculos eis evellebat, nec erat qui obmurmuraret. Amavit autem feras, tanquam pater esset earum; unde in silvis venationum quæ vocantur Novesforest[1] ecclesias et villas eradicari, gentem extirpari, et a feris fecit inhabitari. Cum autem raperet suis sua, non pro aliqua necessitate sed præ nimia cupiditate, in intimis cordium amaricabantur, et tabescebant. Ipse vero nihili pendebat iras eorum; sed oportebat omnibus[2] obsequi regis nutui, si amore ejus vel pecunia[3] vel terris vel vita vellent perfrui. Heu quanto dolore plangendum est, quod aliquis hominum, cum cinis et vermis sit, adeo superbiat, ut super omnes se solum mortis oblitus extollat. Regi quidem præfato Normannia hæreditarie provenerat, Cenomanniam armis adquisierat, Britanniam sibi acclinem fecerat. Super Angliam solus totam regnaverat, ita quod nec ibi una sola hida inerat, de qua nesciret cujus esset, et quid valeret. Scotiam quoque sibi subjugaverat, Walliamque reverendus in suam acceperat. Pacis autem tantus auctor fuerat, quod puella auro onusta[a] regnum Angliæ pertransire posset impune. Si aliquis quempiam quacunque de causa peremisset, capitali subjacebat sententiæ; si aliquam[4] vi oppressisset, genitalibus privabatur armis. Construxit autem abbatiam Belli, de qua dictum[5] est, et illam apud Cahom[6] in Normannia, in qua ipse sepultus est. Uxor vero sua Matildis abbatiam sanctimonialium ibidem construxit, in qua et ipsa sepulta est. Quorum animabus misereatur, qui solus post mortem medetur. Vos igitur

[1] *Noveforest*, F. S².
[2] *omnes*, A². S.; *omnibus*, S². F.
[3] A². S².; *pecuniam*, A.
[4] *aliquem*, Sav., absurdè.
[5] *predictum*, S².
[6] A². S.; *Caham*, A. F.; *Chaam*, S².

[a] *puella auro onusta*. This is Henry's embellishment; what the chronicle says is, that "an man þe "him sylf aht wære," a man that were himself of any account, might fare unharmed across the kingdom with his bosom full of gold.

Chr. E.

qui legitis, et viri tanti virtutes et vitia videtis, bona sequentes, et a malis declinantes, pergite per viam directam, quæ ducit ad vitam perfectam. A.D. 1087.

§ 40. Eodem anno pagani super Christianos in Hispania prædati sunt, et partes regni magnas occupaverunt. Amphos[a] vero rex Christianus, accepto circumquaque a Christianis auxilio, resurgens paganos occidit, fugavit, terræ ablatæ damna reparavit. Accidit etiam in Dacia quod Daci, nunquam antea in dominum fide læsi, Cnut regem suum in monasterio quodam[b] proditione peremerunt. Affairs in Spain and Denmark.

Willelmus vero rex Roberto filio suo primogenito dimiserat Normanniam, Willelmo secundo filio ejus regnum Angliæ, Henrico tertio thesauri copiam. Pro quo cum Robertus partem ei Normanniæ vendidisset, thesauro habito terram ei abstulit. Quæ res valde Deo displicuit, sed vindictam in tempora distulit. Willelmus vero pergens apud Wincestre thesaurum patris sui secundum imperium ejus divisit. Erant autem in thesauro illo lx. M. libræ argenti, excepto auro et gemmis, et vasis et palliis. Deditque inde quibusdam ecclesiis x. marcas auri, quibusdam sex, et unicuique ecclesiæ villæ v. solidos, et misit in unumquemque comitatum c. libras divisum pauperibus. Præcepto quoque patris sui omnes vinctos a vinculis solvit. The Conqueror bequeathed Normandy to Robert, England to William, and a sum of money to Henry. William distributes money to churches and the poor.

Rex igitur novus curiam suam ad Natale tenuit apud Londoniam. In qua adfuerunt Lamfrancus archiepiscopus, qui eum sacraverat in regem, et Thomas episcopus Eboracensis, et Mauricius Londoniensis, et Walkelinus Wintoniensis, et Gaufridus episcopus Exceastre, et Wlnod episcopus sanctus Wireceastre, et Willelmus Tedforde, et Robertus Ceastre, et Willelmus Dunhelme, et Odo episcopus Baiocensis, justitiarius et He holds his first court in London; primate Lanfranc and many bishops attend it.

[a] Alfonsus VI. In the *Chronicon Turonense* (Bouquet, xii. 464) the name appears as "Amphusus." Other forms are, "Andefonsus," "Aldefonsus," "Hildefonsus."

[b] Canute IV. was assassinated in the monastery of St. Alban, at Odensee in the island of Funen. He was the great nephew of Canute the Great.

A.D. 1087. princeps totius Angliæ, et Remigius episcopus Lin- Chr. E.
colliensis, de quo pauca tangere res exigit.

Remigius removes his see from Dorchester on the Thames to Lincoln.

§ 41. Remigio igitur, qui monachus fuerat apud Fescamb, dederat rex Dorecestriæ episcopatum, quæ sita est super Tamasim. Cum autem episcopatus ille major omnibus Angliæ a Tamasi [1] usque ad Hymbram duraret, molestum visum est episcopo quod in ipso termino episcopatus sedes esset episcopalis. Displicebat Malm. *Gesta Pont.*, iv. § 177.
etiam ei, quod urbs illa modica erat, cum in eodem episcopatu civitas clarissima Lincolliæ dignior sede

He commences to build a cathedral on the castle hill.

episcopali videretur. Mercatis igitur prædiis, in ipso vertice urbis juxta castellum turribus fortissimis eminens, in loco forti fortem, pulchro pulchram, virgini virginum construxit ecclesiam; quæ [2] et grata esset Deo servientibus, et, ut pro tempore oportebat, invincibilis hostibus. Provinciam tamen Lindisse archiepiscopus Eboracensis calumpniabatur,[a] ex antiqua temporum serie. Remigius vero nichili ducens impetitionem ejus, non segniter [3] opus inceptum peregit; peractumque clericis doctrina et moribus approbatissimis decoravit.[4] Erat siquidem statura parvus, sed corde magnus, colore fuscus, sed operibus venustus. De regia quidem proditione fuerat impetitus,[b] sed famulus ejus, ferri igniti judicio dominum purgans, regio restituit amori, et maculam pontificali detersit de-

The archbishop of York claims Lindsey as belonging to his province.

A personal sketch of bishop Remigius.

[1] S. F. S^2.; *Thamasi*, A^2.; *Tamasim*, A.
[2] S. S^2.; *quod*, A.
[3] A^2. S^2.; *signiter*, A.
[4] A^2. S^2.; *decororavit*, A.

[a] This claim of the metropolitan see of York had, according to Malmesbury (*Gest. Pont.*, i. § 42), been disposed of by the wisdom and forbearance of Lanfranc in 1071, when archbishop Thomas agreed to take the Humber as the southern limit of his province. But, if we may trust Florence, he revived the claim in 1092, just when Remigius was about to consecrate his cathedral. Florence adds that William II., on receiving a bribe from Remigius, authorised the consecration.

[b] Remigius, who was made bishop of Dorchester in 1067, was perhaps one of the "plures episcopi et abbates," who, according to Wendover, were believed to be concerned in Ralph de Guader's conspiracy in 1074.

cori. Hoc tempore, hoc auctore, his causis, incepta est ecclesia moderna Lincolliensis. A.D. 1087.

§ 42. Verum jam rebus usque ad tempora nostra perductis, novis novus liber est donandus. Si autem et hic prædictorum recapitulatio elucidans requiratur, nec ob ista, cum pauca sint, lectori molestus apparebo. Ecce igitur speculum de regibus libri terminati. Summary of the kings' reigns described in this book, from Ethelred II. to the Conqueror.

Adelred regnavit super universos fines Angliæ xxxvii. annis, semper cum labore.

Edmundus juvenum fortissimus regnavit i. annum, et proditione occisus est.

Cnut omnium prædecessorum suorum maximus regnavit gloriose xx. annis.

Haraldus filius ejus regnavit iiii. annis et xvi. ebdomadis.

Hardecnut munificus, regis Cnut filius, cum regnasset ii. annis, x. diebus minus, morte præreptus est.

Edwardus, rex bonus et pacificus, regnavit in pace, xxiiii. annis.

Haraldus rex perjurus uno anno, et tamen non pleno, quem [1] propria perdidit injustitia.

Willelmus, omnium prædictorum summus, xxi. anno glorifice splenduit. De quo dictum est,

" Cesariem, Cesar, tibi si natura negavit,
" Hanc, Willelme, tibi, stella cometa dedit."

Explicit liber sextus.

Incipit liber vii. De Regno Normannorum.[a]

§ 1. Hactenus de his quæ vel in libris veterum legendo repperimus, vel fama vulgante percepimus, tractatum est. Nunc autem de his quæ vel ipsi vidimus,

[1] A^2. F. S^2.; *que*, A.

[a] This opening is from C^3.

vel ab his qui viderant audivimus, pertractandum est. Declaratum quidem constat, quomodo Dominus salutem et honorem genti Anglorum pro meritis abstulerit, et jam populum non esse jusserit. Patebit a modo quomodo et ipsos Normannos vindices quidem suos variis cladibus afficere inceperit.[1] Omnes namque nobiliores procerum in Willelmum juniorem non sine perjurio bella moventes, et Robertum fratrem suum in regnum asciscentes, suis quique provinciis debacchati[2] sunt. Odo præsul Baiocensis, princeps et moderator Angliæ, in Cantia seditionem exordiens, regis et archiepiscopi villas invasit et combussit. Rogerus consul de Moretuil circa Pevenssei[3] idem incepit. Galfridus episcopus prodiens a Brigestou urbem Bathe et Berkelai et circumjacentia destruxit. Rogerus in castello Norwic sceleris exercitium per Est-angle[4] non segnius inchoavit. Hugo in provincia Legecestriæ et Hamtoniæ nihil mitius egit. Willelmus episcopus Dunhelmiæ in finitimis[5] similia perpetravit. Principes vero Herefordescyre et Salopscyre prædantes combusserunt cum Walensibus provinciam Wireceastre, usque ad portas urbis. Cum autem templum et castellum assilire pararent, Wlstanus episcopus sanctus quemdam amicum familiarem summis in necessitatibus compellavit, Deum videlicet excelsum. Cujus ope, coram altari jacens in oratione, paucis militibus emissis v. millia[a] hostium vel occidit vel cepit; cæteros vero mirabiliter fugavit. Rex autem, congregato Anglorum populo, reddidit venatus et nemora, legesque promisit exoptabiles. Perrexit igitur ad castellum Tunebricge, unde Gile-

A.D. 1088. Chr. E.

Rising of the Norman nobles against William Rufus.

Assault on Worcester.

The assailants discomfited through the prayer of St. Wulstan.

[1] C[3]. A[2].; *incepit*, A.
[2] *debacati*, A. F. C[3].
[3] *Pevense*, C[3]. F.
[4] C[3].; *Estanglie*, A.
[5] F. A[2].; *infinittimis*, C[3].; *infinitissimis*, A.

[a] Henry multiplies by ten the "five hundred" men who, according to Florence and the chronicles, fell in the fruitless attack on Worcester.

Chr. E. bertus ei rebellabat. Cum autem regalis exercitus jam castellum confringeret,[1] cum rege pacificatus est. Rex inde progrediens ad Pevenesei obsedit ibi Odonem episcopum et Rogerum consulem vi. ebdomadis.[2] Interea dux Robertus Normanniæ, Angliam festinans adire, et auxilio prædictorum obtinere, præmisit exercitus partem in auxilium suorum, disponens cum copiis ingentibus eos prosequi. Anglici vero mare custodientes occiderunt et submerserunt ex illis innumerabiles. Igitur qui supererant in Pevenesei, deficiente cibo, castrum regi reddiderunt. Odo siquidem episcopus juravit se ab Anglia recessurum et castellum Roueceastrie redditurum. Cum autem ut illud redderet cum regis hominibus eo venisset, Eustachius consul et cæteri proceres qui urbi inerant fallacia ipsius episcopum regisque ministros ceperunt, et in carcerem retruserunt. Quibus rex auditis. Roveceastriam obsedit, donec firmitas reddita est ei, et episcopus Odo non rediturus mare transiit. Mittens quoque rex exercitum Dunhelmiæ obsedit urbem, donec reddita est ei. Episcopus vero multique proditorum propulsi sunt in exilium. Rex vero terras infidelium fidelibus suis distribuit. Lanfrancus[3] archiepiscopus, doctor luculentus clericorum, et pater dulcissimus monachorum, a rebus transitoriis anno sequente transiit. Quo in anno terræmotus fuit terribilis.

A.D. 1088.

Duke Robert unable to effect a landing.

The insurrection is quelled, and bishop Odo banished.

A.D. 1089. Death of archbishop Lanfranc.

Chr. E. § 2. Junior Willelmus anno tertio regni sui ulcisci paratus injurias quas ei frater suus ingesserat, muneribus datis adquisivit sibi castellum Sancti Walerici et Albemarle. Qui[4] milites suos mittens, prædari et Chr. E. comburere terram fraternam cœpit. Anno vero sequenti rex sequens eos concordiam cum fratre suo fecit, eo tamen pacto ut castra illa, quæ frater ab illo adqui-

A.D. 1090.

A.D. 1091. Treaty between William and Robert.

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[1] *constringeret*, Sav.

[2] *per sex ebdomadas*, C³. F.

[3] A².; *Lamfrancus*, C³. F.; *Lamfracus*, A.

[4] *Quo*, S².

A.D. 1091. sierat, regi remanerent; rex autem adjuvaret eum ad omnia quæ pater suus habuerat conquirenda. Statuerunt etiam, si quis eorum moreretur prior altero sine filio, quod alter fieret hæres illius. Hoc pactum juraverunt[1] xii. principes vice regis, xii. vice ducis. Interea Melcolm rex Scotorum prædatum veniens in Angliam validissime vexavit eam. Venientes igitur in Angliam rex et cum eo Robertus frater suus, direxerunt acies in Scotiam. Itaque Melcolm nimio timore perstrictus homo regis effectus est, et juramento fidelitatis ei subjectus. Robertus autem dux cum fratre suo diu perendinans, cum plus ficti amoris quam veri circa eum reperisset, transfretavit ad propria. Succedente anno rex reædificavit civitatem Carleol, et ex australibus Angliæ partibus illuc habitatores transmisit. Remigius vero præsul, cum ecclesiam Lincolniensem jam perfectam dedicaturus esset, una ante hoc die languore correptus expiravit.

Malcolm does homage to William.

A.D. 1092. Carlisle rebuilt. Chr. E.

Death of bishop Remigius. Malm., *Gesta Pont.*, iv. § 177.

A.D. 1093. Anselm nominated to the primacy. § 3. Junior Willelmus in Quadragesima infirmatus est apud Glouceastre, vi. anno regni sui; deditque archiepiscopatum Cantuariæ Anselmo abbati, viro sancto et venerabili. Roberto quoque cognomento Bloet[2] cancellario suo, dedit episcopatum Lincoliæ, quo non erat alter forma venustior, mente serenior, affatu dulcior.[a] Promisit quoque rex se pravas leges emendaturum, et in domo Domini pacem positurum. Sed ex quo sanus fuit, pœnituit eum, et solito pejor effectus est. Condolens igitur quod episcopatum Lincolliæ non vendiderat, cum archiepiscopo Eboracensi calumpniatus est Robertum episcopum, quod urbs Lincolliæ et provincia Lindisse archiepiscopo eidem subjacere debuissent. Nec potuit causa terminari, donec Robertus v. M. libras regi pro

Chr. E.

Affairs of the see of Lincoln.

[1] C³. A². ; *juraverant*, A.

[2] C³. F. A². ; *Bluet*, A.

[a] See the remarks on bishop Bloet in the second section of the author's *De Contemptu Mundi*, and comp. Malmesbury's account of him, *Gest. Pont.*, iii. § 177.

libertate ecclesiæ suæ pepigerit; quod regi quidem si- A.D. 1093.
Chr. E. moniæ, præsuli vero justitiæ deputatum est. Eodem Death of Malcolm, king of
anno Melcolm rex Scotiæ, in Angliam [1] prædans, ex Scotland.
improviso est interceptus et interfectus, et Eadwardus
filius suus, hæres, si viveret, ejus. Quod ut audivit
Margareta regina, duplici contritione anxiata est in
anima usque ad mortem; pergensque ad ecclesiam con-
fessionem et communionem recepit, et Domino precibus and of queen Mar-
se commendans animam reddidit. Scoti vero elegerunt garet.
Duvenal fratrem Melcolm in regem. Sed Dunecan
filius Melcolmi regis, qui erat obses in curia regis
Willelmi, auxilio ejusdem regis superveniens avunculum
Chr. E. suum fugavit, et susceptus est in regem. Anno vero A.D. 1094.
sequenti consilio ejusdem Duvenal Scotti regem suum
Dunecan insidiantes occiderunt.

§ 4. Junior Willelmus septimo anno regni sui, pro- A fresh quarrel between William and Robert.
vocatus a fratre suo quod jusjurandum non servasset,
transfretavit in Normanniam. Cum ergo fratres simul
venissent, juratores [a] omnem culpam regi imposuerunt.
Rex vero ferus ea negligens, et iracunde discedens,
castellum Bures invasit et cepit. E contra dux castellum
Argentes cepit, et in eo consulem regis, nomine Rogerum
Pictavensem, et cum eo Dcc. milites, et postea castrum
Hulme. Fecit interim rex summoneri xx. M. peditum
Anglicorum, ut venirent in Normanniam. Cum autem
ad mare venissent, rex ab unoquoque eorum pecuniam
victualem, scilicet x. solidos, accipiens, eos domum re-
misit. Dux vero Robertus adduxit Philippum regem
Francorum secum, et exercitum copiosum, ut obsiderent
regem Willelmum apud Ou.[2] Ingenio autem et pecunia
regis Willelmi rex Francorum reversus est; et sic totus
exercitus pecuniæ tenebris obnubilatus evanuit. Rex

[1] *Anglia*, F. Sav. | [2] *Hou*, S[2].

[a] *juratores*. The twenty-four signataries of the treaty between the brothers. See § 2.

A.D. 1094. vero Willelmus mandavit Henrico fratri suo apud Damfrunt, ut esset in Natali contra eum in Anglia. Henricus ergo in Natali fuit apud Londoniam; rex
A.D. 1095. vero apud Witsand, unde appulit Doroberniam. Anno Chr. E. vero sequenti misit Henricum fratrem suum in Normanniam cum pecunia multa, ut eam loco regis diutinis invasionibus[1] expugnaret.

Rebellion of Robert Mowbray. Cum autem Robertus consul Nordhymbre in superbiam elatus, quia regem Scottorum straverat, curiam regis adire repudiaret, promovit rex exercitum in Nordhymbre; statimque in quadam firmitate quæ vocatur Novum Castellum, omnes meliores consulis proceres[2] cepit. Inde vero castellum Tinemuthe conquisivit, et
He is besieged by the king in Bamborough castle, fratrem consulis in eo. Post hæc obsedit consulem ad Bebanburh;[3] quod cum armis inexpugnabile videret, paravit ante illud castellum aliud quod appellavit Malveisin; in quo partem relinquens exercitus recessit. Quadam vero nocte, cum consul recessisset a Babanburh, secutus est eum regalis exercitus, usque in Tinemuthan;
and made prisoner. ubi cum se defendere conaretur, nec posset, vulneratus est, et captus apud Windlesores[4] in carcere positus. Ergo redditum est castrum regi Bebanburh; fautores
A.D. 1096. vero consulis male pacati sunt. Nam Willelmus de Ou[5] oculis privatus est; Odo consul Campaniæ, cæte-
A.D. 1095. Expedition into Wales. rique complures exhæreditati sunt. Eodem anno rex impiger vexilla direxit in Walliam; causa autem hæc est. Anno præterito multos Francorum occiderant, et procerum firmitates confregerant, et ferro et igne finitimos invaserant. Anno etiam præsenti castellum Mungumeri straverant, et inhabitantes necaverant. Rex igitur pertransiens omnes fines Walliæ, cum in diversoriis montium et silvarum eos persequi non posset, parum vel nihil proficiens reversus est. Eo tempore

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[1] C[3]. A[2].; *invasionis*, A.
[2] *consules et proceres*, Sav.
[3] S. S[2].; *Babanburh*, A.
[4] *et apud Wilesores*, C[3].
[5] *Hou*, S[2].

stellæ visæ sunt de cœlo cadere, ita spissæ quod numerari non poterant.

Chr. E. § 5. Anno milleno[1] xcvi. facta est motio Jerosolimitana[a] prædicatione Urbani papæ. Robertus igitur dux Normanniæ illuc proficiscens, posuit Normanniam in vadimonium fratri suo regi Willelmo. Ivit autem cum eo Robertus dux Flandriæ, et Eustachius consul Buloniæ. Iverunt et ex alia parte dux Godefridus, et consul de Monte Baldewinus, et alius Baldewinus,[2] reges Jerusalem futuri. Iverunt quoque ex tertia parte comes de Sancto Egidio Raimundus, et episcopus Podiensis. Quis autem taceat Hugonem Magnum, fratrem regis Francorum, et Stephanum comitem Blesis? Quis non memoret Buamundum, et nepotem ejus Tancredum. Hoc est miraculum Domini magnum temporibus nostris factum, sæculis omnibus inauditum, ut tam diversæ gentes, tam formosi[3] proceres, relictis possessionibus splendidis, uxoribus et filiis, omnes una mente loca innotissima[4] morte spreta petierint.[5] Ob cujus rei magnitudinem digrediendi veniam a lectore postulo; nec enim si voluero, tam miranda Dei magnalia tacere vel coactus potero, cum nec absit causa, Normannorum ducis occasio.

A.D. 1096. The first crusade. Names of the great men who took part in it.

The author proposes to insert a description of it, the digression being justified by the share which the Norman duke had in it.

6. Alexi igitur apud Constantinopolim imperante, cuncti prædicti proceres consensu imperatoris sive volentis sive obedientis ibidem congregati sunt. Pertranseuntesque mare strictissimum, quod olim Hellespontiacum, nunc brachium Sancti Georgii vocatur, Niceam urbem, quæ caput est Romaniæ, obsederunt. Ad portam igitur orientalem consederat dux Norman-

Siege of Nicæa.

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[1] *millesimo*, C³. F.
[2] C³. A². in marg.; om. A.
[3] *tot fortissimi*, C³. A². F.
[4] *ignotissima*, A².
[5] C³. F.; stetit autem ab initio *petierunt* in C³., quæ est lectio A. et A².

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[a] Respecting the source or sources whence Henry drew his knowledge respecting the first crusade, see Introd., § 38.

A.D. 1097. niæ Robertus, juxta quem consul Flandriæ; ad portam borealem dux Buamundus, juxta quem Tancredus; ad occidentalem dux Godefridus, juxta quem Podiensis episcopus. Turba autem innumerabilis erat, Angliæ, Normanniæ, Britanniæ, Aquitaniæ,[1] Hispaniæ, Provinciæ, Franciæ, Flandriæ, Daciæ, Saxoniæ, Alemanniæ, Italiæ, Greciæ, et regionum multarum. Non perlustraverunt radii solares a prima sui creatione tantam tam præclaram militiam, tam verendam, tam numerosam turbam; tot et tam bellicosos duces. Cesset Troia, cessent Thebæ, duces et principes destructionis suæ, ut excusentur, nominare. Hic affuerunt electissimi omnium temporum filii fulgentes Occidentis, omnes signo crucis insigniti, omnes in regnis suis reliquorum fortissimi. Igitur in die Ascensionis Domini lituis undique concinentibus urbs aggressa est. Repletur cœlum clamoribus, nigrescit aer sagittis, mugit terra pro pulsibus, resonant aquæ stridoribus, venitur ad murum, fossoribus res agitur. Paganis non sagittæ, non tela, non ligna, non lapides, non fragmenta, non moles, non aqua, non ignis, non ars, non vires, non prosunt missilia amentata. Cum ecce Turcorum exercitus acie terribilis ordinata, ex australi regione vexillis erectis apparuit. Quibus consul Reimundus et Podiensis episcopus, divina virtute protecti et armis terrenis fulgidi, cum suo lætantes[2] occurrunt exercitu. Dum igitur nostri vehementer irruunt in illos, horrore insperato liquefacti Domino jubente dissolvuntur. Magna quidem pars fugientium capitibus minorata[3] est, quæ fundis in urbem projecta non modicum contulerunt inhabitantibus tremorem. Igitur inæstimabiliter exterriti nostris urbem reddunt; nostri vero, secundum quod pepigerant, imperatori.

Magnificent array before its walls.

The city surrenders.

The crusaders march

§ 7. Cum ergo per vii. ebdomadas et iii. dies ibi

[1] C[3]. A[2].; *Equitanie*, A. F.
[2] C[3]. A[2].; *lentates*, A.
[3] A[2]. F.; *minora*, A.

morati fuissent, iter ad Antiochiam dirigunt. Contigit autem quod in die tertia in duo divideretur exercitus. In uno quidem principes erant, dux Normannorum Robertus, Buamundus, Ricardus de Principatu, Tancredus, Everardus de Puisat, Acardus de Monte Merloy, et plures alii. Hos igitur circumdederunt Parthorum,[1] qui modo Turci vocantur, et Persarum, et Publicanorum et Medorum, et Ciliciensium,[2] et Sarracenorum, et Angulanorum,[3] ccc. et lx. M. extra Arabes, quorum non erat numerus. Mittitur ergo nuntius a prædictis principibus ad alium exercitum. Interim vero bellum[4] geritur horrendum. Dum namque Turci, et Persæ, et Medi mortem immittunt sagittis, Cilicienses vero et Angulani telis, Sarraceni quidem et Arabes lanceis, sed Publicani clavis ferratis et gladiis, prostrati sunt vehementer Christiani. Equi namque eorum, insolitum non ferentes clamorem, et buccinarum clangorem, et ictus taburciorum, calcaribus non obtemperabant. Nostrates quoque tanto stridore percussi, quo essent ignorabant. Dum igitur jam fugam Christicolæ vel meditarentur vel inciperent, occurrit Robertus dux Normanniæ, clamans, "Quo, milites, quo fugitis? Equi "eorum velociores nostris sunt; fuga non est præsidio: "hic potius moriendum est; mecum sentite, me sequi-"mini." Dixerat, et in quemdam Paganorum regem lanceæ direxit aciem, quæ lignum et æs, et corpus æque diffidit, stravitque in momento secundum et tertium. Igitur Tancredus impiger et Buamundus belliger, et Ricardus de Principatu, et Robertus de Ansa, dux et miles fortissimus, non segnius indulgent ictibus. Redit animus nostris, pugna committitur gravissima, et horrende prolixa; cum ecce Hugo Magnus et Anselmus de Ripemunt,[5] cum c. tantum

A.D. 1097. towards Antioch.

Battle of Dorylæum.

The Christians saved from defeat by the valour of duke Robert.

Arrival of Hugh the Great and Anselm of Ribemont.

[1] C[3]. F.; *Partorum*, A.; *Pathorum*, A[2].
[2] *Ciliciencium*, F. A[2].
[3] *Augulanorum*, S[2].
[4] C[3]. A[2].; *iterum vero bello*, A.
[5] *Ribemunt*, F. S[2].; *Ripemund*, S.

A.D. 1097. militibus alium prævolantes[1] exercitum, defessos Paganos recentes findunt. Erat namque Hugonis lancea quasi fulmen advolans, gladius Anselmi quasi flamma dividua. Tunc duo principes nostrorum cæsi sunt, dum Arabum quanto plures cæduntur, tanto plures ingruunt. Willelmus frater Tancredi, dum regem lancea transfigit, lancea regis ejusdem transfigitur. Godefridus quoque de Monte Scabioso, dum caput Arabis amputat, sagitta Parthi corpus perforatur, lorica calefacta jam non resistente. Pondus et numerum hostium jam Franci ultra perferre nequibant; cum ecce ex adverso silva vexillorum alterius exercitus apparuit. Cum autem bellum durasset usque in horam nonam, innumeri in primo exercitu occisi sunt; nullusque eorum evasisset nisi alius cœtus supervenisset. Nec quoquam postea tempore Pagani tam sedulo pugnavere.

The battle rages till the afternoon.

Godfrey de Bouillon arrives on the field.

§ 8. Exercitus autem supervenientis prima Godefridi acies procedebat; ad dexteram ejus Baldwinus uterque aciem dirigebat; ad sinistram vero consul Stephanus, et Usuardus[2] de Nulsione.[3] Aciem quidem Baldewini a longe sequebatur Raimundus consul cum suis, aciem vero Stephani Robertus validissimus consul Flandriæ cum suis; sed aciem Godefridi sequebatur acies procerum, et turba absque numero. Episcopus vero Podiensis ex alio monte cum exercitu invictissimo apparuit. Pugnantes igitur Pagani, dum tot hostes ex insperato prospiciunt, quasi cœlum ruiturum super eos esset, animis delicuerunt, et fugæ indulserunt, cum Solimanno duce suo. Christiani autem victoria licet damnosa et spoliis innumeris potiti sunt, primo die Julii.

Complete defeat of the Saracens, July 1st, 1097.

The Crusaders reach Tarsus,

§ 9. Porro Franci continuantes propositum Antiochiæ petendæ, venerunt ad Erachiam. Inde ad Tarsum, quæ subdita est Baldewino mirifico comiti. Athena[4] vero et Manustra subditæ sunt Tancredo, viro for-

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[1] C[3]. A[2].; *prevolans*, A.
[2] *Osuardus*, S[2].
[3] *Mulsione*, C[3]. S[3].
[4] *Atena*, S. S[2]. F.

tissimo. Dux autem nobilissimus Normannorum dedit quamdam civitatem Turcorum Simeoni. Raimundus vero consul magnus et Buamundus lux belli dederunt aliam civitatem Petro de Alpibus. Inde pervenerunt Christiani usque ad Coxan, quæ civitas subdita est eis. Princeps autem quidam Petrus de Rosa cepit Rusam et plurima castra. Gens vero Christianorum pervenit Marasim, quæ se dedit eis. Inde pervenerunt ad pontem ferreum. Postea Antiochiam, quæ caput est Syriæ, obsederunt xii^mo. kalendas Novembris. Audiens vero Buamundus quod Turci essent in castro congregati quod vocatur Areth, ivit cum exercitu suo pugnatum contra eos; multosque cum paucis, Deo volente, prostravit, multosque ante portam urbis decollandos, ut cives amaricaret, adduxit. Natali vero a Christianis in eadem obsessione celebrato, Buamundus et comes Flandriæ cum xx. milibus bellatorum in terram Sarracenorum perrexerunt. Congregati autem erant multi ab Jerusalem et Damasco, et Alef, et aliis regnis ad succurrendum Antiochiæ. Quibus irruentes unanimiter nostri alios in fugam miserunt, alios occiderunt; revertentesque duces prædicti cum spoliis maximis, debitò triumpho a nostris suscepti sunt. Interea urbe inclusi obsidentibus acerrime rebellabant, vexilliferumque Podiensis episcopi et multos alios morti dederunt. In Februario vero congregatus est mirabilis exercitus Paganorum ultra pontem ferreum apud castellum Areth. Dimittentesque[1] omnes pedites in obsidione, omnes milites promoverunt principes ad bellum, et sex acies equitum paraverunt. Primam ducebat dux invictus Normannorum; secundam dux Godefridus Alemannorum; tertiam Raimundus, consul egregius; quartam Robertus Flandriæ decus; quintam nobilissimus Podiensis episcopus; sextam, quæ maxima erat, cum Tancredo Buamundus.

A.D. 1097.

take Coxa and Marasis,

and lay siege to Antioch.

Operations in the vicinity of Antioch.

A.D. 1098.

[1] C^3. A^2.; *Dimittensque*, A.

A.D. 1098. The besiegers are attacked by a great Saracen army.

§ 10. Dum ergo fortissime colliduntur hostibus, clamor resonabat ad cœlum; imbres telorum obnubilabant diem; unusquisque percutiebat et percutiebatur. Postquam venit maxima vis Parthorum quæ retro erat, nostros tam acriter invasit, ut paulatim jam cederent. Buamundus vero, bellorum arbiter, et certaminum judex, cuneum suum adhuc intactum mediis immisit hostibus. Tunc Robertus filius Gerardi, miles optimus et signifer ejus, quasi leo inter agmina gregum, sic proruit inter agmina Turcorum; et semper linguæ vexilli ejus volitabant super capita Turcorum. Quod videntes alii animo recuperato unanimiter invadunt hostes. Dux igitur Normannorum gladio cujusdam caput et dentes et collum et humeros usque in pectora diffidit. Dux vero Godefridus quemdam medium secavit. Cum igitur pars terræ cecidisset, partem domini ferebat equus inter Paganos pugnantes, quo monstro perterriti, simul cuncti fugientes in iram damnationis abierunt. Capita igitur multorum delata sunt ad Antiochiam cum gaudio. Factum est hoc bellum, inchoante Quadragesima.

But defeat them signally.

Progress of the siege.

§ 11. Venerant interea multi de gente amiralii Babilonis in Antiochiam. Cumque nostri constituerent castrum ante portam, ubi pons est et mahumeria, Raimundus et Buamundus ivissent ad portum Sancti Simeonis pro victualibus, exercitus civitatis processit audaciter ad prælium; irruentesque nostris, miserunt eos in fugam, multisque occisis usque in tentoria fugaverunt. Crastina vero die Raimundum et Buamundum invadentes, mille ex suis occiderunt. Duces vero fugientes ad nostros advolarunt. Franci igitur[1] bis sauciati, et in iram compulsi, in campo ante portas urbis statuunt terribiliter castrorum acies ordinatas. Pagani non segniter aciebus dispositis nostros invadunt. At Christiani signum crucis acclamantes tam acriter in prima invasione hostes percusserunt et pro-

[1] C³. A². F.; *ibi*, A.

pulerunt, ut statim fugæ darentur; venientesque ad angustum pontem, vel gladiis cæsi sunt, vel flumine submersi sunt. Pauci namque per pontem evadere poterant. Unda fluminis sanguine rubens et aucta torrebat. Itaque XII. amiralii ibidem cæsi sunt, deditque Dominus victoriam clarissimam populo suo. Sed in crastino cum cives suos mortuos sepelissent, nostri diffodientes eos aurum et argentum et pallia quæ circa eos erant ceperunt, et capita eorum projecerunt. Jamque omnis spes et superbia civium evanuerat. Tancredus namque, castellum prædictum ante portam custodiens, spem victualium eis eripuit. Pirrus igitur quidam amiralius de gente Turcorum, sæpe provocatus in amicitiam a Buamundo, providensque[1] suos perituros, III. turres quæ sui juris erant Buamundo reddidit. Erectis itaque[2] vexillis super turres, Franci portis fractis in urbem irruerunt. Turchorum[3] vero alii repugnantes occisi sunt, alii extra urbem fugerunt; quidam autem castellum superius obtinuerunt. Cassianus vero dominus urbis fugiens a Surianis comprehensus est, et caput ejus Buamundo delatum. Sic Antiochia tertio nonas Junii capta est.

A.D. 10 8.

Fall of Antioch, June 3rd, 1098.

Flor. Wigorn. a. 1098.

§ 12. Curbaran princeps militiæ soldani Persiæ, et rex Damasci, et rex Jerusalem, adduxerunt secum ad obsidendos Francos, Turcos, Arabes, Sarracenos, Azimitas, Curtas,[4] Persas, Augulanos. Sed quid numerem maris arenam? Igitur obsederunt urbem. Curbaran igitur partem militiæ suæ posuit in superiori castello, qui die nocteque contra nos pugnabant. Cæteri vero obsidebant urbem, ne alimenta intrarent. Tertia quidem die egressi sunt filii Dei, contra filios diaboli. Quibus bello parati putabant se posse resistere. Sed tanta fuit vis et numerus infidelium, quod nostri reintrare urbem coacti sunt, multis hostium armis, multis oppressione ad introitum portæ mortuis.

Kerboga with a great army besieges the Christians in Antioch.

A sally is repulsed with heavy loss.

[1] *previdensque*, C³. F.

[2] C³. A². ; *ita*, A.

[3] *Turcorum*, C³. F.; *Thurcorum*, A².

[4] *Curtos*, S².

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A.D. 1098. Cowardly flight of four Christian leaders.

§ 13. Crastina die IIII. proceres exercitus, scilicet Willelmus, et alius Willelmus,[a] et Albericus, et Lambertus fugerunt latenter ad portum Simeonis; suasione autem eorum omnis classis victuaria cum eis aufugit. Nostri vero, cum castellanorum crebros incursus perferre non possent, murum inter se et illos construxerunt. Spes igitur crevit paganis, et fames Christianis. Namque dum expectarent imperatoris quem promiserat adventum, gallinam XV. solidis emebant, ovum II. solidis, unam nucem I. denario. Præterea folia arborum et cardui cocta comedebant; sicca [1] etiam coria equorum et asinorum decoquebant [2] et vorabant. Stephanus [3] comes muliebriter aufugiens, obviavit imperatori,[b] cui Francos omnes jam perditos nuntians, flentem fecit reverti.

Privations of the besieged.

Vision.

§ 14. Spes igitur nulla populo Dei jam remanserat, cum fame victi nec arma jam ferre possent. Apparuit autem ignis de cœlo, et cecidit inter exercitum Turchorum. Servo autem suo apparuit Dominus in visione, dixitque Deus; "Hæc dices filiis occidentis. Ego Ni-
" ceam civitatem vobis tradidi, et omnia bella extero-
" rum et civitatem fortissimam Antiochiæ; quam cum
" læti et incolumes possideretis, operati estis cum mu-
" lieribus Christianis et paganis, unde fœtor ascendit
" in cœlum." Corruens vir Dei ad pedes ejus ait:
" Domine, subveni in oppressione tanta." Dixitque Dominus; " Subveni, et subveniam. Dic populo meo,
" Revertimini ad me, et ego ad vos; et infra V. dies
" vobis ipse propugnator adero." Apparuit autem cuidam sanctus Andreas apostolus, lanceam unde Salvator percussus fuerat ei revelans, sicut ipse populo firmavit juramento.

Apparition of St. Andrew; invention of the Holy Lance.

[1] *sic*, C[3].; *sicca quoque*, F.
[2] C[3]. A[2].; *dequoquebant*, A.
[3] *Stephanus igitur*, C[3]. F.

[a] Instead of a second Willelmus, the *Gesta Francorum* name Wido Tursellus. Tudebodus names seven craven Christians instead of four, among whom are three Williams.

[b] *imperatori*. The emperor Alexius, who had advanced as far as Philomena in Pisidia.

§ 15. Peractis igitur triduanis jejuniis, processionibus celebratis, missis solennizatis, eleemosynis datis, VI.[1] aciebus dispositis ductore Deo progrediuntur cum lacrimis ad bellum. Primam[2] aciem ducebat Hugo magnus, et consul Flandrensis; secundam dux Godefridus et Baldewinus; tertiam Robertus fortis Normannus; quartam Podiensis episcopus, et Willelmus de Muntpeller,[3] cum exercitu Raimundi consulis, qui remanserat in custodia civitatis; quintam ducebat Tancredus cum Ricardo principe; sextam Buamundus cum consule de Rusinole.[4] Egressi vero septimam[5] statuerunt in honorem Sancti Spiritus, cui præfuit Reinaldus. Episcopi vero, presbyteri, clerici, monachi, sacris vestibus induti, super muros urbis hymnos Deo concinebant. Ipsi itaque viderunt exercitum cœlestem equis albis et phœbeis armis, quorum ductores erant Georgius, Mercurius, et Demetrius. Curbaran vero, nunquam lætior quam tempore illo, dispositis turmis innumeris fecit fœnum copiosum ex adverso monte accendi, ut nostri fumo cœcarentur. Dominus autem ventorum præsens[6] ventum convertit, et pagani fumo cœcati sunt, et præcipites fugerunt. Insecuti sunt eos Christiani cæde magna, et tanta nunquam spolia in aliquo bellorum capta sunt. His visis, amiralius qui castellum superius custodiebat reddidit illud Christianis, et Christianus effectus est. Hoc bellum Dominus egit in vigilia Petri et Pauli, et exaltatum est nomen ejus solius in die illa. Christicolæ igitur cum gaudio perendinaverunt in regno illo usque ad kalendas Novembris. Interea quidam procerum, cui nomen Raimundus Piletus,[a]

A.D. 1098.

A successful sally; Kerboga is defeated; June 28th, 1098.

Surrender of the citadel.

Unsuccessful expedition of Raymund.

[1] C[3]. F.; *v.*, A. A[2].
[2] C[3]. A[2].; *primum*, A.
[3] C[3]. A[2]. S.; *Muntepeller*, S[2].; *Mumpeller*, A.
[4] *Russinole*, S. S[2]. F.
[5] A[2]. S[2].; om. A.
[6] *præses*, Sav.

[a] This Raymond Pilet is mentioned by William of Tyre in his history of the Crusade (Book vii. ch. 9) as serving in the eleventh battalion, formed to sally out of Antioch against the troops of Cor-

A D. 1098. exercitum congregans, cepit castrum cui nomen Talamannia.[1] Inde venit ad urbem cui nomen Marra, quæ plena erat Sarracenis, qui venerant ab Alef. Prælientes igitur barbari contra nostros primitus fugere coacti sunt; in fine tamen vicerunt, et magna Francorum occisio facta est ibi.

In November the Christians march towards Jerusalem.

§ 16. Mense Novembris congregati sunt duces et exercitus Christianorum ad capessendam[2] viam Jerusalem. Quarto vero die ante Octobrem venerunt ad Marram et assiluerunt[3] eam, et turri lignea super quatuor rotas ducta, et aliis ingeniis debellaverunt eam, XI° die Decembris. Manentes igitur in urbe illa in Natali, morati sunt ibi per unum mensem et IIII. dies,

Quarrel between Boemund and Raymond.

quia iter Jerosolimitanum impeditum erat pro discordia quæ erat inter Buamundum et Raimundum, causa Antiochiæ possidendæ. Ibi tanta fames Christianos invasit, quod de cadaveribus paganorum frusta coquerent,

A.D. 1099.

et comederent. Sed XIIII. die Januarii exeuntes, ceperunt duo castra, bonis omnibus referta. Postea vero urbem quæ vocatur Zephaila;[4] inde castrum opulentissimum in valle Desem. Mediante vero Februario obsederunt castrum Arche per III. fere menses, ibique Pascha celebratum est. Sed Anselmus de Ripemunt,[5a]

Arche besieged.

[1] *Talamania*, F. S[2].
[2] A[2].; *capescendum*, A. C[3]. F.
[3] C[3]. A[2].; *assilierunt*, A.
[4] *Zephalia*, S. S[2]. F.
[5] *Ribemunt*, S[2]. F.

bagath (Curbaran). The archdeacon of Tyre speaks of twelve battalions, Henry of six; both assign the same leaders to the third and fourth battalions.

[a] This is the Anselmus de Riburgismonte of William of Tyre, who enlarges admiringly on his brilliant and extraordinary feats of valour. Some curious particulars are found about him in the *Auctarium Aquicinense* (Auchin, near Douay), published by Pertz as an appendix to the Chronicle of Sigismund of Gemblours. Anselm was one of the joint founders of the monastery at Auchin, giving as a site the island on which it stood. The grateful monk who compiled the *Auctarium* thus records, under 1099, the death of his benefactor: "Christianis Turcos fortiter debel-" lantibus, eorumque urbes et castra " sibi bellando vindicantibus, con-" tigit apud quoddam munitissi-" mum castrum nomine Archas, . .

miles fortissimus, jactu lapidis ibi deperiit, et Willelmus Picardus, et alii multi. Rex vero Camelæ civitatis pacem fecerat cum exercitu. Interea pars exercitus cepit Tortosam civitatem, et urbem Maracleam. Amiralius vero Gibel fecit pacem cum exercitu. Postea ante urbem Tripolim multitudinem civium interfecerunt, ita quod aquæ omnes urbis et cisternæ ruberent. Postea vero rex Tripolis ducibus Francorum dedit CCC. peregrinos, et XV. millia bisantia, et XV. equos pretiosos, ut discederent a Tripoli, et a castro Arche,[a] quod suum erat. A.D. 1099. Death of Anselm de Ribemont.

§ 17. Franci igitur transeuntes per castrum Betelon, applicuerunt in die Ascensionis Domini ad urbem juxta mare quæ dicitur Baruth,[1] inde ad Sagittam, inde ad Surh,[2] inde ad Acram,[3] inde ad Caiphas, inde ad Cesaream in Pentecosten; inde ad vicum Sancti Georgii, inde ad Jerusalem, et obsederunt eam VIII. idus Junii; a septentrione dux electissimus Normannorum, ab oriente consul Robertus, ab occidente dux Godefridus et Tancredus, a meridie, scilicet in monte Sion, comes Raimundus. Sæpe igitur urbem assilientes erexerunt castrum ligneum altissimum, contra quod cum turres lapideas pagani construxissent, turrim ligneam nostri dissolverunt, et in alia parte urbis quæ immunita erat erexerunt. Inde igitur urbem opprimentes et scalis muros ascendentes, urbem ceperunt, et multos in templo Domini rebellantes occiderunt, et civitatem sanctam ab inmundis nationibus filii Dei mundaverunt. Marching by Beyrout, Tyre, Acre, and Caifa, the Franks lay siege to Jerusalem, June 6th, 1099, and take it by assault.

Malm. *Gest. Reg.* iv. § 389.

§ 18. Obtulerunt igitur regnum Jerusalem Normannorum duci. Quod quia causa laboris repudiavit, of- The crown of Jerusalem offered to duke

[1] *Barut*, S. F. S[2].
[2] *Surth*, S[2].
[3] *Achram*, S. S[2]; *Acham*, F.

"... multos perire eorum; cum "quibus et Ansellus de Ribodi- "monte lapide percussus in capite "occumbit, hoc solummodo post "acceptum vulnus ter repetens "verbum: *Deus adjuva me!*"

[a] The Arca of the maps, now Tell Arka.

A.D. 1099. Robert, who refuses it. Godfrey of Bouillon the first king; his successors.

fensus est in eum Deus; nec prosperum quid deinceps ei contigit. Ipse itaque, et consul Flandriæ, et Raimundus consul ad propria remearunt. Dux vero Godefridus regnavit in Jerusalem, et post eum Baldewinus strenuissimus frater ejus, et postea Baldewinus secundus [1] nepos eorum,' et post Gaufridus dux Andegavensis,[2] et post eum Gaufridus filius ejus,' multa et gravissima bella peragentes; subdideruntque provincias Christo et urbes finitimas, præter Ascalon, quæ adhuc in scelere suo perseverat.

A.D. 1097. § 19. Junior Willelmus, anno x° regni sui, cum Chr. E. Normanniam, quam a Roberto fratre suo ad Jerusalem profecto in vadimonium acceperat, pro libitu suo disposuisset, rediit ad vigiliam Paschæ in Angliam, et appulit apud Arundel. Cum autem festive diadematus esset ad Pentecosten apud Windlesores, postea cum magno exercitu pergens in Waliam sæpe multas Walensium turmas prostravit, sæpe multos suorum angustiis locorum amisit. Videns igitur eos plus inexpugnabiles situ terræ quam viribus et armis, fecit parare castella juxta fines Waliæ, et rediit in Angliam.

William makes another expedition into Wales.

Anselm leaves England.

Anselmus vero archiepiscopus recessit ab Anglia, quia nihil recti rex pravus in regno suo fieri permittebat, sed provincias intolerabiliter vexabat in tributis quæ numquam cessabant, in opere muri circa turrim Londoniæ, in opere aulæ regalis apud Westminstre, in rapina quam familia sua hostili modo, ubicunque rex pergebat, exercebant. At rex ad festum sancti Martini mare transiens in Normanniam, misit Eadgar [3] juvenem cum exercitu [4] in Scotiam, qui regem Duvenal magno prælio fugavit, et Eadgarum cognatum suum, filium Melcolmi regis, in regem statuit. Eodem anno cometa apparuit.

Edgar Atheling sent into Scotland.

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[1] ' om. H.
[2] ' om. H.
[3] *Edgar*, C[3]. A[2].
[4] C[3].; om. *cum exercitu*, A. A[2]. A[4]. F.

Chr. E. 20. Junior Willelmus anno XI° regni sui in Normannia fuit, semper hosticis tumultibus et curis armorum deditus, tributis interim et exactionibus pessimis populos Anglorum non abradens sed excorians. In æstate autem visus est sanguis ebullire a quodam stagno apud Finchamstede in Bercscyre. Post hæc apparuit cœlum tota nocte pœne tanquam arderet. Eodem anno Walkelinus[1] episcopus in Wincestre defunctus est; et Hugo consul Salopscyre occisus est ab Hibernensibus.[2] [a] Cui successit Robertus de Belem, frater ejus.

A.D. 1098. The king in Normandy.

Death of Hugh de Montgomery.

Chr. E. § 21. Junior Willelmus XII. anno regni sui rediens in Angliam tenuit primum curiam suam in Nova Aula apud Westmuster. Quam cum inspecturus primum introisset, cum alii satis magnam vel æquo majorem dicerent, dixit rex eam magnitudinis debitæ dimidia parte carere. Qui sermo regi magno fuit, licet parvi[3] constasset,[4] honori.[5] Rursus cum venaretur in Novo foresto, venit ei subito nuntius a Cenomannia, dicens ei familiam suam ibi obsideri. Illico rex festinus ad mare veniens naves introiit. Cui nautæ: "Cur, regum "maxime, tempestate intolerabili maris alta lacessis, "et mortis imminens periculum non formidas?" Quibus rex: "De rege fluctibus submerso loqui non au- "vi." Ergo mare transiens, nihil dum viveret egit, unde tantam famam, tantum gloriæ decus haberet. Cenomanniam vero petens, Heliam consulem fugavit, et eam[6] sui juris esse jussit, et in Angliam rediit.

A.D. 1099. Completion of Westminster Hall.

Witty sayings of king William.

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[1] *Walchelinus*, S. F.; *Wachelinus*, S².

[2] C³. F.; *apud Hyberniensibus*, A.; *apud Wilcinges*, H. S².

[3] *parvo*, A². et Sav.

[4] *constaret*, Sav.

[5] A². F. S. S³.; *honoris*, S².; *horiori*, A.

[6] om. Sav.

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[a] *ab Hibernensibus.* This is a confusion; earl Hugh was killed on the coast of Anglesey by an arrow shot from a Norwegian ship which bore Magnus king of Norway, who was then, and had been for some years, engaged in war with the Irish. Comp. Ordericus Vitalis, x. 6. The reading *apud Wilcinges* seems to be a corruption of *ab Wicingis*, "by the vikings."

A.D. 1099. Ranulf the Flambard appointed to the see of Durham.

Anno illo rex Ranulfo, placitatori sed perversori, ex- Chr. E.
actori [1] sed exustori totius Angliæ, dedit episcopatum Dunhelme. Hoc etiam anno decessit Osmundus episcopus Salesbiriæ.

A.D. 1100. The king shot by Walter Tyrrel in the New Forest.

§ 22. Millesimo centesimo anno, rex Willelmus XIII. regni sui anno, vitam crudelem misero fine terminavit. Namque cum gloriose et patrio honore curiam tenuisset ad Natale apud Glouecestre, ad Pascha apud Wincestre, ad Pentecosten apud Londoniam, ivit venatum in Novo foresto in crastino kalendas Augusti, ubi Walterus Tyrel cum sagitta, cervo intendens, regem percussit inscius.[a] Rex corde ictus corruit, nec verbum edidit. Paulo siquidem ante sanguis visus est ebullire Chr. E.
a terra in Bercscyre. Jure autem in medio injustitiæ [2] suæ præreptus est; ipse namque [3] ultra hominem erat, et consilio pessimorum, quod semper eligebat, suis nequam, sibi nequissimus, vicinos werra, suos exercitibus frequentissimis et gildis continuis vexabat. Nec respirare poterat Anglia miserabiliter suffocata. Cum autem omnia raperent et subverterent qui regi famulabantur, ita ut adulteria etiam violenter et impune committerent, quicquid antea nequitiæ pullulaverat, in perfectum excrevit, quicquid antea non fuerat, his temporibus pullulavit. Invisus namque rex nequissimus Deo et populo, episcopatus et abbatias aut vendebat, aut in manu sua retinens ad firmam dabat. Hæres autem omnium esse studebat; siquidem in die qua obiit in proprio habebat archiepiscopatum Cantuariæ, et episcopatum Wincestriæ, et Salesbiriæ, et XI. abba-

His character.

[1] C³. A². ; *exauctori*, A. F.
[2] C³. A². ; *justicie*, A.
[3] Post *namque* supplet Sav. *ferus*, absque codicum auctoritate.

[a] Florence, Malmesbury, and Orderic all agree that Walter Tyrel shot the arrow which killed Rufus. The abbot Suger says that Tyrel often denied to himself that he was in any way concerned with it; but this he might do out of prudential considerations. Chr. E. mentions no name. The flagrant profligacy by which the court was polluted in the time of Rufus is much dwelt upon by Orderic.

Chr. E. tias ad firmam datas. Postremo, quicquid Deo Deum que diligentibus displicebat, hoc regi regemque diligentibus[1] placebat. Nec luxuriæ scelus tacendum exercebant occulte, sed ex impudentia coram sole. Sepultus autem est in crastino perditionis suæ apud Wincestre, et Henricus, ibidem in regem electus, dedit epicsopatum Wincestriæ Willelmo Giffard, pergensque Londoniam sacratus est ibi a Mauricio Londoniensi episcopo, melioratione legum et consuetudinum optabili repromissa. His auditis Anselmus archiepiscopus rediens in Angliam, desponsavit Matildem filiam Melcolmi regis Scotiæ et Margaretæ reginæ Henrico regi novo. Capta vero urbe Jerusalem, ut dictum est, et ingenti prælio postea victoriose patrato contra exer-
Chr. E. citum amiralii Babiloniæ, rediit Robertus dux in Normanniam mense Augusto, et cum lætitia susceptus est ab omni populo. Thomas Eboracensis archiepiscopus, vir ingenii florentis et Musarum a secretis, hominibus apparere desiit.

A.D. 1100. He is buried at Winchester. Henry is consecrated king at St. Paul's, London; marries Matilda of Scotland. Return of duke Robert to Normandy. Death of Thomas, archbishop of York.

§ 23. Henricus rex cum ad Natale tenuisset curiam suam apud Westmuster,[2] et ad Pascha[3] apud Wincestre, commoti sunt principes Angliæ erga regem causa fratris sui Roberti cum exercitu advenientis. Misit autem rex in mare navale prælium gessuros contra fratris sui adventum, sed quædam pars eorum subdidit se Roberto venienti. Cum ergo appulisset apud Portesmuthe ante kalendas Augusti, et rex tenderet contra eum cum maximis copiis, principes utrinque, fra[ter]num bellum non perferentes, concordiæ fœdus inter illos statuerunt, eo pacto, quod Robertus unoquoque anno III M. marcas argenti haberet ab Anglia, et qui diutius viveret, hæres esset alterius, si alter absque filio moreretur. Hoc autem juraverunt XII. eximiores procerum utrimque. Robertus igitur in pace

A.D. 1101. Robert lands at Portsmouth; treaty between him and Henry.

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[1] C[3]. A[2]. ; *regemque diligebat diligentibus*, A.

[2] C[3]. F. ; *Westmustier*, A.

[3] C[3]. A[2]. ; *Pasca*, A.

A.D. 1101. perendinavit usque ad festum Sancti Michaelis in regno Chr. E.
Ranulf the Flambard stirs up the duke against Henry. fratris sui, et ad propria rediit. Ranulfus autem perversus episcopus Dunhelme, quem rex Henricus posuerat in vinculis consilio gentis Anglorum, cum a carcere evasisset, clandestine perrexerat in Normanniam, consilio et admonitione sua Robertum promovens in fratrem suum.

A.D. 1102. § 24. Henricus rex quemdam consulem nequissimum Chr. E.
Robert de Belesme banished. et perfidum, Robertum de Belesme, jure in eum exsurgens exulavit. Obsedit namque prius castellum Arundel; quod cum gravissimum esset ad conquirendum, castellis ante illud[1] constructis ivit et obsedit Bruge, quousque castellum redditum est ei, et Robertus de Belesme gemebundus in Normanniam migravit.
Council of London; canons against incontinent and simoniacal clerks. Eodem anno ad festum Sancti Michaelis tenuit Anselmus archiepiscopus concilium apud Londoniam, in quo prohibuit sacerdotibus uxores Anglorum, antea non prohibitas. Quod quibusdam mundissimum visum est, quibusdam periculosum; ne, dum munditias viribus majores appeterent, in immunditias horribiles ad Christiani nominis summum dedecus inciderent. In illo autem concilio multi abbates qui adquisiverant abbatias suas sicut Deus noluit, amiserunt eas sicut Deus voluit.

A.D. 1103. Anno sequenti venit Robertus Normannorum consul Chr. E.
in Angliam, causis variis intercedentibus; et cauta regis versutia condonavit ei III. M. marcas quas rex debebat ei per annum. Eodem anno visus est sanguis ebullire a terra in Berescyre apud Hamstude.[2]

A.D. 1104. Curriculo sequentis anni rex et frater suus causis in- Chr. E.
A fresh quarrel breaks out between the king and duke. tercedentibus discordati sunt. Misit igitur rex milites in Normanniam, qui a proditoribus consulis[3] recepti prædis et combustionibus non minimam cladem rebus consularibus ingesserunt. Willelmus vero consul More-

[1] A^2. A^4. C^3.; *illuc*, A.
[2] *Hamstede*, S.
[3] C^3. F.; *consules*, A.

tuil,[a] causa perfidiæ ab Anglia exhæreditatus a regi, in Normanniam discedens, animo perfecto et exercitio ferventi vir probissimus, indixit et infixit regalibus turmis werram calamitate refertam. Hoc anno apparuerunt circa solem in meridie IIII. circuli albi coloris. A.D. 1104.

Chr. E. 25. § Henricus V. anno regni sui perrexit in Normanniam, contra fratrem suum certaturus. Conquisivit igitur Cadomum pecunia, Baiocum armis, et auxilio consulis Andegavensis; cepit quoque plura alia castra, et omnes fere principes Normanniæ regi se subdidere. His actis mense Augusto rediit in Angliam. A.D. 1105. Henry crosses to Normandy; obtains possession of Caen and Bayeux.

Chr. E. In anno quidem sequenti venit dux Normannorum ad regem fratrem suum apud Nordhamtune, amicabiliter ab eo petens ut ablata sibi fraterna[1] redderet gratia. Cum vero Deus eorum concordiæ non assentiret, dux iratus perrexit in Normanniam, et rex ante Augustum secutus est eum. Cum ergo rex obsedisset castrum Tenerchebrai, venit dux Normannorum, et cum eo Robertus de Belesme, et consul Moretuil, et omnes fautores ejus. Rex vero secum omnes proceres Normanniæ, et robur Angliæ et Andegavis et Britanniæ, non improvidus habebat. Igitur cum cornua rauco strepuissent cantu, dux Normanniæ cum paucis multos audacissime aggressus est, assuetusque bellis Jerosolimitanis aciem regalem fortiter et horrende reppulit. Willelmus quoque consul de Moretuil aciem Anglorum de loco in locum turbans promovit; cum acies equestris Britannorum, (rex namque, et dux, et acies cæteræ pedites erant,[2] ut constantius pugnarent,) aciem ducis ex adverso proruens,[3] subito diffidit, et mole magnitudinis oppressa gens ducis dissoluta est et victa. Robertus vero de Belesme, simul A.D. 1106. Battle of Tenchebrai. Defeat of duke Robert.

[1] *paterna*, S[2].
[2] C[3]. A[2]. F.; om. *erant*, A.
[3] *promens*, Sav.

[a] William of Moretuil was the son of Robert of Moretuil, one of William the Conqueror's half-brothers. He was taken prisoner by Henry at the battle of Tenchebrai, as mentioned below.

A.D. 1106. hoc aspexit, fuga sibi consuluit. Captus est igitur dux fortissimus Normannorum, et consul de Moretuil. Reddiditque Dominus vicem duci Roberto, quia, cum gloriosum reddidisset eum in actibus Jerosolimitanis, regnum Jerusalem oblatum sibi renuit, magis eligens quieti et desidiæ in Normannia deservire, quam Domino regum in sancta civitate desudare. Damnavit igitur eum Deus desidia perenni et carcere sempiterno. Hujus rei signum in eodem anno cometa apparuerat. Visæ sunt etiam in Cœna Domini duæ lunæ plenæ, una ad orientem, alia ad occidentem.

He is consigned to perpetual imprisonment; a just reward for his refusal of the kingdom of Jerusalem.

A.D. 1107. § 26. Henricus rex anno VII. regni sui, cum deletis vel subjectis hostibus Normanniam pro libitu dispossuiset, rediit in Angliam, fratremque suum ducem magnificum et consulem de Moretuil carceralibus[1] ingessit tenebris. Igitur victoriosus, et tunc primum rex fortis, tenuit curiam suam ad Pascha[2] apud Windlesores;[3] in qua proceres Angliæ simul et Normanniæ cum timore et tremore affuerunt. Antea namque, et dum juvenis fuisset, et postquam rex fuerat, in maximo habebatur despectu; sed Deus, qui longe aliter judicat quam filii hominum, qui exaltat humiles et deprimit potentes, Robertum omnium favore celeberrimum deposuit, et Henrici despecti famam per orbem terrarum clarescere jussit. Deditque ei gratis tria Dominus omnipotens munera, sapientiam, victoriam, divitias; quibus ad omnia prosperans, omnes suos antecessores præcessit.[4] Hoc anno obiit Mauricius episcopus, inceptor Londoniensis ecclesiæ, et Edgarus rex Scotiæ, cui successit Alexander frater suus, concessu[a] regis Henrici. Chr. E.

Henry's power now consolidated; he holds a splendid court at Windsor.

Death of Maurice bishop of London,

[1] C[3]. A[2].; *carceribus*, A.

[2] C[3].; *Pasca*, A.

[3] *Winlesores*, S[2].; *Winleshores*, S. F.

[4] In Sav. adduntur verba, *unde omnes suos ditavit.*

[a] *concessu.* This is one of many indications of an apparent wish and intention on the part of Henry to prove historically the feudal dependence of the Scottish on the English crown.

Chr. E. § 27. Henricus VIII. anno regni sui, cum decessisset Philippus rex Francorum, transiit in Normanniam contra Lodowicum[1] filium Philippi, regem novum Franciæ, werram promovens maximam. Anno eodem, Gerardo archiepiscopo Eboracensi defuncto, Thomas postea successit. Tempestate sequentis anni missi sunt ab Henrico imperatore Romano nuntii, mole corporis et cultuum splendoribus excellentes, filiam regis in domini sui conjugium postulantes. Tenens igitur curiam suam apud Londoniam, qua nunquam splendidiorem tenuerat, sacramenta depostulans de connubio filiæ suæ ab imperatoris recepit legatis ad Pentecosten. Obierat autem Anselmus archiepiscopus, Christi philosophus, in Quadragesima. Anno igitur sequenti data est filia regis imperatori, ut breviter dicam, sicut decuit. Rex itaque cepit ab unaquaque hida Angliæ

Chr. E. III. solidos.[a] Eodem anno, cum rex curiam suam tenuisset ad Pentecosten apud novam Windlesores, quam ipse ædificaverat, exhæreditavit eos qui ei nocuerant, scilicet Philippum de Brahuse,[2] et Willelmum Malet, et Willelmum Bainard. Helias[3] vero consul Cenomanniæ, qui eam sub Henrico rege tenebat, vita privatus est. At consul Andegavensis[4] suscepit Cenomanniam cum filia illius, et tenuit eam contra regem Henricum. Hoc in anno apparuit quædam cometa more insolito. Cum namque ab oriente insurgens in firmamentum ascendisset, regredi videbatur. Eodem anno Nicholaus, pater illius qui hanc scripsit historiam, mortis legibus concessit, et sepultus est apud Lincoliam. De quo dictum est:

A.D. 1108. and of Philip king of France.

A.D. 1109. Matilda, Henry's daughter, betrothed to the emperor.

Death of St. Anselm. A.D. 1110.

Heavy taxation on account of the marriage.

Death of Elias, count of Maine.

Maine is seized by the count of Anjou.

Death of Nicholas, the author's father.

"Stella cadit cleri, splendor marcet Nicholai;
"Stella cadens cleri, splendeat arce Dei."

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[1] *Lodouicum*, C[3]. A[2].
[2] *Brause*, S. S[2]. F.
[3] *Bainnard. Elias*, S[2].
[4] *Andegavis*, S[2].

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[a] *tres solidos.* The Chronicle merely says, "þurh gyld þe se cyng nam "for his dohter gyfte."

A.D. 1110. Hoc ideo scriptor suo inseruit operi, ut apud omnes legentes mutuum laboris obtineat, quatenus pietatis affectu dicere dignentur, "Anima ejus in pace re-" quiescat. Amen."

A.D. 1111. Henry makes war on the count of Anjou. Death of Robert, earl of Flanders. § 28. Henricus anno XI. regni sui pergens in Normanniam contra consulem Andegavensem, qui Cenomanniam eo tenebat invito, werræ leges in eum ferro et flamma exercuit constanter. Decessit autem Robertus consul Flandriæ, qui Jerosolimitano clarissimus interfuerat itineri, unde memoria ejus non pertranseat in æternum. Post quem Baldewinus filius ejus consul effectus est, juvenis omnino strenuus armis. Chr. E.

A.D. 1112. Robert de Belesme taken and imprisoned. Proximo anno exulavit rex consulem Evreus[1] et Willelmum Crispin a Normannia; cepitque Robertum Belesme, virum nequissimum, de quo prædiximus, rediensque anno sequenti in Angliam, posuit eum in carcerem perennem apud Warram.[2] Chr. E.

A.D. 1113. Chr. E.

A.D. 1114. Ralph appointed to the primacy, and Thurstan to the see of York. Succedenti anno rex dedit archiepiscopatum Cantuariæ Radulfo episcopo Rovecestriæ. Tunc quoque, Thoma Eboracensi archiepiscopo defuncto, Turstanus successit. Inter Radulfum vero et Turstanum archiepiscopos orta est magna dissensio,[a] quia Eboracensis Chr. E.

[1] *Ebreus*, C³. S². ; *Ebroicensem*, F.

[2] *Warham*, F. S². ; *Warram*, S.

[a] This notice of the dissension between Ralph and Thurstan may have been taken by Henry from Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontif.*, iii., § 122, or the circumstances may have been within his own recollection. The last archbishop of York, Thomas, threatened by the king, had made the required submission to the see of Canterbury in 1109, and then been consecrated. Thurstan, elected in 1114, refused to follow this precedent. The king, therefore, would not allow him to be consecrated, nor to enter upon his office; but going to Rome, Thurstan obtained a letter in his favour from pope Paschal in 1117. The matter was so far settled by pope Calixtus, that in 1119 he consecrated Thurstan archbishop of York. The king was very angry on hearing this, and banished Thurstan; but after a while was induced by the pope's urgent remonstrances to allow him to return and resume his see. Thurstan died at Pontefract, in the habit of a Cluniac monk, in 1140.

Cantuariensi de more subjici nolebat. Causa autem sæpe coram rege, sæpe coram apostolico ventilata est, sed necdum definita. Hoc in anno duxit rex exercitum in Waliam : Walenses vero subditi sunt ei, secundum magnificientiam libitus sui. Cometa ingens in fine Chr. E. Maii apparuit. Rex vero transiit in Normanniam, et anno sequenti fecit omnes proceres patriæ fidelitatem domino debitam Willelmo filio suo jurare, et in Angliam rediit.

A.D. 1114. Dispute between them as to the privileges of their sees. Expedition into Wales.

A.D. 1115.

Chr. E. § 29. Henricus rex XVI° anno ad Natale interfuit dedicationi ecclesiæ Sancti Albani, quam dedicavit Robertus venerabilis Lincolliensis episcopus, per Ricardum memorabilem abbatem ejusdem loci.[1] [a] Cum autem rex ad Pascha transfretasset in Normanniam, fuit maxima discordia inter eum et regem Francorum. Causa autem hæc erat. Tedbaldus consul Blesensis, nepos regis Henrici, contra dominum suum regem Francorum arma promoverat; in cujus auxilium rex Anglorum duces suos militiamque misit, et regem Lo-Chr. E. dewicum[2] non mediocriter afflixit. Spatio igitur sequentis anni gravissimus labor Henrico regi insurrexit. Juraverunt namque rex Francorum et consul Flandrensis et consul Andegavensis, se Normanniam regi Henrico ablaturos, et Willelmo filio Roberti ducis Nor-

A.D. 1116. Dedication of the minster church of St. Alban's.

Quarrel between Henry and the king of France.

A.D. 1117. League formed against Henry to deprive him of Normandy, and give it to

[1] *ejusdem loci militem*, S². ; *abbatem*, S. F.

[2] *Lodouicum*, C³. A². F.

[a] A full description of the dedication of the minster at St. Alban's in 1116 may be seen in the *Vitæ Viginti Trium Abbatum*, ascribed to Matthew Paris. He, or whoever made the compilation, must have used in it many biographies, accounts of translations, and other records preserved in the monastery; and some of these, it is reasonable to suppose, were accessible to Henry. In fact he thus expresses himself in Book IX., after speaking of the dedication of St. Alban's church in 1116, and the translation of the relics in 1129 : "De cujus [S. "Albani] miraculis, exceptis his "quæ sequentes Bedam scripsimus, "multa clarissima et vera *in eadem* "*scripta reperiuntur ecclesia.*" (MS. Grosvenor, *Hist. Anglorum*, lib. ix.)

A.D. 1117. the son of duke Robert.

mannorum eam daturos. Multi etiam procerum regis recesserunt ab eo, quod maximo ei fuit detrimento. Rex tamen non improvidus in auxilio suo Tedbaldum prædictum et conselum Britannorum habebat. Venerunt igitur rex Francorum et dux Flandrensis cum exercitu in Normanniam; in qua cum una nocte fuissent, formidantes adventum regis Henrici cum Anglis et Normannis et Britannis, ad sua sine bello reversi sunt. Chr. E.

England heavily taxed.

Hoc anno pro necessitate regia geldis creberrimis et exactionibus variis Anglia compressa est. Tonitrua vero et grandines in kalendis Decembris affuerunt, et in eodem mense cœlum rubens, ac si arderet, apparuit. Eodem tempore maximus terræmotus in Longobardia ecclesias, turres, et domos et homines provolvens destruxit.

A.D. 1118. Continual warfare in Normandy.

§ 30. Curriculo anni proximi continua debellatio jam dictorum principum gravissime regem vexavit, donec Baldewinus strenuissimus Flandriæ consul apud Ou in Normannia seditione militari funeste vulneratus ad sua recessit.[a] Porro Robertus consul de Meslent, sapientissimus in rebus sæcularibus omnium usque in Jerusalem degentium, et regis Henrici consiliarius, in fine stultus apparuit. Etenim cum terras quas abstulerat[b] sacerdotum suasu reddere,[1] nec confessionem[2] qualem oporteret vellet inire, corde pauperrimus quasi sponte deperiit. Bene igitur dictum est; "Sapientia hujus mundi "stultitia est apud Deum." Tunc quoque Matildis Car. E.

Death of Robert de Mellent,

and of queen Matilda.

[1] Ita codices; *nec reddere*, Sav. | [2] C[3]. A[2].; *confusionem*, A.

[a] Ordericus (xii. 2) gives an account of count Baldwin's death, which was caused by a wound received, not in a "seditio militaris," but from the hand of Hugh de Boterel, in an action fought near Arques, in the district of Eu. Comp. also Malm., *Gest. Reg.*, v., § 403.

[b] What happened at the deathbed of Robert, earl of Mellent, is told by our author at greater length in his Epistle to Walter, § 8; see Appendix. See also Malm., *Gest. Reg.*, v., § 407. "Sponte "deperiit" seems to mean, "lost "his soul wilfully."

luce caruit. De cujus facetia et morum prærogativa dictum est: A.D. 1118.

Prospera non lætam fecere, nec aspera tristem,
Aspera risus ei, prospera terror erant.
Non[1] decor effecit fragilem, non sceptra superbam;
Sola potens humilis, sola pudica decens.
Maii prima dies, nostrarum nocte dierum
Raptam, perpetua fecit inesse die.

Chr. E. § 31. Rex Henricus LII. anno ex quo Normanni Angliam obtinuerunt, regni vero sui anno XIX., pugnavit contra regem Francorum gloriose. Præposuerat quidem rex Francorum aciem, cui præerat Willelmus filius Roberti fratris Henrici regis; ipse cum maximis viribus in sequenti erat agmine. Rex vero Henricus in prima[2] acie proceres suos constituerat; in secunda cum propria familia eques ipse residebat, in tertia vero filios suos cum summis viribus pedites collocaverat. Igitur acies prima Francorum agmen procerum Normanniæ statim equis depulit, et dispersit; postea vero aciei qua rex Henricus inerat[3] collidens, et ipsa est dispersa. Acies itaque regales sibi invicem offenderunt, et acerrime pugnatum est. Hastæ franguntur omnes; gladiis res agitur. Interim Willelmus Crispin regis Henrici caput gladio bis percussit;[a] cumque lorica esset impenetrabilis, magnitudine tamen ictuum ipsa lorica aliquantulum capiti regis inserta est, ut sanguis prorumperet. Rex vero percussorem suum ita gladio repercussit, ut cum galea esset impenetrabilis, mole tamen ictus equitem et equum prosterneret; qui mox ante regios pedes captus est. Sed acies pedestris in

A.D. 1119. Battle of Brenville.

Danger of Henry.

[1] A^2.; *Nec*, A.
[2] C^3. A^2.; *propria*, A.
[3] C^3. A^2.; *inierat*, A.

[a] According to Ord. Vit. (Book xii.) Crispin struck once at the king, not twice, and was dashed to the ground by Roger de Bienfaite, not by Henry himself.

A.D. 1119. qua filii Henrici inerant,[1] nondum percutiens, sed mox percussura, lanceis inclinatis ex adverso insurrexit. Rout of the French. Quod Franci videntes, horrore insperato liquefacti terga dederunt. Henricus autem rex victoriæ perstitit in campo, donec optimates hostium capti sunt, et ante pedes ejus positi. Reversus vero Rotomagum, in signorum sonitibus et cleri concentibus,[2] Deum et Dominum exercituum benedixit. De cujus magnificentia victoriæ sic quidam scripsit heroice:—

Henricus regum rex et decus abstulit altos
Francigenis animos; Ludovicum namque Nugensi
Rex regem campo, magnum major superavit.
Præposuere fugam bellis, calcaria telis,
Galli præcipites; fama spoliisque potitos
Laurea Normannos et laus æterna coronat.
Sic decus iste ducum, sic corda tumentia pressit,
Oraque Francorum mutire superba coegit.

Election of Guido, archbishop of Vienne, to the papacy; he takes the name of Calixtus II. Eodem anno papa Gelasius obiit, et sepultus est apud Cluniacum. Tunc Wido Viennensis archiepiscopus, electus in papam, vocatus est Calixtus, et tenuit concilium Remis. Inde profectus est Gisores[3] contra regem Henricum, et collocuti sunt sacerdos magnus et rex magnus. Baldewinus etiam, consul Flandriæ, per vulnus quod in Normannia receperat decessit; cui successit Karolus cognatus ejus, filius Cnut sancti regis Dacorum. Chr. E.

Death of Baldwin, earl of Flanders. Sim Dun.

A.D. 1120. Henry returns to England in triumph. § 32. Anno M°. C°. XX°. gratiæ, omnibus domitis et pacificatis in Gallia, cum gaudio rediit Henricus in Angliam. Sed in ipso maris transitu duo filii regis, Willelmus et Ricardus, et filia regis, et neptis, et multi proceres, dapiferi, camerarii, pincernæ regis, et Ricardus consul Cestriæ naufragati sunt. Qui omnes vel fere omnes sodomitica labe dicebantur et erant irretiti. Chr. E.

Prince William drowned.

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[1] C³. A². ; *inierant*, A.

[2] C³. A². A⁴. ; *concinentibus*, A.

[3] *Gisors*, C³. S. S². F.

Et ecce coruscabilis Dei vendicta! deperierunt etenim, A.D 1120.
et omnes fere sepultura caruerunt. Improvise igitur
mors absorbuit emeritos, cum mare tranquillissimum
ventis careret. De quibus ita scripsit poeta:

Dum Normannigenæ Gallis clari superatis
Anglica regna petunt, obstitit ipse Deus.
Nam fragili torvum dum percurrunt mare cymba,
Intulit excito nubila densa mari.
Dumque vagi cœco rapiuntur tramite nautæ,
Ruperunt imas abdita saxa rates.
Sic mare dum superans tabulata per ultima serpit,
Mersit rege satos, occidit orbis honos.

Chr. E. § 33. Henricus rex ad Natale fuit apud Bramtune,[1] A.D. 1121.
cum Tedbaldo consule Blesensi, et post hæc apud Henry marries Adelaide of Louvain.
Windleshores duxit Adelidam filiam ducis Luvaniæ
causa pulchritudinis. Dum autem rex ad Pascha[2]
fuisset apud Berchelea, ad Pentecosten fuit diadematus
cum regina sua nova apud Londoniam. In æstate Treaty with the Welsh.
vero, dum tenderet cum exercitu in Waliam, Walenses
ei suppliciter obviantes secundum magnificentiam libi-
tus sui concordati sunt ei. At in vigilia Natalis
Domini ventus insolitus non solum domos, sed turres
dejecit lapideas. De pulchritudine vero reginæ præ-
dictæ sic quidam dixit elegiace:

Anglorum regina, tuos, Adelina, decores,
Ipsa referre parans, Musa stupore riget.
Quid diadema tibi pulcherrima? quid tibi gemmæ?
Pallet gemma tibi, nec diadema nitet,
Deme tibi cultus, cultum natura ministrat,
Nec meliorari forma beata potest.
Ornamenta cave, nec quicquam luminis inde
Accipis; illa micant lumine clara tuo.
Non puduit modicas de magnis dicere laudes,
Nec pudeat dominam te, precor, esse meam.

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[1] *Brantune*, S². F. | [2] C³.; *Pasca*, A.

A.D. 1122. The king visits various places in England.

§ 34. Henricus rex anno sequenti fuit ad Natale Chr. E. apud Norwic, et ad Pascha apud Norhamtune,[1] et ad Pentecosten apud Windleshores. Inde ad Londoniam et Kent, et postea perrexit in Nordhumberland[2] ad Dunhelme. Eodem anno obiit Radulfus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, et Johannes Bathensis episcopus. Anno Flor. anno. vero huic proximo fuit rex ad Natale apud Dunstapele,[3] et inde perrexit ad Berchamstede. Ibi rem dignam Deus ostendit. Erat namque quidam cancellarius regis Radulphus,[4a] jam xx. annis infirmitate decoctus, semper tamen in curia juvene promptior ad omnia scelera, innocentes opprimens, terras multas sibi diripiens; eratque ei pro magno, quod, dum corpore langueret, sic animo vigeret. Cum igitur regem ad hospitandum secum duceret, in ipso vertice montis unde castellum ejus prospiciebatur, elatus mente corruit ex equo, et monachus super eum equitavit; unde sic contritus est, ut post paucos dies vita careret. Ecce quanta superbia quam vilissime Deo volente deperiit! Inde ivit rex ad Wodestoke,[5] ad locum insignem, ubi rex cohabitationem hominum et ferarum fecerat. Ibique Robertus Lincoliensis episcopus diem clausit ultimum, cujus epitaphium hoc est:

Death of archbishop Ralph.

A.D. 1123. Death of Randulph the chancellor,

and of Robert Bloet, bishop of Lincoln.

Pontificum Robertus honor, quem fama superstes
Perpetuare dabit, non obiturus obit.
Hic humilis dives, (res mira,) potens pius, ultor
Compatiens, mitis cum pateretur erat.
Noluit esse suis dominus, studuit pater esse,
Semper in adversis murus et arma suis.

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[1] *Nordhamtune*, C[3]. F.

[2] *Nordhumbreland*, C[3]. A[2]. S.; *Nordhymbreland*, S[2].

[3] *Dunestaple*, S. S[2].; *Dunstaple*, F.

[4] *Randulfus*, S. S[3]. F.

[5] *Wodestoc*, S[2].; *Wdestoc*, F.

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[a] Compare the account given of this same man, and of his end, by our author, in the third section of his epistle to Walter, *De Contemptu Mundi*, printed in the Appendix.

In decima Jani mendacis somnia mundi A.D. 1123.
Liquit, et evigilans vera perenne videt.

Chr. E. § 35. Postea ad festum Purificationis dedit rex archi- William Curbuil nominated to the primacy.
episcopatum Cantuariæ Willelmo de Curbuil, qui fuerat prior apud Chicce.[1] Ad Pascha vero apud Wincestre dedit episcopatum Lincoliæ Alexandro venerabili viro, qui nepos est Rogeri Saresbiriensis episcopi; Rogerus autem justitiarius fuit[2] totius Angliæ, et secundus a rege. Dedit etiam rex episcopatum Bathæ Godefrido cancellario reginæ. At circa Pentecosten mare transiit, The king in Normandy.
et recessit ab eo comes de Mellent,[3] discordia propalata. Rex autem castellum ejus, quod vocatur Punt-
Chr. E. aldemer, obsedit et cepit. Anno vero sequente rex A.D. 1124.
fortunate glorificatus est. Willelmus namque de Tanchervile,[4] camerarius regis, aciebus statutis confligens cepit comitem prædictum, et Hugonem de Munfort[5] sororium ejus, et Hugonem filium Gervasii, et tradidit eos regi; rex autem posuit eos in carcerem. Eodem
Flor. a. 1123. anno obiit Teulfus Wigornensis episcopus, et Ernulfus
Flor. a. 1124. Rovecestriæ episcopus. Sequenti anno toto rex fuit A.D. 1125.
in Normannia, et ibi dedit episcopatum Wigorniæ
Flor. a. 1125. Simoni[6] clerico reginæ. Sifrido quoque abbati Glas-
Ib. tingebiri dedit episcopatum Cicestriæ. Porro Willelmus archiepiscopus dedit episcopatum Roveceastriæ Johanni archidiacono suo.

Chr. E. § 36. Ad Pascha vero Johannes Cremensis, cardi- Visit of the cardinal-legate, John of Crema.
nalis Romanus, descendit in Angliam, perendinansque per episcopatus et abbatias, non sine magnis muneribus, ad nativitatem Sanctæ Mariæ celebravit concilium solemne apud Londoniam. Sed quia Moyses Dei secretarius in historia sancta parentum etiam suorum, ut virtutes, scripsit[7] et vitia, scilicet facinus Loth,

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[1] *Cycche*, S².
[2] *est*, H. O². S².; *fuit*, S.
[3] *Meslend*, F. S.; *Mesland*, S².
[4] *Tancarvile*, S².
[5] *Mundfort*, S.; *Munford*, F.; *Mundeford*, S².
[6] *Simeoni*, S².
[7] *scripserit*, C³.; *scripsit ita*, F.

A.D. 1125. scelus Ruben, proditionem Simeon et Levi, inhumani- Chr. E.
tatem fratrum Joseph, nos quoque veram historiæ legem de bonis et malis sequi dignum est. Quod si alicui Romano vel prælato displicuerit, taceat tamen, ne Johannem Cremensem sequi velle videatur. Cum igitur in[1] concilio severissime de uxoribus sacerdotum tractasset, dicens summum scelus esse a latere meretricis ad corpus Christi conficiendum surgere, cum eadem die corpus Christi confecisset, cum meretrice post vesperam interceptus est. Res apertissima negari non potuit, celari non debuit.[2] Summus honor ubique habitus in summum dedecus versum est. Repedavit igitur in sua Dei judicio confusus et inglorius. Eodem anno obiit Henricus imperator, gener Henrici regis. Operæ vero pretium est audire, quam severus rex fuerit in pravos. Monetarios enim fere omnes totius Angliæ fecit ementulari, et manus dextras abscidi, quia monetam furtive corruperant. Iste est annus carissimus omnium nostri temporis, in quo vendebatur onus equi frumentarium VI. solidis.

Scandal resulting from it.

Death of the emperor, Henry V.

Hoc etiam anno perrexerunt Romam Willelmus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, et Turstanus Eboracensis archiepiscopus, et Alexander Lincoliensis episcopus. De cujus laudabili munificentia et inexterminabili fama sic quidam dixit heroice:

Splendor Alexandri non tam renitescit honore,
Quam per eum renitescit honor; flos namque virorum,
Dando tenere putans, thesauros cogit honoris,
Et gratis dare festinans, ne danda rogentur,
Quod nondum dederit, nondum se credit habere.
O decus, o morum directio, quo veniente
Certa fides, hilaris clementia, cauta potestas,
Lene jugum, doctrina placens, correctio dulcis,

---

[1] C^3. A^2.; om. A.

[2] Desunt hæc tria verba in A. | A^2. A^4.; extant in C^3.; *celari non potuit*, F.; *decuit*, Sav.

Libertasque decens venere, pudorque facetus. A.D. 1125.
Lincoliæ gens magna prius, nunc maxima semper;
Talis et iste diu sit nobis tutor honoris.

Chr. E. § 37. Vigesimo sexto anno regni sui rex ad Natale et Pascha et Pentecosten moratus est in Normannia, et confirmatis pactis cum Franciæ principibus, qualia regem victoriosissimum decebat, circa festum Sancti Michaelis rediit in Angliam. Adduxit siquidem secum filiam suam imperatricem, tanto viro, ut prædictum Flor. a. 1126. est, viduatam. Decessit Robertus Cestrensis episcopus. A.D. 1126. The king goes to Normandy, and brings back the empress.

Anno sequenti rex curiam tenuit ad Natale apud Winlesores; pergens inde Londoniam, in Quadragesima et Pascha fuit apud Wodestoke; ubi nuntius dixit ei, "Karolus comes Flandrensis tibi dilectissimus nefanda "proditione occisus est a proceribus suis in templo apud "Brige; rex autem Francorum dedit Flandriam Willel- "mo nepoti et hosti tuo, qui jam valde roboratus diversis "cruciatibus omnes proditores Karoli mulctavit." Super his igitur rex angariatus, concilium tenuit ad Rogationes apud Londoniam; et Willelmus archiepiscopus similiter in eadem villa apud Westmuster.[1] Cum autem ad Pentecosten fuisset apud[2] Wincestre, misit filiam suam in Normanniam desponsatam[3] filio consulis Andegavensis, et secutus est eam ipse rex in Augusto. Ricardus vero Londoniensis episcopus obierat, cujus episcopatum dedit[4] Gileberto universali viro doctis- Flor. a. 1127. simo. Decessit etiam Ricardus Herefordensis episcopus. A.D. 1127. He hears that the king of France has given Flanders to William of Normandy. The empress is betrothed to Geoffrey of Anjou.

§ 38. Henricus rex sapientissimus[5] toto sequenti anno moratus in Normannia,[6] perrexit hostiliter in Franciam, quia rex Francorum tuebatur nepotem et hostem suum; perendinansque apud Sparnum VIII. diebus, tam secure ac si[7] in regno suo esset, compulit A.D. 1128 Henry invades France.

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[1] C³. A³.; *Westmenster*, A.
[2] C³. A².; om. A.
[3] *desponsatum*, C³.
[4] *rex dedit*, Sav.
[5] *fortissimus*, S².
[6] A².; *Normanniam*, A.
[7] C³. A². F.; *ac in regno*, A.

A.D. 1128. regem Lodowicum auxilia comiti Flandrensi non ferre. Ubi cum originem et procursum regni Francorum rex quæreret Henricus, sic quidam non indoctus respondit:

A courtier relates to him the rise and vicissitudes of the French monarchy.

" Regum potentissime, sicut pleræque gentes Europæ,
" ita Franci a Trojanis duxerunt originem. Antenor
" namque cum suis, profugus ab excidio Trojæ, in
" finibus Pannoniæ civitatem Siccambriam nomine ædi-
" ficavit. Verum post mortem Antenoris constituerunt
" sui duces super se Torgotum et Franctionem,[1] a
" quo Franci sunt appellati. Quibus defunctis, elege-
" runt ducem Marcominum ;[2] Marcominus autem genuit
" Faramundum primum regem Francorum. Faramun-
" dus rex genuit Clodium crinitum ; a quo reges

The first dynasty.

" Franci criniti habentur. Clodio decedente, Meroveus
" cognatus ejus regnavit, a quo reges Franci Mero-
" vingi sunt appellati. Meroveus genuit Childericum,
" Childericus Clodoveum, quem baptizavit sanctus Re-
" migius; Clodoveus Clotarium, Clotarius Chilpericum,
" Chilpericus Clotarium secundum. Clotarius vero
" genuit Dagobertum, famosissimum ac dulcissimum
" regem ; Dagobertus Clodoveum ; Clodoveus genuit
" III. filios ex Batilde regina sua sancta, Clotarium,
" Childericum, atque Theodoricum ; Theodoricus rex
" Childebertum, Childebertus Dagobertum, Dagobertus
" Theodoricum, Theodoricus Clotarium, hujus prosa-
" piæ regem ultimum ; post quem regnavit Hildericus,
" qui tonsus et in monasterio retrusus est, Pipino

The second dynasty.

" rege effecto. Ex alterius autem serie generationis,
" ex filia Clotarii regis genuit Ansbertus Arnoldum,
" Arnoldus sanctum Arnulfum, post Metensem epi-
" scopum ; sanctus Arnulfus Anchisem, Anchises Pipi-
" num majorem-domus, Pipinus Karolum Martellum,
" Karolus Pipinum regem, Pipinus rex Karolum mag-
" num imperatorem, qui quasi sidus effulsit præceden-
" tium et sequentium. Carolus genuit Lodovicum
" imperatorem, Lodovicus Carolum imperatorem Calvum,

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[1] *Francionem*, S[2].

[2] *Marcomirum*, C[3]. A[2]. F.

" Carolus Lodowicum regem, patrem Caroli Simplicis, A.D. 1128.
" Carolus Simplex Lodovicum, Lodovicus Lotarium,
" Lotarius Lodovicum, hujus prosapiæ regem ultimum.
" Lodovico igitur defuncto, Francorum [1] proceres regem The third dynasty.
" super se statuunt Hugonem ducem, qui filius Hugo-
" nis magni ducis fuit. Hugo vero rex genuit piissi-
" mum regem Robertum. Robertus vero rex genuit
" III. filios, Hugonem dulcissimum ducem, et Henricum
" regem amantissimum, Robertumque Burgundiæ du-
" cem. Henricus rex genuit Philippum regem, qui ad
" finem monacatus est, et Hugonem Magnum, qui
" in motione magna Jerosolimam cum multis duci-
" bus Europæ debellatum eam petiit super Paganos,[a]
" anno ab incarnatione Domini millesimo nonagesimo
" quinto. Philippus vero rex genuit Lodovicum, qui
" regnat in præsenti. Qui si probitatis antiquorum
" vestigia teneret, tam secure in regno ejus non qui-
" esceres."

Ord. Vit. xii. 45. § 39. His dictis [2] et actis reversus est Henricus in Thierry of Alsace lays claim to Flanders. Normanniam. Advenit autem a partibus [3] Alemanniæ quidam dux Theodoricus, Flandriam calumnians, quosdam proceres Flandriæ secum habens, et hoc suasu regis Henrici. Willelmus autem comes Flandrensis aciebus ordinatis obviam venit ei. Pugnatum est acriter. Willelmus consul numerum suorum, cum pauci essent, supplebat probitate inexterminabili. Cruentatus igitur omnia arma sua sanguine hostili findebat ense fulmineo cuneos hostium, nec potuerunt pondus terribile juvenilis brachii perferre hostes perterriti et fugæ dediti. Victoriosissimus itaque consul dum castrum William of Normandy is mortally wounded while be- hostile obsideret, et in crastino reddi deberet, jam pœne adnihilatis hostibus, Deo volente, parvo vulnere

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F. A^2 ; *Fracorum*, A.
[2] C^3. A^2. ; *dicdis*, A.
[3] C^3. A^2. ; *patribus*, A.

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[a] "Super Paganos," though strange Latin, probably represents "sur les Paiens," which is good French; if so, it would indicate that Henry was here working on a French original.

A.D. 1128. sieging a certain fortress [Alost].

sauciatus in manu deperiit. Nobilissimus autem juvenum ætate brevi famam promeruit sempiternam. De quo Walo[a] versificator sic ait:

Mars obit in terris, deflent par sidera sidus,
Numina par numen, parque decora decus.
Res nova! temporibus moriuntur numina nostris,
Amodo credibile est numina posse mori.
Unicus ille ruit, cujus non terga sagittam,
Cujus nosse pedes non potuere fugam.
Nil nisi fulmen erat, quotiens res ipsa monebat,
Et si non fulmen, fulminis instar erat.
Flandria se jactat tumulo, Normannia cunis,
Hic fuit occasus sideris, ortus ibi.[1]

The master of the Temple takes many Englishmen with him to the Holy Land.

Hoc etiam anno Hugo de Paiens,[2] magister militum templi Jerusalem, veniens in Angliam secum multos duxit Jerusalem, inter quos Gaufridus[b] Andegavensis consul rex futurus perrexit. Obierunt Radulfus Flambard, Dunelmensis episcopus, et Willelmus Giffardus, Wintoniensis episcopus. Chr. E.

A.D. 1129. Henry in England.

§ 40. Sequenti anno Lodovicus rex Francorum fecit sublimari filium suum Philippum in regem. Rex vero Henricus, pacificatis omnibus quæ in Francia, Flandria, Normannia, Britannia, Cenomannia, Andegavi[3] erant, cum gaudio in Angliam rediit. Tenuit igitur concilium maximum ad kalendas Augusti apud Londoniam, de uxoribus sacerdotum prohibendis. Intererant siquidem illi concilio Willelmus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, Turstanus Eboracensis archiepiscopus, Alexander Lincoliensis episcopus, Rogerus Salesbiriensis episcopus, Chr. E

Second council of London on clerical celibacy.

[1] Desunt hi versus in S^2., et nonnisi unus (*Mars obit*, &c.) datur in A^2. C^3. et S^3.

[2] *Paens*, S. S^2. F.

[3] *Andegavia*, A^2.

[a] This is probably Gualo, the Breton poet, whose *Invectio in Monachos*, a satire in Latin hexameters, was first printed by Flaccus Illyricus, and has been reproduced by Mr. Wright in his *Anglo-Latin Satirists*, a publication in the Rolls series.

[b] *Gaufridus.* Not Geoffrey, but Fulk, count of Anjou, his father.

Gilebertus Londoniensis episcopus, Johannes Rovecestrensis, Sifridus Sudsexensis, Godefridus Bathensis, Simon Wigornensis, Everardus Nordwicensis, Bernardus Sancti Davidis, Herveus primus Eliensis episcopus. Nam Wintoniensis, et Dunhelmensis, et Cestrensis, et Herefordensis obierant. Hi columnæ regni erant et radii sanctitatis hoc tempore. Verum rex decepit[1] eos simplicitate Willelmi archiepiscopi. Concesserunt namque regi justitiam de uxoribus sacerdotum, et improvidi habiti sunt, quod postea patuit, cum res summo dedecore terminata est. Accepit enim rex pecuniam infinitam de presbyteris, et redemit eos. Tunc, sed frustra, concessionis suæ pœnituit episcopos, cum pateret in oculis omnium gentium deceptio prælatorum et depressio subjectorum.

A.D. 1129.

The king takes money from the married priests, and lets them keep their wives.

Cf. Ord. Vit. xii. 48, ad fin.

Levit. xviii. 25. Deut. xviii. 12.

Eodem anno illis quos Hugo de Paiens, de quo prædictum est, secum duxerat ad Jerusalem, male contigit; Deum siquidem offenderant sanctæ telluris incolæ luxuria et rapina et variis sceleribus; ut autem scriptum est in Moyse et Regum libris, Non diu scelera locis illis sunt impunita. In vigilia namque sancti Nicholai a paucis paganorum multi Christianorum devicti sunt, cum antea soleret e contrario contingere. In obsidione igitur Damascena, cum magna pars Christianorum progressa esset ad victualia perquirenda, mirati sunt pagani Christianos plures et fortissimos se muliebriter fugientes, et persequentes innumeros occiderunt. Eos autem qui fuga salutem sibi quæsierant, in montibus tempestate nivis et frigoribus Deus ipsa nocte persecutus est, ita quod vix aliquis evasit.

Ill fortune of the Christians in Palestine

Contigit etiam quod filius regis Francorum, qui diademate regni fuerat, ut prædictum est, decoratus, dum cornipedem ludens agitaret obviam suem[a] habuit. Cui

Accidental death of Philip, the young king of France.

[1] C³. A². ; *deinceps*, A.

[a] *suem.* This incident occurred in 1131. See Ord. Vit., xii. 48; xiii. 12.

A.D. 1129. cum pedes equi currentes offenderent, cecidit rex novus, et fractis cervicibus expiravit. Ecce res insolita et admiratione dignissima! Ecce quanta celsitudo, quam cito, quam leviter adnihilata est![a]

A.D. 1130. § 41. Anno tricesimo regni sui fuit rex Henricus ad Natale apud Wirecestre,[1] ad Pascha apud Wodestoke,[2] ubi fuit accusatus Galfridus de Clintune, et infamatus[b] de proditione regis falso.[3] Ad Rogationes fuit apud Cantuariam ad dedicationem novæ ecclesiæ. Ad festivitatem Sancti Michaelis transiit in Normanniam. Chr. E.

A.D. 1131. Interview between the king and pope Innocent II. at Chartres. Eodem anno decessit Honorius papa. Sequenti anno recepit rex apud Carnotum papam Innocentium, Anacleto subjici recusans.[4] Hos enim utrosque Romani bipartiti elegerant. Expulsus vero ab urbe Innocentius vi Anacleti, qui Petrus de Leues prius vocabatur, auxilio regis Henrici receptus est per totas Gallias. Malm. *Hist. Nov.* i. § 4. Malm. *Hist. Nov.* i. § 5.

Henry returns to England. Post quod in æstate rediit in Angliam,[5] secum filiam suam adducens. Fuit igitur in Nativitate Sanctæ Mariæ magnum placitum apud Nordhamtune; in quo, congregatis omnibus principibus Angliæ deliberatum est quod filia sua redderetur viro suo, scilicet consuli Andegavensi, eam requirenti. Missa autem post hæc filia regis viro suo recepta est fastu tanta viragine digno. Post Pascha mortuus est Reginaldus abbas Remesiensis,[6] hujus novæ auctor[7] ecclesiæ. In principio hiemis obiit Herveus primus Elyensis episcopus. Flor. a. 1031.

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[1] *Wincestre*, S[2].
[2] *Wudestoc*, S.
[3] F. A[2]. A[4].; om. *falso*, A.
[4] C[3]. A[2].; *recusantem*, A.
[5] C[3]. A[2].; *Anglia*, A.
[6] *Ramisiensis*, C[3].; *Ramesiensis*, F.
[7] *fundator*, Sav.

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[a] At this point the Hengwrt MS. and All Souls xxxi. terminate.

[b] Orderic (viii. 22) states that the charge of treason against Clinton, whom he elsewhere (xi. 2) speaks of as a man of low birth, raised out of the dust to wealth and honour by Henry's favour, was examined by David king of Scotland. Whether he was found guilty he does not say; this is added by Hoveden, but without, it would seem, any additional information besides what he found in Henry of Huntingdon.

§ 42. Anno sequenti fuit rex Henricus ad Natale apud Dunstapele,[1] ad Pascha apud Wodestoke. Post Pascha fuit magnum placitum apud Londoniam, ubi de pluribus quidem, et maxime discordia episcopi Sancti Davidis et episcopi Clamorgensis de finibus parochiarum suarum, tractatum est. Obiit Baldewinus rex Jerusalem, et Gaufridus successit. A.D. 1132. Henry in England. Lawsuit between the bishops of St. David's and Llandaff.

Anno XXXIII. fuit Henricus rex ad Natale apud Winlesores[2] infirmus. Ad caput jejunii fuit conventus ad Londoniam super episcopos Sancti Davidis et Clamorgensis, et pro discordia archiepiscopi et Lincoliensis episcopi. Ad Pascha fuit rex apud Oxeneford in nova aula,[a] et ad Rogationes fuit iterum conventus apud Wincestre super rebus prædictis. Post Pentecosten dedit rex episcopatum Elyensem Nigello, episcopatum Dunhelmiæ Galfrido cancellario. Fecit etiam rex novum episcopatum apud Karloil, et transiit mare. A.D. 1133. Various transactions, chiefly ecclesiastical.

§ 43. Sequenti anno rex Henricus moratus est in Normannia pro[3] gaudio nepotum suorum quos genuerat consul Andegavensis in filia regis. Obiit[4] Gilebertus[5] Londoniensis episcopus, et Lavendensis[6] episcopus in via Romæ, pro causa sua tam diu agitata.[b] Hoc anno transfretavit archiepiscopus Willelmus, et Alexander Lincoliensis episcopus, ad regem, pro discordia quæ inter eos erat pro quibusdam consuetudinibus parochiarum suarum. A.D. 1134. Henry goes to Normandy, and returns no more. Dissension between the primate and the bishop of Lincoln.

Anno trigesimo quinto rex Henricus continue moratus est in Normannia;[7] et sæpe, non rediturus in A.D. 1135.

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[1] *Dunestaple*, S. S². F
[2] *Windesores*, C³.
[3] Codd.; *præ*, Sav.
[4] C³. F. A².; deest in A.
[5] *Gillebertus*, C³. F.; *Gilbertus*, A².
[6] *Lavandensis*, S. S². F.
[7] C³. A².; *Normanniam*, A.

[a] This probably refers to Oxford castle, and has nothing to do with the then nascent university. Compare the expression "in nova aula" apud Westmuster," at § of this book.

[b] The suit was at last determined in favour of the see of St. David's. Comp. Malm., *Hist. Nov.*, i. § 7.

A.D. 1135. Quarrels between Matilda and her husband.

Angliam, redire proponebat; sed detinebat eum filia ejus, discordiis variis[1] quæ oriebantur pluribus causis inter regem et consulem Andegavensem, artibus scilicet filiæ suæ. Quibus stimulationibus rex in iram et animi rancorem excitatus est, quæ a nonnullis causa naturalis refrigidationis,[2] et postea mortis ejus causa fuisse dictæ sunt. Cum igitur rex a venatu redisset, apud Sanctum Dionysium in silva Leonum[a] comedit carnes murenarum, quæ semper ei nocebant, et semper eas amabat. Cum autem medicus hoc comedi prohiberet, non adquievit rex salubri consilio, secundum quod dicitur,

Cf. Malm. *Hist. Nov.* i. § 8.

Henry dies of an illness caused by eating lampreys.

"Nitimur in vetitum semper, cupimusque negata." v. Amor. iii. 4, 17.

Hæc igitur comestio, pessimi humoris illatrix et consimilium vehemens excitatrix, senile corpus letaliter refrigidans subitam et summam fecit perturbationem. Contra quod natura renitens excitavit febrem acutam[3] ad impetum dissolvendum materiei gravissimæ. Cum autem restare nulla vi[4] posset, decessit rex magnus, cum regnasset XXXV. annis et tribus mensibus, in prima die Decembris.

§ 44. Et jam in tanti fine regis finem libro dicabimus; cui tamen, si meruit, musam memoriale dare comprecemur:—

Memorial verses.

Rex Henricus obit, decus olim, nunc dolor orbis;
Numina flent numen deperiisse suum.
Mercurius minor eloquio, vi mentis Apollo,
Jupiter imperio, Marsque vigore gemunt.
Janus cautela minor, Alcides probitate,
Conflictu Pallas, arte Minerva gemunt.

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[1] om. A.

[2] A^2.; *refrigdationis*, C^3. F.; *refridationis*, A.

[3] C^3. A^2.; *frebrem accutam*, A.

[4] C^3. F.; *vi ulla*, A^2.; *in nulla*, A^4.; *in* (seu *vi*) *nullo*, A.

[a] St. Denis le Fermont, in the Forêt des Lions, between Lions and Gisors, about six leagues from Rouen.

Anglia quæ cunis, quæ[1] sceptro numinis hujus A.D. 1135.
Ardua splenduerat, jam tenebrosa ruit;
Hæc cum rege suo, Normannia cum duce marcet;[2]
Nutriit hæc puerum, perdidit illa virum.

Explicit liber septimus.

Incipit liber octavus.

Lib. VIII.[a]

Incipit liber decimus.[b]

§ 1. Defuncto igitur Henrico rege magno, libera, ut in mortuo solent, judicia populi depromebantur. Alii enim eum tribus vehementer irradiasse splendoribus asserebant; sapientia summa, nam et consilio profundissimus, et providentia conspicuus, et eloquentia clarus habebatur; victoria etiam, quia, exceptis[c] aliis[3] quæ egregie gesserat, regem Francorum lege belli superaverat; divitiis quoque, quibus omnes antecessores suos longe longeque[4] præcesserat. Alii autem diverso studio tribus eum vitiis inficiebant; cupiditate nimia, qua (ut omnes parentes sui,) pauperes opulentus, tributis et exactionibus inhians, delatoriis hamis intercipiebat; crudelitate etiam, qua consulem[5] de Moretuil cognatum suum in captione positum exoculavit; (nec sciri facinus tam horrendum potuit usque quo mors secreta regis aperuit, nec minus et alia proponebant exempla,[d] Various popular judgments about the dead king.

[1] C³. A².; *quo*, A.
[2] C³. F. A².; *suo*, A., supra-scripto *sevo*.
[3] Codd.; *illis*, Sav.
[4] Codd.; *longe lateque*, Sav.
[5] C³. F.; *comitem*, A., supra-scripto *vel consulem*.

[a] Of this book all but one leaf is wanting in S.
[b] "Decimus" in A., on which the text of the present edition is based, because in this MS., as explained in the Introduction, Books VIII. and IX. contain the author's three epistles, and the treatise *De Miraculis Anglorum*.
[c] *exceptis*. The word seems to be used in the sense of "præter-"missis."
[d] See the *Epistle to Walter*, § 12, in the Appendix.

A.D. 1135. quæ tacemus;) luxuria quoque, quia mulierum ditioni, regis more Salomonis, continue subjacebat. Talia vulgus liberum diversificabat. Successu vero temporis atrocissimi, quod postea per Normannorum rabiosas proditiones exarsit, quicquid Henricus fecerat vel tyrannice vel regie, comparatione deteriorum visum est peroptimum. Venit enim sine mora Stephanus Theobaldi [1] Blesensis consulis frater, junior eo, vir magnæ strenuitatis et audaciæ; et quamvis jurasset sacramentum [2] fidelitatis Anglici regni filiæ regis Henrici, fretus tamen vigore et impudentia, regni diadema Dominum tentans invasit. Willelmus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, qui primus sacramentum filiæ regis fecerat, eum, proh dolor! in regem benedixit, unde judicium illud Deus in eum statuit, quod sacerdoti magno Jeremiæ percussori statuerat, scilicet ne post annum viveret.[a] Rogerus magnus Saresbiriensis episcopus, qui secundus sacramentum illud prædictum fecerat, et omnibus aliis prædictaverat,[3] diadema ei et vires auxilii sui contribuit; unde postea justo Dei judicio ab eodem quem creavit in regem captus et excruciatus miserandum sortitus est exterminium. Sed quid morer? omnes qui sacramentum juraverant, tam præsules quam consules et principes, assensum Stephano præbuerunt, et hominium fecerunt. Hoc vero signum malum fuit, quod tam repente omnis Anglia, sine mora, sine labore, quasi in ictu oculi ei subjecta est. Diadematus igitur [4] curiam suam tenuit ad Natale apud Lundoniam.

His tyranny a light evil, compared with the miserable anarchy of the next reign.

Stephen of Blois claims the throne; he is crowned by the primate.

Jer. xx. 2. xxviii. 16.

All Stephen's supporters, who had sworn fealty to Matilda, came to a wretched end.

§ 2. Corpus autem regis Henrici adhuc insepultum erat in Normannia. Rex namque Henricus prima dei Decembris obierat; cujus corpus allatum est Rothomagum, et ibi viscera ejus et cerebrum et oculi con-

The corpse of Henry taken to Rouen, and thence to Caen; its horrible condition.

[1] *Tedbaldi*, S². F.
[2] *in sacramentum*, Sav.
[3] *prædicaverat*, Sav.
[4] C³.; deest *igitur* in A. A². F.

[a] With habitual inaccuracy, Henry has confounded together the prophecies uttered against Phassur the priest and Hananias the prophet.

sepulta sunt. Reliquum autem corpus cultellis circumquaque dissecatum [1] et multo sale aspersum coriis taurinis reconditum [a] est, causa fœtoris evitandi, qui multus et infinitus jam circumstantes inficiebat. Unde et ipse qui magno pretio conductus securi caput ejus diffiderat, ut fœtidissimum [2] cerebrum extraheret, quamvis linteaminibus caput suum obvolvisset, mortuus tamen ea causa pretio male gavisus est. Hic est ultimus e multis quem rex Henricus occidit.[3] Inde vero corpus regium Cadomum [4] sui deportaverunt, ubi diu in ecclesia positum in qua pater ejus sepultus fuerat, quamvis multo sale repletum esset et multis coriis reconditum, tamen continue ex corpore niger [5] humor et horribilis coria [6] pertransiens decurrebat, et vasis sub feretro susceptus a ministris horrore [7] fatiscentibus abjiciebatur. Vide igitur quicumque legis, quomodo regis potentissimi corpus, cujus cervix diadematizata auro et gemmis electissimis quasi Dei splendore vernaverat, cujus utraque manus sceptris præradiaverat, cujus reliqua superficies auro textili tota rutilaverat, cujus os tam deliciosissimis et exquisitis cibis pasci solebat, cui omnes assurgere, omnes expavescere, omnes congaudere, omnes admirari solebant; vide, inquam, quo corpus illud devenerit, quam horribiliter delituerit, quam miserabiliter abjectum fuerit. Vide rerum eventum, ex quo semper pendet judicium, et disce contemnere quicquid sic disterminatur, quicquid sic adnihilatur. Tandem reliquiæ regalis cadaveris allatæ sunt in Angliam, et sepultæ sunt intra XII. dies

A.D. 1135.

Reflexions.

The remains are brought to England

[1] *desecatum*, Sav.
[2] *fedissimum*, A[2].
[3] Deest hæc clausula in A[2].; reperitur in A. C[3]. S[2]. F.
[4] *Cadonum*, Sav.
[5] *jugiter*, Sav.
[6] *scoria*, Sav.
[7] *fœtore et horrore*, Sav.

[a] On the embalming of the body of Henry I., comp. Malm., *Hist. Nov.*, i. § 10, and Ord. Vit., xiii. 19. Orderic says that it was kept in St. Stephen's church at Caen four weeks, waiting for a fair wind.

A.D. 1135. and buried at Reading.

Natalis[1] apud abbatiam Redinges, quam rex Henricus fundaverat, et multis possessionibus ditaverat. Ibique rex venit Stephanus a curia sua quam tenuerat apud Londoniam in ipso Natali contra corpus patrui sui, et Willelmus archiepiscopus Cantuariæ, et multi præsules et proceres, et sepelierunt regem Henricum cum debita tanto viro reverentia.

At Oxford Stephen promises various reforms, but he did not keep his word.

§ 3. Inde perrexit rex Stephanus apud Oxeneford, ubi recordatus est et confirmavit pacta, quæ Deo et populo et sanctæ ecclesiæ concesserat in die coronationis suæ. Quæ sunt hæc: Primo vovit, quod defunctis episcopis nunquam retineret ecclesias in manu sua, sed statim electioni canonicæ consentiens episcopis eas investiret. Secundo vovit, quod nullius clerici vel laici silvas in manu sua retineret, sicut Henricus rex fecerat, qui singulis annis implacitaverat eos, si vel venationem cepissent in silvis propriis, vel si eas ad necessitates suas extirparent vel diminuerent. Quod placiti nefandi genus adeo fuit execrabile, ut si alicujus lucum, quem habere pecuniam æstimarent, a longe conspicerent, statim vastatum perhiberent, sive esset sive non, ut eum immerito redimerent. Tertio vovit, quod Denegeldum,[2] id est, duos solidos ad hidam, quos antecessores sui accipere solebant singulis annis, in æternum condonaret. Hæc principaliter Deo vovit, et alia, sed nihil horum tenuit.

Malm. *Hist. Nov.* i. § 13.

Danegeld to be abolished.

A.D. 1136. Stephen leads an army to Durham; effects a peaceable understanding with David of Scotland,

§ 4. Stephanus rex primo anno regni sui, cum venisset in fine Natalis ad Oxenefordiam,[3] audivit nuntium dicentem sibi: "Rex Scottorum simulans se pacifice "venire ad te gratia hospitandi, veniens in Carloil et "in Novum Castellum, dolose cepit utraque." Cui rex Stephanus: "Quæ dolose cepit, victoriose recipiam." Promovit igitur rex impiger exercitum tantum erga David regem Scottorum, quantum nullus in Anglia

[1] *Natalis Domini*, Sav.
[2] A. F.; *Danegildum*, C[3].
[3] *Oxneford*, C[3].; *Oxeneford*, F.

fuisse memorare potuit. Occurrens igitur ei rex David apud Dunelmiam,[1] concordatus est ei, reddens ei Novum Castellum; Carloil vero retinuit concessione regis Stephani. Rex tamen David homo regis Stephani non est effectus, quia sacramentum primus laicorum juraverat filiæ regis, scilicet nepti suæ, de Anglia ei manutenenda post mortem Henrici; filius autem regis David Henricus homo[2] regis Stephani effectus est, deditque ei rex Stephanus burgum quod vocatur Huntendonia in augmentum.[3] Rediens autem inde rex in Quadragesima tenuit curiam suam apud Lundoniam in solemnitate Paschali, qua nunquam fuerat splendidior in Anglia multitudine, magnitudine, auro, argento, gemmis, vestibus, omnimodaque dapsilitate.

A.D. 1136.

whose son Henry does homage to him.

Ad Rogationes vero divulgatum est regem mortuum esse. Quod audiens Hugo Bigod[4] in castellum[5] Norwici subintravit, nec reddere voluit nisi ipsi regi advenienti, valde tamen invitus. Jam ergo cœpit rabies prædicta Normannorum perjurio et proditione pullulare. Cepit igitur rex castellum de Bakentun,[6] cujus dominus Robertus quidam proditor a rege descierat. Inde obsedit urbem Excestre, quam tenebat Baldewinus de Redvers[7] contra eum, ibique diu morando, machinas multas[8] construendo, multum thesauri sui absumpsit. Sero tamen redditum est ei castellum, et vindictam non exercuit in proditores suos, pessimo consilio usus; si enim eam tunc exercuisset, postea contra eum tot castella retenta non fuissent. Igitur inde[9] rex perrexit in insulam Vectam, et abstulit eam Baldewino de Redvers de quo prædiximus, et exulavit eum ab Anglia. Elatus igitur rex his[10] prospere gestis, venit

Beginning of the insubordination of the Norman barons.

Stephen puts down the rising in Devonshire, but leaves the traitors unpunished.

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[1] C[3]. F.; *circa D.*, A[2].; *apud*, suprascripto *vel circa*, A.

[2] C[3].; deest *homo* in A.

[3] *Huntedona in auxmentum*, S[2].

[4] *Bigot*, C[3].

[5] A[2].; *castello*, A. C[3]. F.

[6] A. F.; *Bathentun*, C[3].; *Bathentune*, S[2].; *Bachentune*, A[2].

[7] *Rivers*, S[2].

[8] C[3]. A[2].; *suas*, A.

[9] *Inde igitur*, A[2].; *Inde*, C[3].

[10] C[3]. F.; *hiis*, A.

A.D. 1136. He stays at Brampton, near Huntingdon.

venatum apud Brantonam,[1] quæ abest miliario ab Huntendona, et ibi placitavit de forestis procerum suorum, id est, de silvis et venationibus, et fregit votum et pactum Deo et populo.

A.D. 1137. The king goes to Normandy; his success there.

§ 5. Stephanus rex anno secundo fuit ad Natale apud Dunestaple. In Quadragesima vero transfretavit in Normanniam. Transivit autem Alexander Lincolniensis episcopus et multi proceres cum eo. Ubi rex, Martiis altercationibus assolitus, omnia quæ incepit luculente perfecit; hostium circumventus repulit, hostilia castella depulit, egregie inter summos splenduit, concordiam cum rege Francorum composuit, et Eustachius filius ejus homo regis Francorum effectus est de Normannia, quæ Francorum adjacet imperio. Quod videns consul Andegavensis, qui supremus hostis ejus erat, (qui nimirum filiam regis Henrici duxerat, quæ imperatrix Alemanniæ fuerat, et sacramenta de regno Angliæ acceperat, unde et Angliam calumniabantur sponsus et sponsa,) cepit tamen inducias cum rege Stephano. Videbat enim se ad præsens regias vires non posse perfringere, tam pro multitudine probitatis, quam pecuniæ, quæ adhuc ex abundantia, thesauri regis defuncti supererat. Cunctis igitur prospere gestis, in ipso vestibulo Natalis rediit rex in Angliam clarus. Hi igitur duo anni Stephano regi prosperrimi fuerunt; tertius vero, de quo dicemus, mediocris et intercisus fuit; duo vero ultimi exitiales fuerunt et prærupti.

Comes to terms with Geoffrey of Anjou.

Returns to England.

A.D. 1138.

§ 6. Stephanus rex impiger tertio anno in ipso ingressu Angliæ provolavit ad Bedeford,[2] et in vigilia Natalis Domini et in toto Natali obsedit eam. Quod etiam multis Deo displicuisse visum est, quia sollemnitate sollemnitatum parvi vel nihili pendebat. Reddita autem ei Bedefordia, in Scotiam promovit exercitum. Rex autem Scotorum, quia sacramentum fecerat filiæ regis Henrici, quasi sub velamento sanctitatis per

Expedition against Scotland.

[1] *Barantonam*, S².

[2] *Bedefordiam*, C³. F.

suos execrabiliter egit. Mulieres enim gravidas findebant, et fœtus anticipatos abstrahebant. Pueros super acumina lancearum jactabant, presbyteros super altaria detruncabant, crucifixorum capita abscissa super cæsorum corpora ponebant, mortuorum vero capita mutuantes super crucifixa reponebant. Quæcunque igitur Scoti attingebant, omnia erant plena horroris, plena immanitatis. Aderat clamor mulierum, ejulatus senum, morientium gemitus, viventium desperatio. Rex igitur Stephanus insurgens combussit et destruxit australes partes regni regis David, ipso quidem David non audente ei[1] congredi. Cruelties of the Scotch.

§ 7. Post Pascha vero exarsit rabies proditorum nefanda. Quidam namque proditorum, nomine Talebot, tenuit contra regem castellum Herefordiæ in Wales; quod tamen rex per obsidionem in suum recepit. Robertus consul, filius Henrici regis nothus, tenuit contra eum fortissimum castellum Bristoue,[2] et aliud quod vocatur Slede. Radulfus[3] Luvel tenuit castellum de Cari,[a] Paganellus castellum de Ludelaue, Willelmus de Moiun castellum de Dunestore, Robertus de Nicole castellum de Warham, Eustachius filius Johannis castellum de Merton,[4] Willelmus filius Alani castellum de Salopesberi, quod rex quidem cepit armis, captorumque nonnullos suspendit. Quod audiens Walkelinus, qui tenebat castellum de Dovre,[5] reginæ se obsidenti reddidit illud. Several great barons revolt; Talbot at Hereford, Lovel at Castle-Cary, &c.: Robert of Gloucester holds Bristol.

Occupato igitur rege circa partes australes Angliæ, David Scotorum rex innumerabilem exercitum promo- King David with a great army invades Eng-

[1] *cum eo*, Sav.
[2] *Bristou*, A². ; *Briestowe*, S².
[3] *Willelmus*, C³. S². ; *Radulfus*, A². F.
[4] *Mealtune*, C³. F. ; *Meltone*, A².
[5] C³. F. ; *Dovere*, A². ; *Douvere*, S². ; *Dovra*, A.

[a] In the *Gesta Stephani* (Duchesne, p. 942) it is related that Stephen took the castle of Cary about this time, after a troublesome siege. He seems to have entrusted it to the keeping of one of his followers, a knight named Tracey, named farther on in the *Gesta*, in order that the post might serve as a check on the strong castle of Bristol, belonging to Robert earl of Gloucester.

A.D. 1138. land; the English forces, raised by the energy of archbishop Thurstan, meet him near Northallerton.

vit in Angliam. Contra quem proceres boreales Angliæ, admonitione et jussu Turstani Eboracensis archiepiscopi, restiterunt viriliter, fixo Standard, id est, regio insigni, apud Alvertone. Cum autem morbi causa non posset archiepiscopus interesse pugnæ, misit loco sui Radulfum episcopum Orcadum;[a] qui stans in acie media loco eminenti hujusmodi usus est incentivo:—

Address of the bishop of the Orkneys.

§ 8. "Proceres Angliæ clarissimi Normannigenæ, me-
" minisse enim vestri vos nominis et generis prælia-
" turos decet, perpendite qui, et contra quos, et ubi,
" bellum geratis. Vobis enim nemo impune restitit.
" Audax Francia vos experta[1] delituit: ferox[2] Anglia
" vobis capta succubuit, dives Apulia vos sortita re-
" floruit, Jerusalem famosa, et insignis Antiochia, se
" vobis utraque supposuit. Nunc autem Scotia vobis
" rite subjecta repellere conatur; inermem præferens
" temeritatem, rixæ quam pugnæ aptior; in quibus
" quidem nulla vel rei militaris scientia, vel præliandi
" peritia, vel moderandi gratia. Nullus igitur verendi
" locus, sed potius verecundiæ, quod hi quos semper
" in patria sua petivimus et vicimus, in patria nostra
" ritu transverso ebrii dementesque convolarunt. Quod
" tamen vobis ego præsul et archipræsulis vestri loco
" situs, divina providentia factum denuntio, ut hi qui
" in hac patria templa Dei violarunt, altaria cruen-
" taverunt, presbyteros occiderunt, nec pueris nec
" pugnantibus pepercerunt, in eadem condignas sui
" facinoris luant pœnas. Quod justissimum suæ dispo-
" sitionis arbitrium per manus vestras hodie perficiet
" Deus. Attollite igitur animos, viri elegantes, et ad-
" versus hostem nequissimum, freti virtute patria, immo

[1] C[3].; *ex parte*, A.

[2] *ferax*, Sav.

[a] Ralph Nowel, a priest of York, had been consecrated by archbishop Thomas to the diocese of the Orkneys. From the Chronicle of Thomas Stubbs the Dominican (Twysden, p. 1713) who mentions this fact, it appears that all the Scottish sees were at this time subject to York.

" Dei præsentia, exsurgite. Neque vos temeritas eorum A.D. 1138.
" moveat, cum illos tot nostræ virtutis insignia non
" deterreant. Illi nesciunt armari se in bello, vos in
" pace armis exercemini, ut in bello casus belli dubios
" non sentiatis. Tegitur nobis galea caput, lorica
" pectus, ocreis crura, totumque clipeo corpus; ubi
" feriat hostis non reperit, quem ferro septum circum-
" spicit. Procedentes igitur adversus inermes et nudos
" quid dubitamus? an numerum? sed non tam nume-
" rus multorum quam virtus paucorum bellum conficit.
" Multitudo enim disciplinæ insolens ipsa sibi est in-
" pedimento in prosperis ad victoriam, in adversis ad
" fugam. Præterea majores nostri[1] multos pauci sæpe
" vicerunt. Quid ergo conferet vobis gloria parentalis,
" exercitatio sollennis, disciplina militaris, nisi multos
" pauciores vincatis? Sed jam finem dicendi suadet
" hostis inordinate proruens, et, quod animo valde meo
" placet, disperse confluens. Vos igitur, archipræsulis
" vestri loco, qui hodie commissa in Domini domum,
" in Domini sacerdotes, in Domini gregem pusillum
" vindicaturi estis, si quis vestrum prælians occubuerit,
" absolvimus ab omni pœna peccati, in nomine Patris,
" cujus creaturas fœde et horribiliter destruxerunt, et
" Filii, cujus altaria maculaverunt, et Spiritus Sancti,
" a quo sublimatos insane ceciderunt."

§ 9. Respondit omnis populus Anglorum, et resonue- Battle of the Standard.
runt montes et colles, Amen, Amen; exclamavitque simul exercitus Scotorum insigne patrium, et ascendit clamor usque in cœlum, Albani, Albani. Extinctus autem clamor est ictuum immanitate et horrendo fragore. Principium pugnæ: dum acies Loenensium, qui gloriam primi ictus a rege Scotorum invito præripuerant, amentatis missilibus et lanceis longissimis super aciem equitum nostrorum loricatam percutiunt, quasi muro ferreo offendentes, impenetrabiles invenerunt. Viri autem sagittarii equitibus immixti obnubilantes

[1] *vestri* C³. A². F.

A.D. 1138. eos nimirum inermes penetrabant. Tota namque gens Normannorum et Anglorum in una acie circum Standard conglobata persistebant immobiles. Percusso igitur sagitta summo duce Loenensium, corruit ipse, et tota gens eorum in fugam conversa est. Offensus namque Deus excelsus erat eis, et omnis virtus eorum tanquam aranearum contextio demolita est. Quod videns acies maxima Scotorum, quæ ex alia parte acerrime pugnabat, animo delicuit,[a] et fugæ indulsit. Regalis autem acies, quam ex pluribus gentibus rex Davidus constituerat, simul hoc vidit, cœperunt,[1] primum sigillatim, postea catervatim aufugere, rege jam pœne solo persistente. Quod amici regis videntes, coegerunt eum sonipede arrepto terga dare. Filius autem regis strenuissimus non attendens ad hæc quæ fieri a suis videbat, sed soli gloriæ et virtuti inhians, fugientibus reliquis fortissime assiluit aciem hostium, et miro impetu percussit. Sola namque acies ejus equis[2] residebat, ex Anglis videlicet et Normannis composita, qui patris in familia conversabantur. Equitantes autem nulla ratione diu persistere potuerunt contra milites loricatos pede persistentes et immobiliter coacervatos; sed lanceis confractis et equis vulneratis aufugere quidem, gloriose tamen re gesta, conpulsi sunt. XI. millia Scotorum fama refert occisa, extra eos qui in segetibus et silvis inventi sunt et perempti. Nostri vero minimo sanguine fuso[3] feliciter triumpharunt. Hujus pugnæ dux fuit Willelmus consul de Albemarle, et Guillelmus[4] Piperellus de Notingham, et Walterus Espech,[5] et Gillebertus[6] de Laci, cujus frater ibi solus ex omnibus equitibus occisus est. Cujus eventus belli cum regi

Bravery of prince Henry.

The Scots defeated with heavy loss.

[1] *ceperunt ergo*, A.
[2] *equitib⁹ s*, S².
[3] Om. Sav.
Willelmus, C³. A².
[5] *Espec*, A². F.
[6] *Ilebertus*, A².; *Libertus*, S².; *Ilbertus*, F.

[a] Compare "animis delicuerunt," Book vii., § 8.

Stephano nuntiatus, esset, ipse et omnes qui aderant summas Deo gratias exsolverunt.[1] A.D. 1138.

Hoc bellum Augusti mense factum est. At in Adventu Domini concilium apud Lundoniam Albricus ecclesiæ Romanæ legatus et Hostiensis episcopus tenuit. Ibidem, adnitente rege Stephano, Theobaldus abbas Beccensis Cantuariensis archiepiscopus effectus est. Council held at London by the legate. Theobald raised to the primacy.

§ 10. Anno IIII^to^ rex Stephanus post Natale castellum de Slede cepit obsidione. Perrexit autem post hæc in Scotiam, ubi cum rem Marte et Vulcano ducibus ageret, rex Scotiæ cum eo concordari coactus est. Henricum igitur filium regis Scotorum secum ducens in Angliam, obsedit Ludelawe, ubi idem Henricus unco ferreo equo abstractus pœne captus est, sed ipse rex eum ab hostibus splendide retraxit. Inde re imperfecta[2] Oxenefordiam petiit, ubi res infamia notabilis et ab omni consuetudine remota comparuit. Rex namque Rogerum episcopum Saresbiriensem[3] et Alexandrum Lincolniensem ipsius nepotem cum pacifice suscepisset, violenter in curia sua cepit, nihil justitiæ recusantes, et judicii æquitatem devotissime poscentes. Ponens igitur ibidem Alexandrum episcopum in carcere, episcopum Saresberiensem secum duxit ad castellum ejusdem quod vocatur Divise, quo non erat aliud splendidius intra fines Europæ. Angarians igitur eum jejunii tormento, et filii ejus, qui cancellarius fuerat regius, laqueo collum circumnectens ut suspenderetur, tali modo castellum sibi extorsit, male recordans bonorum quæ in introitu regni sui præ omnibus aliis ei congesserat. Talem ei devotionis suæ retributionem exhibuit. Similiter cepit Sireburnam, quod parum Divisis decore cedebat; accipiensque thesauros episcopi, comparavit inde Constantiam sororem Lodovici regis Francorum ad opus Eustachii filii sui. A.D. 1139. Treaty with Scotland. The king rescues prince Henry at the siege of Ludlow. At Oxford he arrests the bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln; and thus obtains the castles of Devizes and Sherborne belonging to the former.

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[1] A[2]. F.; *exsolverint*, A.

[2] C[3]. A[2].; *perfecta*, A. F.

[3] *Salesbiriensem* hic et alias, C[3]. A[2]. et F.

A.D. 1139. and those of Newark and Sleaford belonging to the latter.

§ 11. Rex inde rediens Alexandrum episcopum, quem dimiserat in captione apud Oxeneford, duxit secum ad Newercham.[1] Ibi quidem construxerat episcopus super flumen Trente in loco amœnissimo vernantissimum florida compositione castellum. Quo cum venisset, indixit rex episcopo jejunium non legitimum, astruens fide data eum omni cibo cariturum, donec ei redderetur castellum. Vix igitur episcopus lacrimis et precibus a suis obtinere potuit, ut castrum suum a jure suo in extraneorum custodiam deponerent. Similiter redditum est aliud castellum ejus quod vocatur Eslaford,[2] neque forma neque situ a prædicto secundum. Nec longe post, cum Henricus Wintoniensis episcopus frater regis jam legatus Romanæ ecclesiæ concilium apud Wintoniam teneret, ipse et Theobaldus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus et omnes episcopi qui aderant ad pedes regios devoluti sunt, devotissima supplicatione poscentes ut episcopis prædictis possessiones suas redderet, ut omnia in eos commissa regi benigne condonarent. Sed rex pravorum consilio tot et tantorum tam verendam prosternationem despiciens, nihil eos impetrare permisit. Ob quod patefacta est domus regis Stephani finitimæ condemnationi. Statim namque filia regis Henrici, quæ fuerat imperatrix Alemanniæ, cui Anglia juramento addicata[3] fuerat, venit in Angliam. Quam cum rex obsedisset apud Arundel, vel perfida credens consilia, vel quia castrum videbat inexpugnabile, ire permisit ad Bristowe.

The king's harshness brought on merited retribution, through the troubles ensuing on the landing of the empress.

Death of Roger bishop of Salisbury.

Eodem anno Rogerus prædictus episcopus, tam mœrore quam senio confectus, demarcuit. Stupeant igitur omnes lecturi tantam tam subitam rerum permutationem.

Reflections on the instability of fortune.

Viro namque præfato tot a juventutis exordio bona contigerant, et sine interpolatione[4] in cumulum creverant, ut diceremus omnes in eo fortunam suæ vo-

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[1] *Newercam*, C[3].
[2] *Esleford*, A[2].
[3] *dedicata*, Sav.
[4] *interpellatione*, Sav.

lubilitatis oblitam. Nec aliquibus adversis in tota vita sua potuit affici,[1] donec tantæ miseriæ cumulus simul confluens in extremis eum præfocavit. Nullus igitur de felicitatis assiduitate confidat; nullus de fortunæ stabilitate præsumat; nullus in rota volubili sedem confixam diu superesse contendat. A.D. 1139.

Cf. Flor. Wig. an. 1140.

§ 12. Quinto anno post Natale fugavit rex Stephanus Nigellum episcopum Eliensem de episcopatu suo, quia nepos prædicti episcopi Saresbiriensis erat, a quo odii incentivum in progeniem ejus traxerat. Ubi autem ad Natale vel ad Pascha fuerit, dicere non attinet. Jam quippe curiæ solemnes, et ornatus regii scematis ab antiqua serie descendens, prorsus evanuerant. Ingens thesauri copia jam deperierat; pax in regno nulla; cædibus, incendiis, rapinis, omnia exterminabantur; clamor et luctus et horror ubique; unde sic dictum est elegiace: A.D. 1140. Confusion and bloodshed prevail throughout the kingdom.

Quis mihi det fontem, quid enim potius, lacrimarum?
Et lacrimer patriæ gesta nefanda meæ.
Advenit caligo Stigis dimissa profundo,
Quæ regni faciem conglomerata tegit.
Ecce furor, fremitus, incendia, furta, rapinæ,
Cædes, nulla fides, consociata ruunt.
Jam furantur opes et opum dominos, et in ipsis
Sopitos castris, o nova furta! premunt.
Perjurare, fidem mentiri, nobile factum;
Prodere vel dominos actio digna viris.
Concio prædonum cimiteria, templa, refringunt:
Namque sacerdotes, res miseranda, rapit.
Detorquent unctos Domini, simul et mulieres,
Proh pudor! ut redimant excruciare student.
Affluit ergo fames; consumpta carne gementes
Exhalant animas ossa cutisque vagas.
Quis tantos sepelire queat cœtus morientum?
Ecce Stigis facies, consimilisque lues.

[1] C^3.; vocabulum pœne erasum est in A.; *effici*, F.

A.D. 1141. Stephen lays siege to Lincoln. The earls of Chester and Gloucester approach to raise the siege.

§ 13. Sextō anno rex Stephanus Lincoliæ urbem infra Natale obsedit, cujus munitiones fraudulenter ceperat Rannulfus [1] comes Cestriæ; seditque ibi usque ad Purificationem Sanctæ Mariæ. Tunc namque prædictus Rannulfus [1] adduxit secum Robertum filium regis Henrici socerum suum, et proceres alios validissimos, ad obsidionem regis dissolvendam. Cum autem consul audacissimus paludem pœne intransibilem vix transisset, in ipsa die aciebus dispositis regem bello aggressus est. Ipse cum suis aciem primam construxerat; secundam illi quos Stephanus rex dehæreditaverat; tertiam Robertus dux magnus cum suis. A latere vero erat turma Walensium, magis audacia quam armis instructa. Tunc consul Cestriæ vir bellicosus et armis insignibus coruscans Robertum consulem proceresque reliquos sic alloquitur:

Speech of the earl of Chester.

§ 14. "Gratias tibi multas, dux invictissime, vobis-
" que, proceres et commilitones mei, cum summa de-
" votione persolvo, qui usque ad vitæ periculum amoris
" effectum mihi magnanimiter exhibuistis. Cum igitur
" sim vobis causa periculi, dignum est ut periculo me
" prius ingeram, et infidissimi regis, qui datis induciis
" pacem fregit, aciem prius illidam. Ego quidem tam
" de regis injustitia quam de mea confidens virtute,
" jam jam regalem cuneum diffindam, gladio mihi viam
" per hostes medios parabo. Vestræ virtutis est se-
" qui præeuntem, et imitari percutientem. Jam vide-
" or animo mihi præsago regias acies transvolare,
" proceres pedibus conculcare, regem ipsum gladio
" transverberare."

Reply of the earl of Gloucester.

Dixerat: dux autem Robertus sic juveni respondit, et in loco stans eminenti hujuscemodi orationem habuit:

§ 15. "Non indignum est quod ictus primi dignita-
" tem poscis, tam ex nobilitate quam virtute qua
" præcellis. Si tamen de nobilitate contendas, ego

[1] *Ranulfus*, A[2].

" filius regis nobilissimi et nepos summi regis non A.D. 1141.
" antecellor; si de virtute, hic multi sunt electissimi,
" quibus nemo viventium probitate potest præferri.
" Sed longe alia me movet ratio. Rex enim, contra
" sacramenta quæ sorori meæ fecit, regnum crudeliter
" usurpavit, et omnia conturbans multis millibus causa
" necis extitit, et exemplo sui nihil juris habentibus
" terras distribuit, jure possidentibus diripuit. Ab
" ipsis ergo nequiter dehæredatis, summo judice Deo
" cooperante et vindictam subministrante, prius ag-
" grediendus est. Respiciet, qui judicat populos in æqui-
" tate, de excelso cœlorum habitaculo, et injustum juste
" appetentes in hac tanta necessitate nequaquam relin-
" quet. Unum vero est, proceres fortissimi militesque
" universi, quod vobis animo firmiter ingerere volo,
" quod[1] per paludes, quas vix pertransistis, nulla po-
" test esse fugientibus reversio. Hic igitur vel vin-
" cendum vel occumbendum; spes fugæ nulla; hoc
" solum superest, ut in urbem gladiis viam paretis.
" Si quid autem veri conjecturat animus mihi, hoc
" quod fugere nusquam potestis, illud est quod hodie
" Deo vobis adjuvante[2] victoriam præstabit. Necesse He analyses the composition of the opposing forces, and the character of the leaders.
" est enim ut ad probitatem confugiat, cui non potest
" aliud esse diffugium. Cives autem Lincolnienses,
" qui stant urbi suæ proximi, in impetus gravedine
" animis liquescentibus ad domos suas transfugere
" victoriosi videbitis. Veruntamen contra quos bellum
" geratis attendite. Alanus Britonum dux contra vos, The Lincoln burghers will not stand for a moment.
" immo contra Deum, procedit armatus; vir nefandus,
" et omnium genere scelerum pollutus, malitia paris
" nescius, cui nunquam nocendi defuit affectus, cui Alan of Britanny is a villain stained with every crime.
" se non esse crudelitate incomparabilem[3] solum et
" supremum videtur opprobrium. Procedit quoque con-

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[1] Deest in A².
[2] *vobis Deo adj.*, C³.; *nobis Deo adj.*, A².
[3] C³. A².; *comparabilem*, A. F.

A.D. 1141. "tra vos comes Mellensis, doli callidus, fallendi artifex,
The earl of Mellent is cunning, but a coward. "cui innata est in corde nequitia, in ore fallacia, in
"opere pigritia, corde gloriosus, ore magnificus,[1] opere
"pusillanimis,[a] ad congrediendium ultimus, ad digre-
"diendum primus, tardus ad pugnam, velox ad fu-
Hugh, earl of Norfolk, is a perjurer. "gam. Procedit contra vos Hugo consul, cui parum
"visum est se contra imperatricem perjurum[2] fuisse,
"nisi et secundo se patentissime perjuraret, affirmans Rad. de Diceto Abbr. Chron. a. 1135.
"regem Henricum Stephano regnum concessisse, et
"filiam suam abdicasse, qui nimirum fallaciam virtu-
"tem credit, et elegantiæ perjurium ducit. Proce-
The earl of Albemarle is a man of infamous life. "dit consul de Albemarle, vir in crimine singularis
"constantiæ, ad agendum volubilis, ad relinquendum
"immobilis, quam sponsa sua causa spurcitiæ into-
"lerabilis fugitiva reliquit. Procedit consul ille, qui
"consuli prædicto sponsam abripuit, adulter paten-
"tissimus[3] et excellenter impurus, Baccho devotus,
"Marti ignotus, vino redolens, bellis insolens. Procedit
The earl of Northampton notorious for breaking faith. "Simon comes Hamtoniensis, cujus actus sola locutio,
"cujus datum sola promissio, qui cum dicit, fecit, cum
"promittit, dedit." Procedunt cæteri consules et pro-
The others are all of similar character. "ceres regi suo consimiles, latrociniis assueti, rapinis
"delibuti, homicidiis saginati, omnes tandem perjuria
"contaminati. Vos igitur, viri fortissimi, quos magnus
"rex Henricus erexit, iste dejecit,—ille instruxit, iste
"destruxit,—erigite animos, et de virtutibus vestris,
"immo de Dei justitia confisi, vindictam vobis a Deo
"oblatam de facinorosis præsumite, et gloriam immar-
"cessibilem vobis et posteris vestris præfigite. Et
"jam, si vobis idem animus est, ad hoc Dei judicium

[1] *magnanimus*, C[3]. A[2].
[2] *perjurium*, A[2].
[3] C[3]. A[2]. ; *potentissimus*, A.

[a] Here, as in scores of other places, the Arundel MS. followed in this edition differs from the majority of the MSS. by adopting a different order of words. The reading of the Cambridge MS. and of Reg. 13, B. vi. is "gloriosus corde, "magnanimus ore, pusillanimis "opere." The cause of these divergences must apparently be traced in a taste for variety on the part of the scribe of the Arundel MS.

" perpetrandum progressionem vovete, fugam abjurate, A.D. 1141.
" erectis in cœlum unanimiter dextris.

§ 16. Vix finierat, et omnes, extensis in cœlum manibus, terribili clamore fugam abjuraverunt, et se in armis colligentes in hostem splendide progrediuntur. Æn. viii. 19. Rex interea Stephanus curarum magnis exæstuans fluctibus missam in tanta sollennitate audierat. Cum autem de more cereum rege dignum Deo offerens manibus Alexandri episcopi imponeret, confractus est. Hoc fuit regi signum contritionis. Cecidit etiam super altare pixis, cui corpus Domini inerat, abrupto vinculo, præsente episcopo. Hoc fuit regi signum ruinæ. Proinde rex strenuissimus egreditur, aciesque cum summa securitate bello disponit. Ipse pedes omnem circa se multitudinem loricatorum equis abductis strictissime collocavit, consules cum suis in duabus aciebus equis pugnaturos instituit. Sed admodum parvæ equestres acies illæ comparuerunt. Paucos enim secum ficti et factiosi consules adduxerant; acies autem regalis maxima erat, uno tantum scilicet ipsius regis insignita vexillo. Tunc, quia rex Stephanus festiva carebat voce, Baldewino filio Gilleberti, magnæ nobilitatis viro et militi fortissimo, sermo exhortatorius ad universum cœtum injunctus est.[a]

The troops swear not to give way.

Stephen prepares for battle.

Bad omens.

He draws up his army in two lines; but there was a paucity of cavalry.

Memoratus igitur Baldewinus loco stans excelso, omnium oculis in eum erectis, ubi attentionem eorum modesta taciturnitate stimulavit, sic exorsus est:

Speech of Baldwin Fitz-Gilbert.

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[a] " At the foot of this page is a " fair drawing in outline representing a crowned figure with three " attendant knights, all in chain " armour and bearing the kite-" shaped shield, addressing [addressed by] a figure also in " armour, but without helmet, " standing upon an eminence, and " leaning upon a battle-axe. The " king's attendant is ascending the " hill before him, leading a horse " and bearing a shield. The rubricated inscriptions are nearly " defaced; over the three knights " is the word *exercitus*, and above " the figure upon the eminence " appears . . . *bal* . . *filius Gille-*" *berti* . . . *us* . . *di was*." [Note by the transcriber of the Arundel MS.]

A.D. 1141. A just cause, numbers, and courage are all on our side.

§ 17. "Omnes qui aciebus dispositis conflicturi sunt,[1] " tria prævidisse oportet, primum justitiam causæ, de- " inde militum copiam, postremo adstantium probitatem. " Justitiam causæ, ne periculum animæ incurratur " copiam militum, ne hostium numerositate compri- " matur; probitatem adstantium, ne numero confisa " debilibus tamen innixa subruatur. In his omnibus " negotium, quo tenemur, expeditum conspicimus. Cau- " sæ namque nostræ justitia est, quod regi ea quæ " coram Deo vovimus servantes, contra suos in eum " perjuros in periculo mortis adstamus. Numerus vero " nobis in equitibus non inferior, in peditibus con- " fertior. Probitatem vero tot consulum, tot procerum, Our brave king will fight amongst us " militum quoque bellis assuetorum semper, quis vo- " cibus exæquet? Virtus autem ipsius regis infinita " vobis loco perstabit millium. Cum igitur sit in " medio vestrum dominus vester, unctus. Domini, cui " fidem devovistis, votum Deo persolvite, tanto dona- " tivum majus a Deo accepturi, quanto fidelius et con- The other side are not formidable; earl Robert is a loiterer, the earl of Chester rash and unsteady; his Welsh levies are but half armed. " stantius pro rege vestro, fidi contra infidos, legitimi " contra perjuros pugnaveritis. Securi quinetiam et " summa repleti confidentia, contra quos bellum ge- " ratis perpendite. Roberti ducis vires notæ sunt. " Ipse quidem de more[2] multum minatur, parum ope- " ratur; ore leoninus, corde leporinus, clarus eloquentia, " obscurus inertia. Consul autem Cestrensis, vir au- " daciæ irrationabilis, promptus ad conspirandum, in- " constans ad perficiendum, ad bellum impetuosus, " periculi improvidus, altiora se machinans, impossi- " bilibus anhelans,[3] assiduorum paucos adducens, con- " venarum dispersam multitudinem congregans, nihil " habet quod timeri debeat. Semper enim, quicquid " viriliter incepit, effeminate reliquit. In omnibus " quippe gestis suis infortunate rem agens, vel in " congressibus victus aufugit, vel si raro victor extitit,

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Codd.; *estis*, Sav. C[3]. A[2].; *morte*, A. F.

[3] C[3].; *anelans*, A[2].; *hanelans*, A. F.

" majora victis detrimenta sustinuit. Walenses autem A.D. 1141
" quos secum adduxit solos,[1] vobis[2] despectui sint, qui
" inermem bello præferunt temeritatem, et arte et usu
" belli carentes, quasi pecora decurrunt in venabula.
" Alii vero, tam proceres quam milites, transfugæ et
" gyrovagi, utinam numero plures adducerentur, qui
" quanto numero plures, tanto effectu deteriores. Vos
" igitur consules, et viri consulares, meminisse namque
" vos decet vestræ virtutis et nobilitatis, hodie probitates
" vestras numerosas in cacumen florentissimum extol-
" lite, et patrum imitatores filiis vestris splendorem sem-
" piternum relinquite. Assiduitas itaque victoriarum
" incentivum sit vobis confligendi; assiduitas infortuni-
" orum incentivum fiet illis fugiendi. Jam siquidem,
" nec fallor, eos advenisse pœnitet; jam de fuga medi-
" tantur, si locorum asperitas admittat. Cum ergo
" nec illis confligere nec confugere sit possibile, quid
" aliud egerunt, nisi quod vobis, Dei nutu, et se et
" impedimenta sua obtulerunt? Equos itaque eorum Your victory is certain.
" et arma, et ipsorum corpora, ditioni vestræ sub-
" jecta conspicitis. Extendite igitur animos vestros,
" et dexteras inexpugnabiles, viri bellicosi, ad diripi-
" endum cum summo tripudio quod ipse vobis obtulit
" Deus." Sed jam antequam orationis seriem termi-
naret, clamor adest hostium, clangor lituorum, equorum
fremitus, terræ sonitus.

§ 18. Principium pugnæ. Acies exhæredatorum, quæ Battle of Lincoln.
præibat, percussit aciem regalem, in qua consul Alanus,
et ille de Meslent, et Hugo consul de Estangle, et
Simon comes, et ille de Warenna inerant, tanto impetu,
quod statim quasi in ictu oculi dissipata est, et divisio
eorum in tria devenit. Alii namque eorum occisi sunt,
alii capti, alii aufugerunt. Acies cui principabatur
consul de Albemarle, et Willelmus Yprensis, percussit
Walenses qui a latere procedebant, et in fugam coegit.
Sed acies consulis Cestrensis perculit cohortem prædicti The king's army put to flight.

[1] F.; cæteri codices, *soli.* | [2] *nobis*, A^2.

A.D. 1141. consulis, et dissipata est in momento sicut acies prior. Fugerunt igitur omnes equites regis, et Willelmus Yprensis, a Flandria oriundus, vir exconsularis et magnæ probitatis. Qui cum esset belli peritissimus, videns impossibilitatem auxiliandi regi,[1] distulit auxilium suum in tempora meliora. Rex itaque Stephanus cum acie sua pedestri relictus est in medio hostium. Circuierunt igitur undique aciem regalem, et totam in circuitu expugnabant, sicut castellum solet assiliri. Tunc vero horrendam belli faciem videres in omni circuitu regalis aciei, ignem prosilientem ex galearum et gladiorum collisione, stridorem horrendum, clamorem terrificum; resonabant colles, resonabant urbis muralia. Impetu igitur equorum regalem turmam offendentes, quosdam cædebant, alios[2] sternebant, nonnullos abstractos capiebant. Nulla eis quies, nulla respiratio dabatur, nisi in ea parte qua rex fortissimus stabat, horrentibus inimicis incomparabilem ictuum ejus immanitatem. Quod ubi comes Cestrensis comperit, regis invidens gloriæ cum omni pondere armatorum irruit in eum. Tunc apparuit vis regis fulminea, bipenni maxima cædens hos, diruens[3] illos. Tunc novus oritur clamor; omnes in eum, ipse in omnes. Tandem regia bipennis ex ictuum frequentia confracta est. Ipse gladio abstracto dextra regis digno, rem mirabiliter agit, donec et gladius confractus est. Quod videns Guillelmus[4] de Kahaines, miles validissimus, irruit in regem, et eum galea arripiens voce magna clamavit: "Huc omnes, "huc! regem teneo." Advolant omnes, et capitur rex. Capitur etiam Baldewinus qui orationem fecerat persuasoriam, multis confossus vulneribus, multis contritus ictibus, ubi egregie resistendo gloriam promeruit sempiternam. Capitur etiam Ricardus filius Ursi, qui in ictibus dandis recipiendisque clarus et gloriosus comparuit. Adhuc, capto rege, pugnabat acies regalis, nec enim circumventi fugere poterant, donec omnes vel

Stubborn resistance of Stephen and his immediate followers.

The king made prisoner by William de Kahaines.

Fitz-Gilbert and Fitz-Urse are also taken.

[1] Codd.; *reges*, Sav.
[2] Codd.; *quosdam*, Sav.
[3] Codd.; *ruens*, Sav.
[4] *Willelmus*, C³. A². F.

capti vel cæsi sunt. Civitas ergo hostili lege direpta est, et rex in eam miserabiliter introductus est. A.D. 1141. Lincoln is taken and plundered.

§ 19. Dei ergo judicio circa regem peracto, ducitur ad imperatricem, et in turri de Bristou captivus ponitur. Imperatrix ab omni gente Anglorum suscipitur in dominam, exceptis Kentensibus, ubi regina et Willelmus Yprensis contra eam pro viribus repugnabant. Suscepta prius est a legato Romano Wintoniensi episcopo, et mox a Lundoniensibus. Erecta est autem in superbiam intolerabilem, quia suis incerta belli prosperavissent, et omnium fere corda a se alienavit. Igitur, sive subdolorum instinctu, sive Dei nutu, immo, quicquid homines egerint, Dei nutu, expulsa est a Lundone.[1] Irritata igitur muliebri angore, regem unctum Domini in compedibus poni jussit. Post dies autem cum avunculo suo rege Scotorum, et fratre suo Roberto, viribus coactis veniens obsedit turrim Wintonensis episcopi. Episcopus autem misit pro regina et Willelmo Yprensi, et pro universis fere proceribus Angliæ. Factus est igitur exercitus utrimque magnus. Dimicabant quotidie, non congressibus acierum sed militarium anfractuum circuitionibus. Non igitur, sicut in belli cœcitate, confundebantur gesta, sed patebat cujusque probitas, et gloria pro meritis aderat, ut mora illa pro his omnibus voluptuosa videretur in illustrium splendoribus excelsis. Venit tandem exercitus Lundoniensis, et aucti numerose qui contra imperatricem contendebant, fugere eam compulerunt. Capti sunt in fuga multi; captus est etiam Robertus frater imperatricis, in cujus turri rex captivus erat, cujus sola captione rex evadere poterat. Absolutus est uterque. Sic igitur rex Dei justitia miserabiliter captus, Dei misericordia mirabiliter liberatus est, et ab Anglorum proceribus cum magno susceptus[2] gaudio.[a]

The empress is submitted to everywhere except in Kent.

London rebels against her.

Warfare near Winchester.

Defeat of the empress Robert of Gloucester taken prisoner.

He and Stephen are exchanged.

[1] *Lundonia*, C[3]. F.

[2] Codd.; *susceptus est*, Sav.

[a] The work of the first continuator of Florence ends at this point.

A.D. 1142. Fighting in Wiltshire.

§ 20. Septima anno rex Stephanus construxit castrum apud Wiltoniam. Tunc superveniens multitudo nimia hostium ex insperato, cum regii milites circuitionibus bellicis incepissent, et non potuissent resistere, regem in fugam compulerunt. Capti sunt autem ex suis plerique; captus est etiam Willelmus Martel, dapifer regis, qui pro redemptione sua dedit insigne castellum de Sireburna. Eodem anno rex obsedit imperatricem apud Oxenefordiam post festum Sancti Michaelis usque ad Adventum Domini. In eo quippe termino non procul a Natali aufugit imperatrix per Tamasim glaciatam circumamicta vestibus albis, reverberatione nivis et similitudine fallentibus oculos obsidentium. Fugit autem ad castellum de Walingeforde, et sic Oxeneforde regi tandem est reddita.[a]

The king besieges Oxford castle; the empress escapes by night.

A.D. 1143. In a council held in London by Henry of Winchester, a canon is passed to restrain assaults on clerical persons.

§ 21. Octavo anno rex Stephanus interfuit concilio Lundoniæ in media Quadragesima. Quod, quia nullus honor vel clericis vel ecclesiæ Dei a raptoribus deferebatur, et æque capiebantur et redimebantur clerici ut laici, tenuit Wintonensis episcopus, urbis Romanæ legatus, concilium[b] apud Lundoniam, clericis pro tempore necessarium. In quo sancitum est, ne aliquis qui clerico violenter manus ingesserit ab alio possit absolvi quam ab ipso papa, et in præsentia ipsius; unde clericis aliquantulum serenitatis vix illuxit.[1]

Geoffrey Mandeville, being forced to surrender his castle, seizes on Ramsey abbey, and drives out the monks.

Eodem anno cepit rex Gaufridum de Magnavilla in curia sua apud Sanctum Albanum, magis secundum retributionem nequitiæ consulis, quam secundum jus gentium, magis ex necessitate quam ex honestate. Nisi enim hoc egisset, perfidia consulis illius regno privatus fuisset. Igitur, ut rex liberaret eum, reddidit ei turrim Lundoniæ et castellum de Waledene et illud de Plaisseiz. Possessionibus igitur carens consul prædictus

Gest. Steph. a. 1142.

[1] Codd.; *eluxit*, Sav.

[a] From this point the invaluable authority of Malmesbury is wanting; his *Historia Novella* terminates at the end of 1142.

[b] *concilium*. The word is unnecessary, but Henry seems to have forgotten that he had begun the sentence with a relative.

invasit abbatiam Ramesiensem, et monachis expulsis raptores immisit, et ecclesiam Dei speluncam fecit latronum. Erat autem summæ probitatis, sed summæ in Deum obstinationis, magnæ in mundanis diligentiæ, magnæ in Deum negligentiæ. Ipso anno ante Natale Wintonensis episcopus, et postea Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, Romam petierunt de legatione acturi, mortuo jam Innocentio papa, cui successit Celestinus. A.D. 1143.

§ 22. Nono rex Stephanus anno Lincolniam obsedit; ubi cum munitionem contra castellum, quod vi obtinebat consul Cestrensis, construeret, operatores sui ab hostibus præfocati sunt, fere octoginta. Re igitur imperfecta rex confusus abscessit. Anno autem ipso consul Gaufridus de Magna Villa regem validissime vexavit, et in omnibus valde gloriosus effulsit. Mense autem Augusti miraculum justitia sua dignum Dei splendor exhibuit; duos namque qui monachis avulsis ecclesias Dei converterant in castella, similiter peccantes simili pœna multavit. Robertus namque Marmiun, vir bellicosus, hoc in ecclesia de Coventre perversus exegerat; porro Gaufridus, ut diximus, in ecclesia Ramesiensi scelus idem patraverat. Insurgens igitur Robertus Marmiun in hostes, inter ingentes suorum cuneos coram ipso monasterio solus interfectus est, et excommunicatus morte depascitur æterna. Similiter Gaufridus consul, inter acies suorum confertas, a quodam pedite vilissimo solus sagitta percussus est. Et ipse, vulnus ridens, post dies tamen ex ipso vulnere excommunicatus occubuit. Ecce Dei laudabilis, omnibus sæculis prædicanda, ejusdem sceleris eadem vindicta! Dum autem ecclesia illa pro castello teneretur, ebullivit sanguis a parietibus ecclesiæ et claustri adjacentis, indignationem divinam manifestans, exterminationem sceleratorum denuntians; quod multi quidem, et ipse ego, oculis meis inspexi. Quia igitur improbi dixerunt Deum dormire, excitatus est Deus, et in hoc signo, et in significato. Eodem quippe anno, et Ernulfus filius consulis, qui post mortem patris ecclesiam incastella- A.D. 1144. Stephen besieges Lincoln, but without success. Divine retribution falls on two church robbers, Marmion and Mandeville, who are both killed in battle while lying under excommunication. Portent at Ramsey abbey. The penalties of sacrilege fall also

A.D. 1144. on Mandeville's son, and on his accomplices.

tam retinebat, captus est et per hoc exulatus; et princeps militum suorum in hospitio suo ab equo corruens, effuso cerebro exspiravit. Princeps autem peditum suorum, Reinerus nomine, cujus officium fuerat ecclesias frangere vel incendere, dum mare cum uxore sua transiret, ut multi perhibuerunt, navis immobilis facta est. Quod monstrum nautis stupentibus, sorte data rei causam inquirentibus, sors cecidit super Reinerum. Quod cum ille nimirum totis contradiceret nisibus, secundo et tertio sors jacta in eum devenit. Positus igitur in scapha est, et uxor ejus, et pecunia scelestissime adquisita, et statim navis cursu velocissimo ut prius fecerat pelagus sulcat, scapha vero cum nequissimis subita voragine circumducta in æternum absorpta est. Eodem anno, Celestino papa defuncto, Lucius substituitur.

The earl of Gloucester loses Farringdon castle.

§ 23. Decimo rex Stephanus anno prius in agendis circa discursus Hugonis Bigot occupatus fuit. Sed in æstate Robertus consul et omnes inimicorum regalium cœtus castellum construxerant apud Ferendone. Rex non segnis viribus coactis advolat, et Lundonensium terribilem et numerosum adduxit exercitum. Assilientes igitur totis diebus castrum, dum Robertus consul et fautores sui copias majores non procul ab exercitu regis expectarent, gloriosissima[1] probitate non sine magna sanguinis effusione ceperunt. Tunc demum regi fortuna in melius cœpit permutari, et in sublime protelari. Eodem anno episcopus Lincolniensis Alexander, iterum Romam pergens, munificentissime se ut prius habuit. Itaque honorifice susceptus est ab Eugenio papa novo, viro summa dignitate condigno, cujus mens semper benigna, cujus discretio semper æqua, cujus facies semper non solum hilaris, sed et jucunda. Rediens autem sequenti anno cum summa ipsius papæ et totius curiæ gratia, a suis cum summa reverentia et gaudio susceptus est. Ecclesiam vero suam, quæ com-

Bishop Alexander, visiting Rome, is honourably received by pope Eugenius.

On his return he

[1] A. F.; *laboriosissima*, A^2, quod et in A. superius scriptum est.

bustione deturpata fuerat,[a] subtili artificio sic reformavit, ut pulchrior quam in ipsa sui novitate compareret, nec ullius ædificii structuræ intra fines Angliæ cederet. A.D. 1145. rebuilds Lincoln cathedral in a style of singular magnificence.

24. Undecimo rex Stephanus anno magnum congregans exercitum castellum construxit inexpugnabile situ contra Walingforde, ubi Rannulfus comes Cestrensis jam regi concordia conjunctus cum magnis interfuit copiis. Dehinc vero consul ipse ad regis curiam cum pacifice venisset apud Norhantonam, nihil tale metuentem cepit, et in carcerem intrusit, donec redderet ei clarissimum Lincolniæ castellum, quod ab eo dolose ceperat, et cætera quæcunque fuerant ditionis suæ castella. Sic igitur consul ejectus carcere, in liberum restitutus est arbitrium. A.D. 1146. The earl of Chester deprived by the king of all his castles.

§ 25. Duodecimo rex Stephanus anno ad Natale Domini in urbe Lincolniensi diademate regaliter insignitus est, quo regum nullus introire prohibentibus quibusdam superstitiosis ausus fuerat. Unde comparet quantæ rex Stephanus audaciæ et animi pericula non reformidantis fuerit.[b] Post discessum vero regis venit consul Cestrensis Lincolniam, cum militaribus copiis, ut assiliret eam. Dux igitur ejus, vir fortis et invictissimus, in introitu portæ Borealis occisus est, et ipse consul pluribus amissis fugere compulsus est. Cives igitur victoriosi, summo gaudio repleti, Virgini virginum protectrici eorum laudes et gratias insigniter exsolverunt. A.D. 1147. The earl of Chester makes a fruitless attempt to recover Lincoln.

Ad Pentecosten rex Franciæ Lodovius, et consul Flandrensis Theodericus, et consul de Sancto Egidio, et innumerabiles exercitus de universo Franciæ regno, et multi de gente Anglorum, crucibus assumptis iter Jherosolimitanum arripuerunt, ut paganos qui ceperant urbem Roheis expugnarent. Majorem tamen exercitum The second crusade, led by Louis VII., king of France, and the emperor Conrad.

[a] "In 1124 his [bishop Alexander's] cathedral suffered greatly "by fire, which he rebuilt, and "arched it over with stone to prevent the like accident." *Account of the antiquities in the Cath. Church of St. Mary, Lincoln*: 1771.

[b] Here end the MSS. C., S[3]., F., and F[2].

A.D. 1147. duxit imperator Alemanniæ Conradus, transiitque exercitus uterque per imperatorem Constantinopolis, qui eos postea prodidit.[1]

Bishop Alexander visits the pope at Auxerre. Soon after his return he falls sick and dies.

Mense Augusto profectus est Alexander Lincolniensis episcopus Altisiodorum ad Eugenium papam, qui prius Parisius, tunc ibi morabatur. Ipse quidem a papa honorifice susceptus est, sed ex intempestiva caloris nimietate seminarium languoris attulit in Angliam; unde mox infirmitati, deinde languori, tandem morti succubuit.

A.D. 1148. Sketch of his life and character.

§ 26. Anno igitur tertio decimo regis Stephani, mortuus est Alexander episcopus, et sepultus apud Lincolniam in capite jejunii. Dicenda sunt igitur de viri moribus secundum consuetudinem Moysi vera. Nutritus igitur in summis deliciis a Rogero avunculo suo Sarebiriensi episcopo, majores inde animos contraxit, quam opportunum esset suis; siquidem præterire volens principes cæteros largitione munerum et splendore procurationum, cum proprii redditus ad hoc sufficere non possent, a suis summo studio carpebat, unde egestatem suam nimietate prædicta comparatam complere posset; nec tamen complere poterat, qui semper magis magisque dispergebat. Fuit autem vir prudens, et adeo munificus, ut a curia Romana vocaretur magnificus.

Ill-success of the crusade; how to be explained.

§ 27. Anno eodem exercitus imperatoris Alemanniæ et regis Francorum, qui summis ducibus illustrati cum summa incedebant superbia, ad nihilum devenerunt, quia Deus sprevit eos. Ascendit enim in conspectu Dei incontinentia eorum, quam exercebant in fornicationibus non occultis; in adulteriis etiam, quod Deo valde displicuit, postremo in rapinis et omni[2] genere scelerum. Prius itaque fame consternati proditione imperatoris Constantinopolitani, postea ferro hostili emarcuerunt. Rex autem Franciæ et imperator Alemanniæ cum paucissimis prius Antiochiam, postea Iherosolimam ignominiose aufugerunt. Tunc vero rex Franciæ, quasi

[1] A². ; *prodiit*, C³. A. | [2] A². ; *omnium*, C³. A.

aliquid acturus ad detrimentum famæ refocillandum, auxilio militum Templi quod est in Jerusalem, et viribus undique congestis, obsedit Damascum; sed gratia Dei carens et ideo nihil proficiens rediit in Galliam. Interea quidam exercitus navalis virorum non potentium, nec alicui magno duci innixi nisi Deo omnipotenti, quia humiliter profecti sunt, optime profecerunt. Civitatem namque in Hispania, quæ vocatur Ulixisbona,[a] et aliam quæ vocatur Almaria, et regiones adjacentes a multis pauci Deo cooperante bellis obtinuerunt. Vere Deus superbis resistit, humilibus autem dat gratiam. Exercitus namque regis Francorum et imperatoris splendidior et major fuerat quam ille qui prius Iherosolimam conquisierat, et a paucissimis contriti sunt, et quasi telæ aranearum disterminati sunt et demoliti. His autem pauperibus de quibus prædixi nulla multitudo resistere poterat, sed quando eis plures insurgebant, debiliores efficiebantur. Pars autem eorum maxima venerat ex Anglia.[b]

A.D. 1148. An attack on Damascus fails. Louis returns home.

But an expedition of poor men, most of whom came from England, achieved great things.

Pet. v. 5.

§ 28. Eodem anno appropinquante Natali Robertus cujus cognomen est de Querceto, archidiaconus Legrecestrensis, juvenis omni laude dignus, electus est in episcopum Lincolniensem. A cunctis igitur honore tanto dignus habitus, rege et clero et populo cum summo gaudio annuente, benedictionem pontificalem ab archiepiscopo Cantuariensi suscepit, et in Epiphania Domini[1] apud Lincolniam cum summo tripudio, magnus expectatione, major adventu, a clero et populo cum devotione susceptus est. Prosperet ei Deus tempora prava, et juventutem ejus foveat rore sapientiæ, et exhilaret faciem ejus jucunditate spirituali.[c] Amen.

The archdeacon of Leicester is elected to the see of Lincoln. He takes possession of his see amidst universal joy.

[1] C³. A². ; in A. et apud Sav. nullum temporis indicium reperitur.

[a] See the curious narrative of the taking of Lisbon by one Osbern, printed by Prof. Stubbs in vol. i. of *Chronicles of the reign of Richard I.* (Rolls series).

[b] Here ends Lamb. 327.

[c] At this point the Arundel MS., which has been hitherto followed, comes to an end. The remainder of the text is taken from the MS. Reg. 13, B. vi., in the British Museum, designated in this edition as A², collated with Bod. 521.

A.D. 1149. Fearing a Scottish invasion, Stephen occupies York.

§ 29. Anno XIIII. Henrico nepoti suo David rex Scotorum virilia tradidit arma. Cum autem congregati essent in solemnitate illa, rex Scottorum cum viribus suis, et nepos suus cum occidentalibus Anglie proceribus, timens rex Stephanus ne Eboracum invaderent, venit in urbem cum magno exercitu, ibique moratus est per mensem Augustum. Eustachius vero filius regis Stephani, (nam et ipse eodem anno virilia sumpserat arma,) irruit in terras procerum qui erant cum Henrico filio imperatricis. Nullo igitur contradicente, Marte et Vulcano comitantibus non modicum ei [1] damnum inflixit.

Both armies retire.

Rex vero Anglorum et rex Scottorum, quorum alter erat apud Eboracum, alter apud Carloil, sibi mutuo caventes et offendere timentes per se ipsos divisi sunt, et ad domicilia regnorum repedaverunt.

A.D. 1150. Stephen takes and burns Worcester; the castle, belonging to the earl of Mellent, holds out.

§ 30. Anno XV. rex Stephanus agminibus congregatis urbem Wirecestrie pulcherrimam assiluit, et captam incendio deturpavit. Castellum tamen quod urbi inerat capere non potuit. Urbs namque illa Waleramni consulis de Mellent [2] erat, quam ipse rex Stephanus malo suo ei dederat. Ditatæ igitur spoliis urbis direptæ regales turmæ per terras inimicorum remearunt, et inde prædam innumerabilem nullo resistente secum reduxerunt.

A.D. 1151. Council at London; the new practice of appeals to Rome comes into prominence.

§ 31. Anno XVI. Teobaldus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, apostolicæ sedis legatus, tenuit concilium generale apud Lundoniam in media Quadragesima, ubi rex Stephanus et filius suus Eustachius et Angliæ proceres interfuerunt, totumque illud concilium novis appellationibus infrenduit. In Anglia namque appellationes in usu non erant, donec eas Henricus Wintoniensis episcopus, dum legatus esset, malo suo crudeliter intrusit; in eodem namque concilio ad Romani pontificis audientiam ter appellatus est. Rex autem Stephanus eodem anno iterum Wircestre [3] irrupit, et quia castel-

Stephen makes another vain

[1] *illis*, Sav.

[2] Bod. 521; *Meulent*, A[2].

[3] Bod. 521; *Wincestriam*, A[2].

lum anno prædicto capere non potuerat, ad ejus captionem totis viribus desudavit. Porro cum viriliter inclusi restarent, duo castella ad illud expugnandum construxit. Quosdam igitur ex proceribus suis ibidem relinquens ad propria remeavit. Sed quia mos regius erat, quod multa strenue inciperet, et segniter exsequeretur, arte consulis de Legecestria castella regis obsidentia demolita [1] sunt, et obsessum callide liberatum est. Consul etenim prædictus frater erat consulis de Mellent. Itaque regis studium et labor emarcuit et evanuit. Eodem anno consul Andegaviæ, regis Henrici gener, regis Jerosolimitani filius, vir magnus et clarissimus, mortis concessit legibus. Igitur Henrico filio suo primogenito Andegaviam et Normanniam contradidit; et jus hæreditarium, quod in Angliæ regno licet carens obtinebat, ei concessit. Contigit autem quod Lodovicus rex Francorum a sponsa sua filia consulis Pictaviensis per cognationis jusjurandum divideretur. Henricus igitur dux novus duxit eam, et per eam consulatum Pictaviensem summis honoribus ampliatus possedit. Ea tamen desponsatio incentivum fomesque odii maximi fuit et discordiæ inter regem Francorum et ipsum ducem.

A.D. 1151. attempt to take Worcester castle.

Death of Geoffrey Plantagenet, count of Anjou.

His son Henry marries the divorced wife of Louis VII.; important consequences of the marriage.

Insurgens itaque Eustachius filius regis Stephani cum ipso rege Francorum non modicis assultibus Normanniam oppugnabant. Dux utrisque et omnium Francorum exercitui robustissime restabat. Rex tamen quoddam castellum, quod vocatur Novum Mercatum, copiis omnibus aggregatis assiliit, et potentissime pœne inexpugnabile cepit et obtinuit, et Eustachio filio regis Angliæ, qui sororem ejus duxerat, tradidit.

Prince Eustace and Louis VII. invade Normandy; fall of the castle of Neuf Marché.

§ 32. Anno XVII. rex Stephanus Eustachium filium suum regio diademate proposuit insignire. Postulans igitur ab archiepiscopo prædicto et cæteris episcopis, quos ibidem congregaverat, ut eum in regem ungerent, et benedictione sua confirmarent, repulsam passus est. Papa siquidem litteris suis archiepiscopo prohibuerat,

A.D. 1152. Stephen wishes to have prince Eustace crowned, but the bishops, at the bidding of the pope, refuse to

[1] Bod. 521; *demollita*, A^2.

A.D. 1152. perform the ceremony. ne filium regis in regem sublimaret; videlicet quia Stephanus regnum contra jusjurandum præripuisse videbatur. Intimo igitur dolore decoctus, et ira nimia fervescens tam pater quam filius, in domo quadam omnes includi jusserunt, et vehementer angariantes, ut postulata peragerent, compellebant. Illi summo timore perterriti, (nam rex Stephanus nunquam clericos liquido dilexerat, et pridem duos incarceraverat episcopos,) restiterunt tamen, capitum suorum pericula metuentes.[1] Recesserunt tamen illæsi, possessionibus quidem spoliati, quas postea rege pœnitente rehabuerunt. Rex eodem anno castrum Neubiriæ, quod non procul a Wintonia est, obsidens oppugnavit, et tandem expugnavit. Inde castellum de Walingeforde obsedit, et in ipso pontis ingressu castellum obsessorium construxit, quod inclusis escarum illationem et liberam progressionem prohibuit. Tunc igitur primo gravissime compressi, a domino suo duce Normannorum petierunt vel auxilii exhibitionem, vel castellum in manus regias reddendi licentiam.

The king's anger and vexation.

Stephen takes Newbury, and besieges Wallingford castle: the besieged send for help to their lord, Henry of Anjou.

A.D. 1153. Henry comes over to England. § 33. Anno igitur regis Stephani XVIII. dux Normanniæ tanta necessitate compulsus insperatus advolavit in Angliam. Tunc vero miserabilis Anglia pridem destructa, sed jam per adventum ejus quasi vitam rehabitura, in hæc verba cum lacrymis prorupit:

Imaginary poetical address of England to her deliverer.

Dux Henrice, nepos Henrici maxime magni,
Anglia celsa ruo, nec jam ruo tota ruina.
Dicere vix possum, Fueram; Sum namque recessit.
Si mihi, quæ miseris superest, vel spes superesset,
Clamarem, Miserere, veni, succurre, resiste.
Nam sum jure tui juris, potes, erige lapsam;
Sed nunc ora rigent; nunc vox, nunc vita recedunt.
At quis clamor adest, venit, ingeminant quoque, venit?
Quis dux ille ducum, puer annis, mente senilis?
Gemma virum, vir, ave, mea spes, dum spes mihi, salve,

[1] *nihil metuentes*, Sav.

Sero venis; perii: clames tamen, Anglia, surge, A.D. 1153.
Immo resurge: tuam refero tibi mortua vitam.
Ad vocem rediviva tuam post fata resurgam.
Ergo reviviscens video quod inhorreo; cernis
Prœlia quanta movet Stephanus; moveat volo; quippe
Gloria nulla foret, si prœlia nulla moveret.
Quot contra Stephanum, cui copia multa virorum,
Duxisti? paucos: cur paucos? gloria major
Est multos paucis, quam multos vincere multis.
Cum rex Francorum, comites proceresque sed omnes
In te consurgunt, levis est jactura; repugno
His absens, pugno tibi præsens; cur simul, edam;
Si non pugna duplex, nec erit mihi gloria duplex:
Multo magisque nitet reges, quam vincere regem;
Quis tibi signifer est? ipsius gratia Christi,
Quam mihi conciliat mea, nec minus actio regis.
Namque placet pax sola mihi, discordia regi.
Pacem sero sero, pacem tibi sanguine quæro,
Dulcis alumna mei, cui tanta pericula sumpsi.
Te patiar, si pace tamen per me potiare,
Si secus, emoriar, ne te videam morientem.

§ 34. Cum igitur dux gloriosus Angliæ littora tempestate propulsus occupasset, subitis afflata rumoribus infrenduit terra, velut arundinetum Zephyro vibrante collisum. Transvolans itaque fama, ut assolet, aliis semina sparsit exultationis et lætitiæ, aliis formidinis et mœstitiæ. Sui tamen de adventu ejus admodum tripudiantes, super hoc, quod secum paucos duxerat, aliquantulum commovebantur. Hostium vero confusio ex eadem paucitate non modicum relevabatur. Utrique tamen super hoc mirabantur. Et, quod in medio hiemis mare tempestuosum intrasset, sui magnaminitatem, alii audaciam judicabant. At juvenis strenuissimus congregans suos, tam quos invenerat quam quos adduxerat, mora maxime perosa castellum de Malmesbirie obsedit. Et quia viri tanti probitates magnæ sunt et multæ, breviter quidem perstringendæ sunt, ne

The young duke brings over only a small force.

He takes Malmesbury castle by assault;

A.D. 1153. rerum gestarum copia plenius elucidata nimietatem congerat prolixitatis. Obsessum igitur castrum, nunquam enim moram gerendis intermiscebat, assilivit moxque cepit. Expugnata tamen urbe turris excellentissima Jordani, quam regali conservabat imperio, sola fame domabilis remansit. Unde Jordanus cum summa festinatione egrediens, rem gestam regi Stephano propalavit. Sinistris angariatus nuntiis rex sui vultus dignitatem obducto mœrore commutavit. Non segniter tamen copiis omnibus congregatis non longe a Malmesbiria fixit tentoria. Crastina vero adventus sui die acies equitibus electissimis refertas, legibus bellicis distinctas, eleganter ordinavit. Erat quidem exercitus ingens procerum numerositate condensus, insignibus aureis coruscus, valde terribilis et decorus; sed procul ab iis recesserat Deus, in quo solo tota salus. Apertis etenim cataractis cœli tantas in facies eorum misit inundationes, tantas acerrimi frigoris obstinationes, tantas ventuosi turbinis impulsiones, ut Deus ipse videretur pro duce rem agere. Ibant tamen aciebus dispositis, quasi contra Dei potentiam contendentes, horrendis quidem exagitati cruciatibus. Stabat e regione juvenilis exercitus, magis viribus confisus quam numero, præcipue tamen Dei gratia roboratus, quam eis justitia causæ, pro qua scilicet astabant, misericorditer contraxerat.

but the tower held by Jordanus resists him.

Stephen marches to the assistance of Jordanus.

Storm of rain and wind.

Near Malmesbury the armies are drawn up facing each other, with a river between them.

Stabant equidem non procul ab urbis præfatæ muralibus prope fluenta fluminis, quod pluviarum et nivium inundatio tanto impulsu tanta immensitate ducebat, ut ingressuris horrorem incuteret,[1] ingressis egressum negaret. Præcedebat suos juvenis nobilissimus, armis tanto duce dignis insignitus, animi plenitudinem specie corporis imaginans, quem adeo formæ dignitas commendabat, ut, si dicere licet, eum non tantum arma decerent, quantum ipsius decor arma splendificaret. Erat quidem ei suisque tempestas a tergo; regi suisque in faciem, ut nec arma sustinere, nec lanceas im-

[1] Sav.; *incurreret*, A^2.

bribus profluentes contrectare possent. Et quia præviderat Deus, quod puero suo terram sine sanguinis effusione contraderet, cum nullus eorum flumen transgredi posset, nec rex tantas illuviones ultra perferre sufficeret, repedavit Londoniam opera cassatus, molestia confectus. Igitur turri quam obsederat duci reddita, properavit exhilaratus ad id pro quo venerat, videlicet ut castro de Walingeforde jam fame perituro succurreret. Congregata igitur militum copia, quæ victualibus inferendis castri Walingeforde esset subsidio, prosperavit Deus et hoc inceptum, tranquillum ei largiens effectum. Erant equidem castella numerosa in circuitu militia regali referta, nec tamen impedire venientes vel redeuntes Deo volente potuerunt. Parvum fuit medii spatium temporis, et jam dux validissimus, omni militia quæ sibi adhærebat coadunata obsedit castellum de Craunmers. Rem arduam et inæstimatam laudabiliter incipiens, cinxit castellum regis et exercitum suum vallo maximo, ut suis egressus tantum pateret per castellum, de Walingeforde, obsessis vero nullus permitteretur exitus. Quod rex audiens, tunc prorsus omnibus copiis suæ ditioni pertinentibus agglomeratis duci supervenit terribilis. Terrore tamen nullo dux permotus, licet copiis impar esset regi, vallum, quod exercitui suo fuerat pro munimento, statim dejici jussit; et obsidionem relinquens aciebus dispositis contra regem splendide processit. Videns igitur inopinate regalis exercitus acies hostium ordinatas in faciem suam exsurgentes, timore insperato percussi sunt. Rex autem nullo timore compressus suorum quoque turmas castrorum terribiliter dispositas progredi jussit. Insurrexerunt autem proceres, imo proditores Angliæ, de concordia inter eos agentes, nihil tamen magis quam discordiam diligentes, sed bellum committere nolebant, quia neutrum illorum exaltare volebant, ne, altero subacto, alter eis libere dominaretur, sed semper alter alterum metuens, regiam in eos potestatem exercere non posset. Inducias igitur inter se rex duxque constituerunt coacti nolentes, uterque pro-

A.D. 1153. Stephen retreats; the tower held by Jordanus surrenders.

Henry then relieves Wallingford castle,

and lays siege to the king's castle of Crowmarsh.

Stephen raises another army, and marches into Oxfordshire.

A battle is imminent, but the chief men on each side, desiring that neither king nor duke should be all-powerful, effect a reconciliation?

A.D. 1153. ditionem suorum comperientes. Juveni tamen suo Deus
Crowmarsh castle is to be razed. honorem de more contulit. Castrum namque regium, Matt. Paris, a. 1152. quod dux obsederat, ex ejus compactione fœderis dejectum est. Locuti sunt postea rex solus et dux solus, amne interposito, de pace perpetua inter eos constituenda, de proditione procerum suorum anxie conquerentes uterque. Prælibatum est illud pacis negotium, sed tamen in aliud tempus delatum est.

§ 35. Nondum enim sopita discordia, cum ad sua remeassent, diluculum felicitatis duci magno serenissime
Death of prince Eustace, and of Simon earl of Northampton. comparuit. Suos etenim hostes immanissimos et summa potentia præditos, filium scilicet regis Eustachium et Simonem comitem de Norhamtune, Dei providentia nil tale metuentes in eodem demolivit tempore, unde virtus et spes omnium ei rebellantium ex improviso emarcuit eventu. Uterque juvenis eodem morbo eadem deperierunt hebdomada. Sepultus est autem Simon comes apud Northamptune, plenus omnium quæ non licebant, omnium quæ non decebant. Sepultus est filius regis in abbatia, quam mater sua fundaverat, apud Faveresham, militia quidem probatus, sed in ea, quæ Dei sunt, obstinatus, rectoribus ecclesiarum durissimus, persequentibus eam devotissimus. Exstirpatis igitur hostibus Henrici dilecti sui fortissimis, jam Deus ipse tranquillitatem regni ipsius præparabat benignissime.

Sieges of Stamford and Ipswich. § 36. Tertiam igitur obsidionem congessit circa castellum de Stanford. Capta statim urbe, rebellantes ei, qui turri inerant, nuntios regi miserunt, auxilium inclusis poscentes. Rex autem obsederat castellum de Gipeswic, quod Hugo Bigot contra eum tenebat, cujus obsidionem cum nollet dimittere, nec auxilium inclusis impendere, redditum est castellum Henrico principi magno; sed et castellum, quod rex obsederat, regi redditum est. A Stanfordia dux Normannorum discedens, Nothingham petiit, et statim urbem cepit. Illi vero qui castello urbis illius inerant, urbem ipsam combusserunt. Dux pietate commotus urbisque dolens combustionem alio promovit exercitum.

§ 37. Interim vero Theobaldus archiepiscopus cum rege de concordia cum duce componenda magno opere tractabat, ipse frequenter regi colloquens, duci vero per internuntios. Erat autem ei coadjutor Henricus Wintoniensis episcopus, qui prius regnum funeste turbaverat, Stephano fratri suo regni diadema contradens; nunc autem pœnitentia motus, cum omnia videret rapinis, incendiis, cædibus demolita, ad tantorum finem malorum concordiæ principium invigilabat. Dispositio præsertim Dei, faciens pacem et creans malum,[1] condignis Angliæ flagellis finem destinans, dedit eis proventum[2] incepti, et ab eo per ipsos pacis serenitas, concordia sacramentis confirmata, resplenduit. O quam inestimabile gaudium! quam beata dies! cum in urbe Wintoniensi processione pontificum et heroum coruscante, et innumerabilis populi frequentia congratulante, juvenis clarissimus ipso rege ducente gloriose susceptus est. Ipsum siquidem rex in filium suscepit adoptivum, et hæredem regni constituit. Exinde rex ducem Londonias secum duxit, nec ibi minori gaudio ab innumerabilis conventu plebis, processionibus luculentissimis, ut tantum decebat virum, susceptus est. Sic Dei misericordia pacis auroram et noctis ærumnosæ finem regno diruto contribuit Anglorum.

A.D. 1153. Efforts of archbishop Theobald to procure peace; they are seconded by Henry, bishop of Winchester.

Peace concluded: friendly meeting of Stephen and Henry at Winchester.

Chr. E., a. 1140.

They visit London together.

§ 38. His igitur actis, cum gaudio[3] et amore rex Stephanus et filius ejus novus nuper conventuri discesserunt, hæc etenim concordia ante Natale Domini confirmata est. Ad octavas autem Epiphaniæ rursus convenerunt apud Oxenforde, cum jam dux per annum fere in expugnatione, imo in resuscitatione Angliæ in ipsa commoratus fuisset. Igitur ibi principes Anglorum jussu regis hominium et domino debitam fidelitatem duci simul exhibuerunt, regi tamen honorem debitum fidemque, dum viveret, conservaturi. Ab hoc

A.D. 1154. Parliament at Oxford; the great feudatories do homage to Henry as their future king.

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[1] A[2]; *bonum*, Sav.

[2] A[2]; *eventum*, Sav.

[3] *summo gaudio*, Sav.

A.D. 1154. Meeting at Dunstable; Henry displeased because the king is slow to destroy the robber castles.

conventu magnifico pace nova fruentes ad propria cum gaudio discesserunt. Nec longa fuit medii mora temporis, cum iterum apud Dunestable convenerunt. Ibi aliquantulum quidem clarissima dies obnubilata est. Displicebat enim duci, quod castella post mortem Henrici regis in pessimos usus circumquaque constructa non diruerentur, sicut confirmatum et sancitum fuerat inter eos in concordiæ firmissimo fœdere; pars quidem magna jam erat diruta; quibusdam tamen suorum castellis regis clementia vel versutia parcens, pacti communionem debilitare videbatur. Dux igitur super hoc regem angarians, repulsam passus est. Sed tamen, patri novo consentiens, ægre quidem rem distulit, ne concordiæ lumen extinguere videretur. Utrinque igitur discessum[1] est in pace; et non multo post accepta dux a rege licentia victoriosissimus Normanniam repedavit.

Henry returns to Normandy.

The author excuses the brevity of his narrative.

§ 39. Hæc sunt gesta Henrici juvenum strenuissimi in secundo adventu suo in Angliam. Nec succenseat mihi quispiam, quod de multis ab eo splendide gestis pauca scriptis tradiderim; nec enim de tot tantisque regibus, neque de rebus per tot sæcula gestis historiæ plenitudinem contexere potui, quod multos exigeret codices; sed potius historiarum abbreviationes, ne posteros res gestæ prorsus laterent, in unum volumen contraxi. Nunc ad propositum revertamur. Itaque dux gloriosus in Gallias rediens, a genitrice sua et fratribus et omni gente Normanniæ et Andegavis, Cenomaniæ et Pictavis, debita lætitia et honore susceptus est. Rex autem Stephanus in pace tunc primo regnans, quæ regio debebantur honori adoptivi gratia filii potentissimus obtinuit. O dira mortalium rabies! O nefanda perversitas! Quidam filii hominum, quorum dentes arma et sagittæ, et lingua gladius acutus, inter regem præsentem et ducem absentem summopere stimulum discordiæ studebant seminare. Rex autem vix eorum persua-

The position of Stephen strengthened by his reconciliation with Henry.

Some men endeavour to sow discord between them.

Chr. E., a. 1140. Ps. 56,

[1] Sav.; *discussum*, A.[2]

sionibus restare poterat, et processu temporis, (ut æstimabant nonnulli,) jam non restabat; et pravorum consilia non invitus, sed tamen quasi nollet dissimulans, æquo licentius audiebat. Sed aliter filii hominum, aliter judicabat Deus, qui, ut decebat incepta perficiens, pravorum consilia perversasque machinationes ad nihilum redigebat. Cum itaque castellum quod vocatur Drache juxta Eboracum obsedisset, et obsessum tandem cepisset, aliaque multa victor castella diruisset, Doroberniam petiit cum comite Flandrensi locuturus. Cui colloquens, infirmitate et tandem morte præreptus est, octo diebus ante festivitatem Omnium Sanctorum, et in abbatia de Faversham juxta uxorem suam et filium sepultus est, cum fere XIX. annis laboriose nimis et infeliciter regnasset.

A.D. 1154.

Siege of Drake.

At a meeting with the count of Flanders at Canterbury, Stephen is taken ill and dies.

He is buried at Feversham.

§ 40. Miserunt itaque Theobaldus archiepiscopus et quamplures ex Angliæ proceribus nuntios festinanter pro domino suo duci Normannorum, ut regnum susceпturus incunctanter adveniret. Impeditus tamen ventis et mari, causisque quampluribus, paucis diebus ante Natale, cum conjuge, fratribusque suis, multisque potentibus, magnisque copiis applicuit apud Noveforest. Fuit igitur Anglia sine rege quasi sex hebdomadis, nec tamen Dei gratia præveniente pace caruit; vel pro regis amore venturi, vel timore. At vero cum, ut dictum est, applicuisset, Lundoniam petens, ut decebat tantum et tam beatum virum, cum summa lætitia et multis præ gaudio lacrymantibus, in regem benedictus est, et in thronum regni splendidissime collocatus. De cujus temporis beatitudine sic diximus heroice:

The archbishop and barons send for Henry, who embarks after some delay, and lands at Lymington a few days before Christmas.

His coronation.

Rex obiit, nec rege carens caret Anglia pace,
Hæc, Henrice, creas miracula primus in orbe.
Rex nondum, præsens nondum, tamen efficis illud
Quod rex non potuit præsens, dignissime sceptris.
Quam bene sceptra geres, qui regni flectis habenas.

Encomium Henrici.

Nondum sceptra gerens, dum trans maris alta moraris.
Per te, sed sine te, fruitur tamen Anglia pace;
Hæc aurora tuos præcessit, Phœbe, nitores;
Ecce venit radians: radii sunt advenientis
Certa fides, hilaris clementia, cauta potestas,
Lene jugum, vindicta decens, correctio dulcis,
Castus amor, libratus honor, frenata voluptas.
His igitur radiis dum sceptra decora decoras,
Tu diadema magis, quam te diadema perornat.
Anglia, letali jamdudum frigore torpens,
Nunc solis fervore novi rediviva calescens,
Erigis impressum terræ caput, et vacuatis
Mœstitiæ lacrymis, præ lætitia lacrymaris.
Cum lacrymis hæc verba tuo profundis alumno;
Spiritus es, caro sum; te nunc intrante revixi.

Et jam regi novo novus liber donandus est.

Explicit liber X^us^; *hic incipit liber undecimus de Henrico juniori.*[a]

[a] The passage, *Et jam . . juniori*, is from the Corpus MS., C[3].

APPENDIX.

TORONTO PUBLIC LIBRARIES
CENTRAL

APPENDIX.

A.

Passages relating to the descendants of Edmund Ironside, inserted in the Hengwrt MS.

The Hengwrt MS. (Introd. § 29) was written at the end of the twelfth century. An insertion at the close of the Fourth book seems to show that the writer was "Edmundus capellanus," that he was sixty-four years old in 1197, the time of writing, and had been thirty-three years a priest. The following passages, written either by the same or a contemporary hand on the margins and blank spaces of the leaves, under the years 1016, 1044, and 1067, are of considerable interest:—

Historia, vi. § 13, ad fin.

"Volens dominus Cnut tam fratres Edmundi sci-
" licet S. Edward et Aluredum qui in Normannia
" exulabant quam . . . . et parvulos [?] . . . . . [?][1]
" spe regni penitus privare, jubet adesse summi [sum-
" mos ?] regni proceres, quæritque ab eis quem sibi
" designaverit rex Edmundus heredem, quem filiis
" adhuc infantibus custodem deputaverit, quid de fra-
" tribus suis Aluredo et Edwardo præscripserit. At
" illi, ut regi placerent, dicunt regem Edmundum sibi
" pocius curam regni [quam] filiorum suorum delegasse,
" cum ipse fratres suos heredes designaverit, et puero-
" rum custodiam deputaverit. Cum enim Cnut monar-
" chiam insule faventibus illis obtinuisset, quicquid de

[1] Several words are here wholly or partially illegible, owing to the top part of the leaf having been cut off.

" regio semine superstes repperit, vel regno reppulit vel " occidit. At puerulos, scilicet filios Edmundi, ferire " metuens pro pudore, sd regem Swanorum eos inter- " ficiendos transmisit. Rex vero Swanorum nobilium " puerorum miseratus ærumnam ad Hungariorum eos " regem destinavit nutriendos. Quos ipse benigne " susceptos benignius fovit, benignissime sibi in filios " adoptavit. Porro Edmundo filiam suam dedit uxo- " rem, Edwardo filiam germani Henrici imperatoris in " matrimonium junxit. Sed paulo post Edmundus de " temporalibus ad æterna transfertur; Edwardus sos- " pitate et prosperitate perfruitur."

Lib. vi. § 21, in margine: —

" Cum autem rex Edwardus pacem tam a suis " quam ab extraneis obtinuisset, et vicinis regibus et " principibus gratus et amabilis extitisset, dirigit nun- " tios ad Romanum imperatorem, rogans ut nepotem " suum Edwardum, filium fratris sui regis Edmundi " Ireneside, sibi regni Angliæ debiti futurum heredem, " mittere dignaretur. Imperator autem regis nuntios " gratanter excipiens, non parvo tempore summo cum " honore detinuit. Tandem paratis navibus, et omni- " bus quæ navigaturis necessaria videbantur illatis, " Edwardum cum uxore sua Agatha, germani sui " filia, liberisque ejus Edgardo Edeling, Margareta, " atque Christina, cum magna gloria ac divitiis, sicut " rex petierat, ad Angliam mittit. Qui prospero cursu " in Angliam veniens tam regem quam populum suo " lætificavit adventu."

Lib. vi. § 31, post "stragem dedit"—

" Edgar autem Edeling cernens res Anglorum un- " dique perturbari, ascensa navi cum matre et sorori- " bus reverti in patriam in qua natus fuerat cona- " batur, sed orta in mari tempestate in Scotiam " applicare compellitur. Hac occasione ortum est ut " Margareta regis Malculmi nuptiis traderetur. Soror " quoque ejus Christina in Christi sponsam benedi-

" citur. Nati sunt reginæ Margaretæ sex filii et duo
" filiæ. Quorum tres, Edgarus, Alexander, et David,
" reges fuerunt. Horum soror Matildis gloriosissimo
" regi nupsit Henrico. De hac igitur excellentissima
" et Christianissima regina nata est Matildis, quæ
" primum imperatori Romano nupsit, deinde Gaufrido
" Andegavensium comite. De qua nati sunt rex Hen-
" ricus II., Gaufridus, et Willelmus. Maria vero filia
" reginæ Margarete traditur in uxorem Eustachio
" Boloniensi, de qua nata est Matildis quæ nupsit
" comiti Mauritaniæ, postea vero regi Anglorum Ste-
" phano. Hic genuit ex hac regina Wilelmum comi-
" tem Warenniæ, et Eustachium comitem Boloniæ."

B.

Epistola ad Walterum de Contemptu Mundi.[a]

Exemplar autem tertiæ epistolæ de contemptu mundi per ea que ipsi vidimus hoc est:— Prologue.

Valtere,[1] [b] quondam decus juvenum, quondam deliciæ rerum, nunc, proh dolor! diutino dolore decoqueris, nunc lamentabili dolore consumeris. In ætatis[2] nostræ

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[1] *Waltere*, Wh.

[2] A⁵.; *ætate*, A.

[a] It has been stated in the Introduction (§ 2) what editions of this Epistle have at various times appeared. The copy of it in Part II. of Wharton's *Anglia Sacra* was founded on a collation of the Lambeth MSS. 118 and 179. The text is full of blunders, but most of these are corrected in the margin. An accurate version was given by Luc D'Achery in his *Spicilegium*, (vol. viii. 178 of the earlier, vol. iii. 512 of the later edition,) who probably used either the Paris or the Rouen MS. The Abbé Migne, for what reason I do not know, instead of reprinting the good text of D'Achery, adopted the bad text of Wharton. The version now given is founded on MS. A., collated with A⁵. In the "Varia Lectio" Wharton's edition is indicated by "Wh.," that in the *Spicilegium* by "Ach."

[b] The "Walter" whom Henry addresses has not been identified

jocundabili flore librum tibi epigrammaton poetice composui; carmen etiam in amorem[1] acceptabile contexui. Juvenis quidem[2] juveni juvenilia, nunc senex seni senilia destino. De contemptu igitur mundi quædam tibi et mihi scripsi, in quibus te languens exerceas, et ipse potissimum sæpe legendo recurram; nec disserendo rhetorice, nec tractando philosophice; (id unum omnis pagina divina intonat, omnia philosophorum ingenia desudant;) sed loquendo omnia[3] simpliciter, ut pateat pluribus, id est minus doctis, et de his quæ tu et ego vidimus, hinc jam senes contemnere contemptibilia discamus. Nihil igitur de historiis, nihil de ante relatis, sed quæ videndo scimus, quia tale testimonium nec aliud lex admittit, apponimus. Quod si temporis nostri nomina posteris barbara videantur, vel, quia tot apponuntur, asper et obliquus tædeat tractatus, nonne saltem mihi et tibi proderit?

Scripture and philosophy alike teach us the contempt of the world.

I. Recent changes in the diocese of Lincoln.

§ 1. Sit igitur primum capitulum de his quæ in ecclesia nostra contigerunt. Igitur a pueritia omnia fere vitia præter luxuriam pullulant, inter quæ[4] cacumen erigit rigidissimum et principatur[5] nimius amor præsentium. Cum autem ætatis naturali bono mala multa pueritiæ[6] vacuentur, velut inscientia,[7] levitas,

[1] *amore*, Wh.
[2] *autem*, Wh.
[3] *omnino*, Wh. A^5.
[4] *hinc quia*, Wh.
[5] *principatum*, Wh.
[6] *pueritia*, Wh.
[7] A^5.; *in scientia*, A. Wh.

with certainty. He died before the Epistle was finished, that is in 1135; he cannot therefore have been abbot Walter of Ramsey, who lived to 1160, nor Walter Calenius, archdeacon of Oxford, who was alive at the date of the revision of the Epistle in 1145. From the use of the expression "consors" (§ 15) it seems reasonable to infer that he was one of Henry's brother archdeacons. If so, it must have been the Walter archdeacon of Leicester, "vir omnino laudandus," who is mentioned in § 4. The absence, in the MSS. representing the original version, of the mention (due to the revision of 1145) of Robert de Chesney among the archdeacons of Leicester, shows that archdeacon Walter must have died between 1135 and 1145; he may therefore be the person addressed.

mutabilitas et alia, hoc prædictum, quod jucundius est cæteris et melle venenato conditius, remanet et crescit. Ætatis tamen magno processu pungere videntur quæ mulcebant, et amaricare quæ indulcabant. Usu tamen mali velut hamo inextricabili captæ mentes divitiis et deliciis fugientibus retinentur. Quod a me ipso didici. Cum namque puerulus, cum adolescens, cum juvenis, Roberti præsulis nostri gloriam conspicerem, scilicet equites decentissimos, adolescentes nobilissimos, equos pretiosissimos, vasa aurea et deaurata, ferculorum numerum, ferentium splendorem, vestes purpureas et byssinas, nihil nimirum beatius æstimare potui. Cum igitur omnes,[1] et ipsi etiam qui de mundi contemptu legebant in scholis, ei obsequerentur, et ipse, quasi pater et deus[2] omnium æstimatus,[a] mundum valde diligeret et amplexaretur, si quis tunc mihi hæc pulcherrima, quæ omnes admirabantur,[3] contemnenda diceret, quo vultu, quo animo ferrem? Insaniorem Oreste, importuniorem Thersite judicassem. Nihil tanti viri tantæ beatitudine obesse posse putabam. Vir tamen effectus, narrationem audivi de turpissimis omnino conviciis ad eum dictis; quæ si mihi nihil habenti in tanta audientia dicta fuissent, semimortuum me ducerem. Cœpi ergo illam inæstimabilem beatitudinem minoris pendere. Bishop Robert.

§ 2. Quia vero multis sæcularibus solent ante mortem acerbissima contingere, quid ante finem ei contigerit, edisseram. Qui justitiarius totius Angliæ et ab omnibus summe formidatus fuerat, in ultimo vitæ suæ His misfortunes

[1] *omnis*, Wh.
[2] *dominus*, Wh.
[3] *admirabamur*, A[5]. Wh.

[a] Malmesbury, among the suppressed passages of the first draft of the *Gesta Pontificum*, has one (p. 313, Rolls edition) in which he gives a far more unfavourable picture of Robert Bloet than that drawn by Henry. Knyghton calls him "vir libidinosus," but he wrote at the end of the 14th century, and against his testimony the terms of praise used by Henry at the end of § 2 must be set. See also the short lives by Gerald de Barri and John de Scalby in vol. vii. of the works of *Giraldus Cambrensis* (Rolls Series).

anno bis implacitatus est a rege per quemdam justitiarium ignobilem, et damno gravissimo cum dedecore bis afflictus. Unde tanto stupore mentis angariatus est, ut cum ego jam archidiaconus ejus inter prandium juxta eum recumberem, lacrymas eum fudisse viderim. Causam quæsitus: "Quondam," inquit, "astantes mihi "pretiosis induebantur. Nunc mulctæ regis, cujus sem- "per gratiæ studui, compegerunt eos agninis vestiri." Tanta vero post hæc desperatione de regis amicitia usus est, ut cum laudes egregiæ, quas rex de eo absente dixerat, ei retractarentur,[1] suspirans dixerit,[2] "Non laudat rex quempiam suorum, nisi quem voluerit funditus de- "lere."[3] Rex namque Henricus, si dicere fas est, summæ simultatis erat, et mentis inscrutabilis. Post paucos exhinc dies, apud Wodestoke, ubi rex conventum hominum et ferarum statuerat, cum episcopus loqueretur cum rege et episcopo Salesburiensi, qui summi erant in regno, percussus est apoplexia. Vivus tamen, sed elinguis, in hospitium suum deportatus, præsente rege
and death. mox exspiravit. Rex magnus, cui semper servierat, quem valde dilexerat et metuerat, quem tanti ducebat, in quem adeo confidebat, nihil pluris in necessitate summa fuit mendico. Animadvertite igitur non frustra
Jer. xvii. 5. dictum: "Maledictus, qui confidit in homine, et qui "ponit carnem brachium suum." Dum igitur puer vel adolescens vel juvenis conspiciunt beatos, præcogitent[4] quam sit eorum finis ambiguus, et in hoc etiam mundo marcescere incepturi sint in miseriis. Fuit autem Robertus præsul mitis et humilis, multos erigens, nullum deprimens, pater orphanorum, deliciæ suorum; hoc tamen usus est fine.

Bishop Remigius

§ 3. Tractandum autem erat de præcessore ejus Remigio, qui cum Willelmo rege in Angliam[5] venit, et bello interfuit; qui postea episcopatum Dorkecestriæ

[1] *recitarentur*, Wh.
[2] *dixit*, Wh. Ach.
[3] *lædere*, Wh.
[4] *percogitent*, Wh.
[5] A[5]. Ach.; *Anglia*, Wh.

prædicto rege[1] largiente suscepit, qui deinde[2] sedem episcopatus a Dorkecestria[3] in Lincoliam transtulit;[a] qui ecclesiam nostram fundavit, fundatam possessionibus variis ditavit, ditatam personis honestissimis infloravit. Sed[4] non loquimur nisi de auditis et visis, eum autem non vidimus; clericos autem venerabiles, quos in ecclesia primos imposuit, omnes vidimus; quorum paucos memorabimur paucis.[5] Randulfum[6] igitur, sacerdotem reverendum, constituit decanum. Reinerum vero, in cujus loco Gaufridus nepos ejus adhuc degit, thesaurarium[7] exhibuit. Reinerus vir adeo religiosus fuit, ut sæpe[8] in tumulo quem morti suæ præparaverat, psalmodiam exerceret, et domui æternitatis se assuescens diutius orabat, ut cum orare non posset, ibidem recumbens a Dei pietate visitaretur. Felix exemplum viri clarissimi. Nec tacendus est Hugo sacerdos, vir memoria dignus, principium et quasi fundamentum ecclesiæ. Cui succedit Osbertus, vir omnino comis et desiderabilis. In quorum loco jam Willelmus exstat, juvenis magnæ indolis. Guerno vero cantor effectus est. Hujus in loco Radulfus inpræsentiarum cantor degit. Nec prætereo Albinum Andegavensem, magistrum quippe meum. Cujus fratres honestissimi et socii[9] mei, qui trino pollebant habitu, scientia pro-

and his cathedral clergy.

[1] Verba, *in Angliam . . prædicto rege* incuria librarii desunt in A.

[2] *demum*, Wh.

[3] *Dorecestria*, Wh.

[4] *Scilicet*, Wh.

[5] *quorum . . . paucis* ponit in margine Wh.

[6] *Radulfum*, Wh. Ach.

[7] A^5.; *thesaurum*, A.

[8] A^5.; *seme*, A.

[9] *consocii*, A^5. Wh.

[a] See Book VI., § 41. The exact date of the translation of the see to Lincoln cannot be decided, but it was probably somewhere about 1078, as Le Neve is of opinion. The removal was undoubtedly in pursuance of a decree passed by the council held in London by archbishop Lanfranc in 1075 (Wilkins, i. 363), ordering that the decrees of former popes, and the canons of the councils of Sardica and Laodicea, forbidding bishops to place their sees in villages, should be carried out in the case of the sees of Sherborne, Selsey, and

fundissima, castitate clarissima, innocentia summa, occulto tamen Dei judicio lepra percussi sunt; sed jam purgamento mortis mundati sunt.

The seven archdeacons of his nomination.

§ 4. Septem autem archidiaconos septem provinciis, quibus præerat, Remigius imposuit. Richardum archidiaconum Lincolliæ, cui successit Albertus Longobardus, cui etiam successit Willelmus Bajocensis, et nunc Robertus [a] junior, omnium archidiaconorum, qui in Anglia sunt, ditissimus.[1] Cantebrigiensi et Huntendonensi et Hertfordensi [2] Nicolaum: quo nullus erat corpore formosior, nec moribus corpori multum absimilis erat. Cujus circa transitum cum Cantebrigensis provincia ab episcopatu nostro separata, novum episcopum suscepisset,[b] duabus reliquis provinciis archidiaconus ei [3] ipse successi. Nigellum vero archidiaconum Hamtoniæ præposuit, cui successit Robertus; quibus modo Willelmus,[c] nepos Alexandri episcopi nostri egregius. Leicestriæ vero Randulfum; cui successit Godefridus, quibus Walterus vir omnino laudandus, nunc vero Robertus de Querceto, vir fama dignus.[4] Oxinefordiæ quidem præposuit Aluredum, cui successit Walterus [d] superlative rethoricus. Bukingeham præposuit Aluredum parvum; cui successit Gislebertus, versibus et prosa et habitu

[1] *et nunc ..... ditissimus* desunt in A[5].

[2] A[5].; om. A. [3] *et*, Wh.

[4] *nunc . . dignus* desunt in A[5].

Lichfield, which were to be removed to Salisbury, Chichester, and Chester respectively. As to other sees similarly situated, the council deferred coming to any definite decision till the return of the king from Normandy. Brompton (Twysden, p. 975), who places this council in 1076, expressly includes the translation from Dorchester to Lincoln among the diocesan changes to which its decree gave rise.

[a] Le Neve wrongly identifies this "Robert the younger" with Robert de Querceto or de Chesney.

[b] Cambridgeshire was assigned to the see of Ely, on its foundation in 1109. See Malm. *Gest. Pont.*, p. 325.

[c] William de St. Clere; he died in 1168.—Le Neve.

[d] Walter of Wallingford, called also Walter Calne: Le Neve. This Walter Calenius is the person who brought over from Britanny, and gave to Geoffrey of Monmouth, according to the allegation of the latter, the original Breton version of his *Historia Britonum*.

curialissimus. Quibus successit Rogerus, jam Cestrensis episcopus[a] effectus. Postea[1] Ricardus,[b] nunc vero David[c] frater Alexandri venerabilis episcopi, a primo quintus. Septimum vero archidiaconum Bedefordiæ præposuit Osbertum. Cui successit Radulfus, miserande occisus. Quibus Hugo, a primo tertius; nunc vero Nicolaus,[d] a primo quartus.[2] Cæteri vero clerici honestissimi, ne prolixitatis arguar, taceantur. Cogita igitur, quomodo prædictæ personæ venerabiles exinanitæ sunt, et mox oblivione etiam absorbendæ sint. Immo mente revolve omnes, quos in choro dextro, omnes quos in choro sinistro prius vidimus. Nec unus quidem jam[3] superest. Amabant quæ amamus; optabant quæ optamus; sperabant quæ speramus; mors omnes dedit oblivioni. Cogitemus igitur, quia similiter et nos eadem manet oblivio. Curemus omni nisu quærere quod duret, quod stabile sit, quod differat a somno; imo quod aliquid sit, quia hæc nihil sunt.

II. The falls of princes.

§ 5. Secundum capitulum ad contemptum mundi est de his, quos in summis deliciis educatos vidimus, summis miseriis tandem deletos. Ideo autem per capitula tibi scribo, ut, quia diversorum nomina et gesta ubique dispersa intermiscentur, hinc apertior[4] et dilucidior fiat tractatus. Vidimus igitur Willelmum filium regis, vestibus sericis et auro consutis indutum, famulorum et custodum turba consertum, gloria quasi cœlesti coruscantem. Ipse unicus erat regis et[5] reginæ filius; nec dubitabat[6] se diademate sublimandum.

William, son of Henry I.

[1] *nunc vero Ricardus a primo quartus*, A^5.
[2] *nunc vero . . quartus* desunt in A^5.
[3] Om. Wh.
[4] *aptior*, Wh.
[5] Verba, *quasi . . regis et* desunt in A.
[6] A^5.; *dubitat*, A.

[a] *i.e.* bishop of Lichfield, Chester, and Coventry, to which see Roger de Clinton was elected in 1129.
[b] Richard de Urvilla: Le Neve.
[c] This David was alive in 1171: Le Neve.
[d] Alive in 1172: Le Neve.

Enimvero nescio quid magis afferebat ei certa spes in futurum regnandi, quam patri suo ipsa essentia regni; quia patri [1] magnum regnandi spatium jam præterierat, filio vero totum adhuc reservabatur. Pater etiam jam de amissione cum mentis angaria cogitabat; filius vero tantum ad habendum cum gaudio totus inhiabat. Displicebat autem mihi, et in animo meo [2] cladem futuram portendebat nimius circa eum cultus et nimius in ipso fastus; et dicebat animus meus: Hic adeo delicatus nutritur [3] in cibum ignis. Ille autem semper de regno futuro, de fastigio superbo, tumidus cogitabat. Deus autem dicebat: Non sic, impii, non sic. Contigit igitur ei, quod pro corona auri rupibus marinis capite scinderetur; pro vestibus deauratis nudus in mari volutaretur; pro celsitudine regni maris in fundo piscium ventribus sepeliretur.[a] Hæc fuit mutatio dexteræ Excelsi. Ricardus etiam Cestrensis consul, filius unicus Hugonis consulis, summo splendore nutritus, summa exspectatione patris hæres eximius, adhuc imberbis, in eadem nave deperiit, et eamdem sepulturam habuit. Ricardus quoque filius regis nothus,[4] ab episcopo nostro Roberto festive nutritus, et in eadem qua degebam familia a me et aliis celebriter honoratus, cujus indolem mirabamur, et magna quæque exspectabamus, in eadem nave, cautibus illisa, cum mare ventis careret, subita morte raptus est, et a mari voratus est.[b] Cum igitur Willelmus regis nepos, filius scilicet Roberti ducis Normannorum, jam

His half-brother Richard.

William Clito, son of duke Robert.

[1] *pater*, Wh.
[2] Om. Wh.
[3] *nutritus*, Wh.
[4] A[5]. ; *notus*, A.

[a] See above, p. 242.

[b] Of this Richard, Malmesbury writes, "quem [rex Henricus] ante "regnum ex provinciali fœmina "susceperat, juvenis magnanimus, "et patri pro obsequio acceptus." His name frequently occurs in the chronicle of Ordericus, and all that is recorded of him there is to his honour, as a brave and humane soldier. At the time of his death he was affianced to the daughter of Ralph de Guader, the powerful lord of Breteuil.

solus regius esset hæres, et omnium exspectatione dignus judicaretur, et probitate ineffabili consulatum Flandriæ adeptus esset, et vigore inexterminabili Theodoricum signis collatis superasset, parvo ictu sauciatus in manu[1] deperiit.[a] Omnes qui eum regem futurum securi exspectabant, et quosvis ad libitum præjudicabant, illusi sunt.

§ 6. Si[2] singula sequerer exempla, fieret epistola codex magnus. Nunc autem decanum nostrum Simonem non prætereo, qui filius Roberti præsulis nostri fuit; quem genuerat dum cancellarius Willelmi magni regis esset. Qui, ut decebat, regaliter nutritus, et adhuc impubis decanus noster effectus, in summam regis amicitiam et curiales dignitates mox provectus est. Erat autem celer ingenio, clarus eloquio, forma venustus, gratia coruscus, ætate junior, prudentia senilis, sed superbiæ vitio respersus. Ex superbia crevit invidia, ex invidia odium, ex odio detractiones, jurgia, delationes. Bene igitur prophetavit de se dicens: "Ego "curialibus interponor, quasi sal anguillis viventibus." Sicut enim sal anguillas excruciat, sic delationibus suis omnes regi famulantes distorsit. Sicut sal anguillarum destruitur humore, sic ipse omnium aspiratione annullatus est.[3] Hujus tamen prophetiæ partem priorem intellexit, alteram non prævidit. Veruntamen de se dixit nescius. Summus igitur in fastigio curiæ et regni, post dies in summum regis odium devolutus est; et in carcerem positus, per latrinam aufugisse dicitur; et in exsilium et miseriam juvenis intravit. Bene igitur in illo illud propheticum patuit: "Qui in "croceis nutriebantur, amplexati sunt stercora." Non igitur magni æstimemus,[4] cum nobiles pueros vel ju-

Dean Simon, son of bishop Bloet.

Thren. iv. 5.

[1] *in manu*, om. Wh.
[2] A[5].; *Sed*, A.
[3] *adnullatur*, Wh
[4] A[5].; *estimus*, A.

[a] See above, p. 250.

venes viderimus, tam forma quam divitiis et favoribus præradiare;[1] cum sæpenumero in summas miserias redigantur. Tunc[2] omnis exspectatio stultorum dissoluta est, et quod nihili erat, ad nihilum redigitur.[3]

III. The falls of statesmen and scholars.

§ 7. Tertius erit tractatus ad hujus vitæ labentis despectum, (quæ utinam despici posset a me quantum animus optat meus, et dignitas exigit sua,) de sapientia hujus mundi, scilicet de hoc quod potissimum est in mundo. Illa namque pretiosior est cunctis opibus terræ; et omnia, quæ in mundo desiderantur, huic non valent comparari. Scriptum est tamen: "Sapientia 1 Cor. iii. 19.
"hujus mundi, stultitia est[4] apud Deum." Quod apo-

Prosperity and power of Robert, count of Mellent.

stoli signaculum visis prosequar[5] exemplis. Fuit igitur Robertus consul de Mellend in rebus sæcularibus sapientissimus omnium hinc usque in Jerusalem degentium. Fuit scientia clarus, eloquio blandus, astutia perspicax, providentia sagax, ingenio versipellis, prudentia insuperabilis, consilio profundus, sapientia magnus. Possessiones igitur magnas et varias, quas vulgo vocant honores, et urbes et castella, vicos et villas, flumina et silvas, prædictis acquisierat instrumentis. Erant autem honores ejus non solum in Anglia, sed etiam in Normannia et Francia. Pro libitu suo igitur reges Francorum et Anglorum nunc concordes uniebantur, nunc discordes præliabantur.[a] Si adversus aliquem insurgebat, contritus humiliabatur. Si prodesse volebat, gloriosus exaltabatur. Hinc thesauri copia, scilicet auri et argenti, gemmarum et palliorum, incredibiliter ei confluxit.

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[1] *perradiare*, Wh.
[2] *Nunc*, Wh.
[3] *redigetur*, Wh.
[4] Om. Wh.
[5] *prosequitur*, Wh.

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[a] For a remarkable illustration of the influence possessed by the count of Mellent over the mind of William Rufus, see Ordericus, x., ch. 7. The character given to him by Malmesbury, except that he says nothing in his dispraise, is in close agreement with that drawn by Henry. Mellent died in 1118: (Ord. Vit., xii. 1).

§ 8. Cum igitur in summo statu gloriæ suæ degeret, contigit quemdam alium consulem sponsam ei tam factione quam dolosis viribus arripuisse. Unde[1] in senectute[2] sua mente turbatus et angaria obnubilatus, in tenebras mœroris incidit; nec usque ad mortem se lætum vel hilarem sensit. Cum igitur post dies dolori[3] dedicatos in[4] infirmitatem mortis prænuntiam incidisset, rogatus est ab archiepiscopo et sacerdotibus, cum ei confessionis purgatorium impenderent officium, ut terras quas vi vel arte multis abstulerat, pœnitens redderet, et erratum lacrymis lavaret. Quibus respondens ait: "Si terras quas aggregavi multifariam divisero, "quid miser filiis meis relinquam?" Cui contra ministri Domini: "Sufficient filiis tuis hæreditates[5] pris- "tinæ, et quas juste terras acquisisti. Cætera redde. "Alioquin animam devovisti gehennæ." Respondit autem consul: "Filiis omnia tradam; ipsi pro salute "defuncti misericorditer agant." Eo autem[6] defuncto, filii ejus magis injuste congregata injuste studuerunt augere, quam aliquid pro salute paterna[7] distribuere. Liquet igitur summam viri sapientiam in fine, quod[8] laus canitur, non solum in summam stultitiam, sed in cœcam devenisse insaniam.

The change in his fortunes.

His impenitent death.

§ 9. Quid memorem Gislebertum cognomine Universalem, episcopum Londoniensem? Non fuit adusque Romam par ei scientia. Artibus erat eruditissimus, theoria singularis et unicus; fama igitur celebris et splendidus. Quapropter dum scholas regeret Nivernis[9] in Gallia,[10] ad summum Londoniæ sacerdotium vocatus est, et exoratus concessit.[11] Qui magna exspectatione susceptus cœpit avaritiæ crimini deservire; multa

Gilbert the Universal, bishop of London.

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[1] *Unde et*, Wh.
[2] A[5].; *senecte*, A.
[3] A[5].; *dolori post dies*, A.
[4] *et in*, Wh.
[5] A[5].; *hereditas*, A.
[6] Om. Wh.
[7] *patria*, Wh.
[8] *qua*, A[5]. Ach.; *quo*, Wh.
[9] *Naverinis*, A[5].
[10] *in Nivernis Gallia*, Wh.
[11] *accessit*, Wh.

perquirens, pauca largiens. Moriens siquidem nihil divisit; sed infinitam thesauri copiam rex Henricus in ejus deliciis invenit. Ocreæ etiam episcopi auro et argento refertæ in fiscum regium allatæ sunt. Unde vir summæ scientiæ ab omni populo habitus est pro stultissimo.[a] Quid etiam de Randulfo regis cancellario?[b] Qui cum esset vir sagacissimus, astutus et callidus, omnem vim sapientiæ suæ convertit ad simplices deheritandos et pecunias eradendas. Sed inter agendum decidit in languores interminabiles. Tunc vero quasi Deo renitens et naturæ victor, facinus cumulare, quos poterat devorare non destitit. Crescebat autem cum cruciatu cupiditas, cum infirmitate impietas, cum doloribus[1] dolus; donec, cum ex equo corrueret,[2] super eum monachus equitavit, et insolita morte demolitus[3] est. Ex infinitorum silva exemplorum ad mundi sapientiam, immo fallaciam, discernendam jam dicta sufficiant.

Ralph the chancellor.

IV. The falls of nobles.

§ 10. Quarto subdetur loco virorum magni nominis felicitas; quam scilicet se dedisse regi David Dominus ipse pronuntiat his verbis: "Feci quoque tibi nomen "grande juxta nomen magnorum qui sunt in terris." Ille igitur hanc felicitatem feliciter habuit, nostri autem[4] infeliciter. His namque temporibus non pervenitur ad magnum nomen nisi summis sceleribus. Thomas[c]

2 Reg. vii. 9.

Thomas of Laon.

[1] *dolore*, Wh.
[2] *quo rueret*, Wh.
[3] A^5.; *demollitus*, A.
[4] A^5.; *autem nostri*, A.

[a] Gilbert the Universal was by origin a Breton. After having taught with distinction in the schools of Auxerre and Nevers, he was selected for the diocese of London by Henry I. in 1127. He died in 1134. In spite of his vast reputation, Gilbert is only known as the author of a *Gloss on the Old and New Testaments*, of which but a small part can have been original, and a *Commentary on the Lamentations*.

[b] See p. 244.

[c] Thomas de Merle, lord of Coucy. Full particulars of the career of this monster may be found in the 12th volume of Bouquet, taken from the abbot Suger's *Life of Louis le Gros*, the *Chronicles of St. Denis*, and the *Annals of Guibert de Nogent*. A portion of what

princeps magnus juxta Laudunum in Gallia principans, magnus erat nomine, quia summus erat scelere. Ecclesiis igitur circumjacentibus hostis,[1] omnes in fiscum suum redegerat. Si aliquem vi vel dolo in captione sua tenebat, non falso dicere poterat: "Dolores in- Ps. 114. "ferni circumdederunt me." Cædes humana, voluptas ejus et gloria. Comitissam contra solitum in carcere posuit. Cui crudelis[2] et spurcus, compedes et supplicia diebus, ut pecuniam extorqueret, stuprum noctibus inferebat, ut eam[3] derideret. A carcere in lectum Thomæ[4] crudelissimi quaque nocte ferebatur,[5] a lecto quaque[6] die in carcerem referebatur.[7] Pacifice loquens proximum, in corde non sine risu gladio transpungebat. Unde gladium sæpius sub chlamide nudum ferebat, quam vaginatum. Hunc igitur omnes[8] timebant, venerabantur, adorabant. Fama omnis Galliæ

His atrocious cruelty and rapacity.

[1] A[5]. ; *hostilis*, Wh. ; *hostiis*, A.
[2] A[5]. ; *fidelis*, A.
[3] *eadem*, A.
[4] *homines*, Wh.
[5] *ferebant*, Wh.
[6] *quaqua*, Wh.
[7] *referebant*, Wh.
[8] *homines*, Wh.

is said by the last-named writer is subjoined, from which it will appear that Henry did Thomas of Laon no injustice. "Is ab ineunte "adolescentia prædas de pauperi- "bus et Hierosolymitanis peregri- "nis faciens, et incestuosis matri- "moniis coalescens, ad innumera- "bilium hominum exitium pluri- "mam visus est attigisse potentiam. "Cujus crudelitas nostris est in "tantum sæculis inaudita, ut aliqui "qui etiam crudeles putantur mi- "tiores videantur in nece pecudum "quam iste in hominum. Nam "non modo eos gladio simpliciter, "et pro certo, ut fieri solet, reatu "interimit, sed horrendis excarni- "ficando suppliciis." A number of instances of revolting and atrocious punishment are then given; and the abbot proceeds, "Dici ab "ullo non potest, quot in ejus "carceribus fame, tabo, cruciati- "bus, et in ejus vinculis expira- "runt. * * * * * Quidam "de captivis saucius proficisci non "poterat. Interrogat hominem cur "non celeri gradu graderetur; ille "respondit se non posse. 'Sta,' "inquit, 'ego faciam ut ægre pro- "'peres.' Equoque desiliens, gla- "dio ei utrumque succidit pedem, "unde et mortuus est." Being at last attacked in 1130 by king Louis as a public pest and malefactor, he was mortally wounded by Ralph count of Vermandois, and taken to Laon, where he died without the sacraments.

His end.

circa illum. Crescebat in dies ei[1] possessio, crescebat thesaurus, crescebat servitus. Audire finem scelerati desideras? Gladio lethaliter percussus, pœnitentiam recusans, et a corpore Domini collum retorquens, sic periit; ut bene dici posset:

"Conveniens vitæ mors fuit ista tuæ." Ovid. Am. ii. 10.

Robert de Bellesme.

§ 11. Vidisti Robertum de Belesme: qui princeps Normannensis in carcerem positis[2] erat Pluto, Megæra, Cerberus, vel si aliquid horrendius scribi potest. Nec curabat captos redimere, sed interimere. Filioli sui[a] oculos sub chlamide positi quasi ludens pollicibus extraxit;[3] homines utriusque sexus ab ano usque in ora palis transforabat. Erat ei cædes horribilis hominum cibus jucundus animæ. Erat igitur in ore omnium positus, ut diceretur in proverbiis: "Mirabilia "Roberti de Belesme." Tandem veniamus ad finem, scilicet ad rem optabilem. Qui cæteros carcere[4] vexaverat, in carcere perenni a rege Henrico positus,[b] longo supplicio sceleratus deperiit. Quem tantopere fama coluerat, dum viveret, in carcere utrum viveret vel obisset, nescivit: diemque mortis ejus obmutescens ignoravit. Hos igitur duos inter multos descripsi. Nec jam amplius de gente ipsis[5] dæmonibus horrenda loquendum duxi.

V. The miserable lot of kings.

§ 12. Quinto tractabitur de summis hominum, qui sic sunt in rebus humanis, ut generalissima in prædicamentis. Reges ergo gentium subditis suis quasi

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[1] *ejus*, Wh.
[2] *positus*, Wh.
[3] *extinxit*, Wh.
[4] A[5].; *carcerem*, A.
[5] A[5]. Ach.; *ipsius*, A. Wh.

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[a] Filiolus = *filleul*, godson. Malmesbury's account is,—"Puerulum "ex baptismo filiolum quem in "obsidatum acceperat, pro modico "delicto patris excæcavit, lumina "miselli unguibus nefandis abrum-"pens." Even the mild Ordericus is moved to expressions of unusual strength when describing the habitual acts of this detestable wretch. See his Chronicle, viii. 5.

[b] See above, p. 238.

Deus sunt, quibus omnes juramento se devoverunt, quibus stellæ cœli deservire videntur. Horum igitur cacuminum mundi tanta sublimitas est, ut in eos videndo cæteri non satientur, ut eis cohabitantes super homines æstimentur. Nec mirandum est, si ad eos inspiciendos mulierum turba vel juvenum, vel etiam viri levitatis prosiliunt. Sed etiam sapientes et discretione [1] graves ad videndum sæpe visos, nescio qua gratia mulcente, impelluntur. Quid igitur est? quid jucundius? quid beatius esse potest? Vellem tamen unum ex eis tibi colloqui, et mentis suæ secreta funditus revelare. Longe aliter judicares. Cum eos alii beatos judicent, ipsi dolore detorquentur, timore decoquuntur. Nemo in regno eorum par eis miseriis, par sceleribus. Unde dicitur: "Regia res scelus est." Rex Henricus fratrem suum et dominum Robertum in carcerem perennem posuit, et usque dum moreretur detinuit. Neptum [2] suarum oculos erui fecit;[a] multos [3] proditione cepit; multos subdole [4] interfecit; multa

Henry I.

[1] A[5].; *discretiones*, A.
[2] *Neptium*, Wh.
[3] *et multos*, Wh.
[4] *dolose et subdole*, Wh.

[a] Though the real facts of the case were bad enough, they do not altogether justify Henry in saying that the king "caused the eyes of "his grand-daughters to be put "out." Eustace of Breteuil, who had married one of the king's illegitimate daughters, Juliana, claimed from him—in 1119—the surrender of the castle of Ivry, which he declared to have always belonged to his ancestors. The king put him off with fair words, promising to surrender the castle at a future time, and giving up to him as a hostage for the fulfilment of the promise the young son of the seneschal Ralph Harenc, while he received Eustace's two daughters, his own grand-children, as hostages for the good behaviour of his son-in-law. Eustace, at the instigation of Amalric de Montfort, caused the eyes of his hostage to be plucked out, and sent them to his father Ralph Harenc. The father came to the king, who in great wrath gave up the daughters of Eustace and Juliana to Harenc, to wreak any vengeance he chose upon them. Not to be outdone in cruelty, Harenc, besides putting out the eyes of the hapless girls, cut off the ends of their noses. See Ord. Vit., lib. xii. (Bouquet, xii. 716).

contra sacramentum egit; semper cupiditati et avaritiæ deservivit. Quos terrores sensit, dum frater ejus Robertus in eum exercitus a Normannia in Angliam duceret! Concordiam quidem territus cum eo instituit; sed in ea procerum optimos perjurare fecit; quia pacem fregit et fratrem cepit. Quos terrores habuit, dum consul Andegavensis castella ejus diriperet, nec ipse procedere auderet! Quos terrores habuit, dum Baldewinus consul Flandrensis Normanniam ipso præsente inflammaret, nec ipse procedere auderet! Quomodo mente contribulatus est, cum filii ejus et filiæ et proceres pelago devorati sunt! Quibus curis demolitus[1] est, dum nepote suo Willelmo Flandriam adipiscente, se diadema regni amissurum pro certo putaret! Hic tamen beatissimus regum habitus est. Sed certe miserrimus est.

Philip I. of France and Louis his son.

§ 13. Quid de Philippo rege Francorum et Lodoveo filio ejus, qui temporibus nostris regnaverunt? Quorum deus fuit venter,[a] immo funestus hostis fuit. Adeo namque voraverunt, ut se ipsos pinguedine amitterent, nec sustinere se possent. Philippus olim pinguedine defunctus est.[b] Lodoveus adhuc juvenis, pinguedine tamen jam mortuus est. Quid autem de felicitate eorum? Nonne Philippus a suis sæpe victus est, et a personis vilissimis sæpe fugatus est? Nonne Ludovicus per regem Henricum a Martio campo expulsus est;[c] et a suis, ut patet, sæpenumero fugatus

Phil. iii. 19.

[1] A^5.; *demollitus*, A.

[a] Philip I. died in 1108; Louis VI., surnamed le Gros, was still alive when the first version of this Epistle was written; he died in 1137.

[b] "Philippus rex Francorum regi "nostro nec utilis nec infestus "fuit, propterea quod esset ventri "magis quam negotiis deditus." Malm. *Gest. Reg.*, v. Orderic, in the fine description of the Council of Rheims in his twelfth book, speaking either as an eye-witness, or as a reporter for an eye-witness, describes Louis le Gros as a man with a very pale face, tall in stature, and corpulent.

[c] See above, p. 242.

est? Rex vero Norwagensis fratrem suum regem nuper bello cepit,[a] oculos capto eruit, mentulam abscidit, pedem dextrum ademit, filium ejus lactentem excapitavit, pontificem ejus laqueo suspendit. Infelix æque rex uterque. The king of Norway.

§ 14. Sed oppones: Cur igitur regem Henricum in Historia tua tantis laudibus extollis, quem hic tantis criminibus subvertis? Ad quos respondeo: Regem sapientia magnum dixi,[b] consilio profundum, providentia clarum, armis insignem, gestis sublimem, divitiis singularem; et tamen omnia quæ hic apposui vera nimis sunt, et utinam falsa essent. Sed forsitan adhuc dices: Triginta et quinque annis jam regnavit, et multo plura, si numeres, prospera sensit quam adversa. Contra quod ego: Imo nec millesima pars fortunæ ejus prosperitati potest adhiberi. Ea namque quæ prospera videbantur, doloribus semper mixta[1] erant. Cum regem Franciæ prælio vicit, quam longa The author justifies the favourable terms which he had used of Henry I. in his history.

[1] *immixta*, A[5]. Wh.

[a] The terrible story is a little over-coloured, as is the way with Henry. Its details may be read in the thirteenth book of the *Heimskringla*, chap. 8. The mutilated king was Magnus IV.; the perpetrator of the deed was Harald Gille, the uncle (not brother) of Magnus. Harald had come to Norway during the reign of Sigurd, Magnus' father; and by undergoing a severe fiery ordeal was thought to have established the truth of his claim to be considered a son of Magnus Barefoot, the father of Sigurd. Jealousy and ill-will naturally sprang up between Magnus Sigurd's son and the interloper. When Sigurd died, Magnus succeeded him, but Harald became king over a portion of Norway. War soon broke out between him and Magnus, in the course of which the latter was surprised by Harald at Bergen; a chain stretched across the mouth of the harbour prevented him from escaping by sea; he was taken alive, and treated in the manner described in the text. This was early in 1135. Snorro says nothing of the murder of an infant, or the hanging of a bishop. The career of the blinded king did not end here; he made several attempts, with the help of disaffected jarls, to recover his kingdom, and almost succeeded in doing so. He fell in battle in 1139.

[b] See Book VII., § 26.

turbatione mentis breve illud gaudium adeptus est! Breve dico; quia mox alius exercitus insurgens mentis febribus aliis eum contribuit.[1] Quod si diuturnitatem vitæ et regni miraris, jam non per biennium regnaturum vir Dei prædixit.[a] Nuper itaque videbis miseræ vitæ miserum finem. Quod utinam, si fieri potest, absit! sed tamen non aberit. Non igitur mireris reges istos infelices; sed Deum solum felicem, et regna felicia suis dantem.

Prediction of the king's speedy death.

VI. Vanishing of the great whom they had known from the stage of life.

§ 15. Sextus autem, qui et ultimus erit, tractatus de regni nostri proceribus habeatur, qui nuper potentissimi fuerunt, nec jam impotentes sunt. Jam enim[2] nihil sunt, nusquam sunt; et per excessum pœne dici potest, nunquam fuerunt. Nunc etenim fere nemo eorum recordatur. Omnis memoria eorum interire incepit; mox nulla erit; ad nihilum devenient tanquam aqua decurrens. Audi igitur, Waltere consors charissime, sermocinationem de viris illustribus, sed tamen in audiendo tædiosum, licet eos oculis nostris inspexerimus.[3] Splenduit igitur temporibus nostris Lanfrancus[4] archiepiscopus,[b] vir philosophus, vir perspicuus. Cui successit Anselmus, philosophus et sanctissimus. Vidimus post eos Radulfum, dignum tanta celsitudine habitum. Postea vero sedit Cantuariæ Willelmus, cujus laudes dici nequeunt; quia non sunt. Inpræsentiarum Tedbaldus,[c] vir omni laude dignus. Fuit etiam tem-

The bishops, their contemporaries.

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[1] A. A^5.; *conturbavit*, Wh.
[2] *vero*, Wh.
[3] *inspeximus*, Wh.
[4] A^5.; *Lamfracus*, A.

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[a] This prediction is not noticed, so far as I am aware, by any other writer.

[b] See § 25 of the Introduction, note [1].

[c] As Theobald did not succeed to the primacy till the beginning of 1139, this sentence could not have been in the Epistle as originally composed, for Henry I. was then living (see above, § 14), and he died at the end of 1135. This and many other notices of living bishops which follow, were inserted in the Epistle in or about the year 1145. The original passage on the bishops is preserved in the Corpus MS. at Cambridge, and also in Addit·

poribus nostris Walchelinus, Wintoniensis episcopus; cui successit Willelmus Giffardus, vir nobilissimus. Hi quoque exinaniti sunt, et ad nihilum devenerunt. Nunc autem sedet in loco illorum Henricus nepos Henrici regis; qui futurus est novum quoddam monstrum ex integro et corrupto compositum, scilicet monachus et miles. Fuit etiam tempore nostro Ingulfus præsul Rovecestrensis; post quem Radulfus; post quem Arnulfus;[a] deinde Johannes. Hi omnes exinaniti sunt. Nunc autem sedet mox Ascelinus[1] periturus. Tem-

[1] Om. Wh.

24,061 in the British Museum. It is as follows: "Splenduit igitur "temporibus nostris Lanfrancus . "... sanctissimus. Vidi- "mus post eos Radulfum, dignum "tanta celsitudine habitum. Im- "præsentiarum vero sedet Cantua- "riæ Willelmus, cujus laudes dici "nequeunt, quia non sunt." The entry for Winchester is the same as in the text. For Rochester the entry is: "Fuit etiam tempore "nostro Ingulfus præsul Roveces- "trensis, post quem Radulfus, post "quem Ernulfus. Hi omnes ex- "inaniti sunt. Nunc autem sedet "Johannes, mox periturus. Tem- "pore nostro episcopus Londoni- "ensis Mauricius decessit; post "quem Ricardus, post Gilebertus, "magnus philosophus. Et hi ex- "inaniti sunt. Bade vero Johannes "medicus et Godefridus; et hi jam "nihil sunt. Wirecestriæ Samso- "nem vidi clarissimum; post hunc "Teulfum. Nunc autem ibidem "Simonem videmus." The entry for Lichfield and Coventry is the same in both versions. Then— "Norwiciæ sedit Herbertus, vir "benignus et doctus, cujus extant "scripta. Cui successit Everar- "dus." The entry for Ely is the same. That for Salisbury is the same in both, except that the final words, "nunc vero Jocelinus," are omitted in the two MSS. now under consideration. The entry for Exeter is,—"Execestriæ vero sedet Ro- "bertus, qui nondum est mortuus, "sed pridem cœcus. In Cicestria "vero sedit Radulfus; in cujus "loco sedet Pelochin vir Gnatoni- "cus. Dunelmiæ vero sedit Wil- "lelmus qui occisus est; post quem "Randulfus, qui . . . . succendit. "Quibus successit Galfridus. Vi- "dimus autem Gerardum archi- "episcopum Eboracensem; post "eum Thomam, post eum Thursta- "num omnino laudandum. Lin- "coliæ vero,"—the rest of the entry is the same in both versions.

[a] This Arnulfus or Ernulfus is a name familiar to the readers of *Tristram Shandy;* they will remember the tremendous form of anathema "procured out of the "leger-book of the church of Ro- "chester, writ by Ernulphus the "bishop."

pore nostro episcopus Londoniensis Mauricius[a] decessit; post quem Ricardus; post Gilebertus magnus philosophus. Nunc vero Robertus, vir animo magnus. Et hi exinaniti sunt. Bade[1] vero Joannes medicus, et Godefridus. Nunc vero sedet ibidem Robertus: et hi jam nihil sunt. Wirecestriæ Samsonem vidi clarissimum: post hunc Theulfum.[2] Nunc autem ibidem Simonem videmus. Cestriæ vero vidimus Robertum pontificem; deinde alium Robertum, qui cognominatus est Peccatum. Nunc autem sedet Rogerus, mox nihilum futurus. Norwiciæ sedit Herbertus, vir benignus et doctus, cujus exstant scripta. Cui successit Everardus, vir crudelissimus, et ob hoc jam depositus. Nunc vero sedet ibidem Willelmus. Heliensis episcopus primus[3] Herveus, cui successit Nigellus. Salesberiensis episcopus fuit Osmundus; cui successit Rogerus, vir magnus in sæcularibus, nunc vero Jocelinus.[4] Excestriæ vero sedit Robertus nuper mortuus,[5] et pridem cæcus; nunc vero nepos ejus Robertus.[6] In Cicestria[7] vero sedit Radulfus; in cujus loco sedet Pelochin, vir Gnatonicus,[b] et ob hoc jam depositus. Dunelmiæ vero sedit Willelmus, qui occisus est; post quem Randulfus, qui totam raptor Angliam succendit. Quibus successit Galfridus: impræsentiarum Willelmus. Vidimus autem Gerardum archiepiscopum Eboracensem; post eum Thomam; post eos Turstanum omnino laudandum; sed nunc Willelmum ejusdem ecclesiæ thesaurarium. Lincoliæ vero tempore nostro Remigius deguit episcopus. Cui successit Robertus, vir clementissimus. Quibus successit Alexander, vir fidelis et munificus. Hactenus de episcopis.

[1] A[5].; *Badthe*, A.

[2] *Teulfum*, C[3]. A[5].; *Leulfum*, Wh.

[3] *primus fuit*, Wh.

[4] *regis justitiarius*, Wh.; *Gocelinus*, Ach.

[5] *mortuus est*, A.

[6] Om. Wh.

[7] *Sicestria*, Wh. Ach.

[a] See Book VII., § 26 of the History.

[b] See Glossary.

§ 16. Nonne vidisti Hugonem consulem Cestriæ, et Ricardum filium ejus, et Randulfum successorem eorum, et nunc alium Randulfum? et hi omnes exinaniti sunt. Vidisti[1] virum nequissimum, sapientisimum[2] in sæcularibus, de quo prædixi, scilicet Robertum consulem de Mellent, et nunc filium ejus Robertum[a] laude parvum. Nonne vidistis Henricum consulem de Warewic, et filium ejus Rogerum, qui nunc degit, animis ignobilem? Vidistis Willelmum consulem Warenniæ, et Robertum consulem de Belesme, et Robertum consulem de Moretuil: de quibus in Historia Anglorum locuti sumus, et Simonem consulem Huntendoniæ, et Eustachium Buloniæ, et alios multos. Et ipsa memoria tædiosa est. Qui cum potentissimi et aspectu intento dignissimi viderentur, nunc nec pronuntiatione digni sunt. Sed et pellis ovina, in qua depinguntur eorum nomina, perdita videtur omnino, nec invenimus oculos, qui eam perlegere velint. Testis est hæc epistola, quam pro nominibus potentissimorum et omnium assurrectione dignissimorum nemo tamen vel vix aliquis potest perlegere. Earls of Chester, and other Norman nobles.

§ 17. Quid memorem Alwinum,[3] dominum meum, abbatem Rameseiæ, et successorem ejus Bernardum, et postea Reinaldum[4] virum callidum sed inclementem, nunc Walterum[b] virum elegantem? Et hi ubi sunt? Abbots whom they had known at Ramsey and Peterborough.

[1] A[5].; *Vidistis*, A.
[2] *et sap.*, Wh. A[5].
[3] *Aldwinum*, A[5].; *Aldvinum*, Wh.
[4] *Remaldum*, Wh.

[a] This was probably one of the two young men, sons of Robert de Mellent, of whose successful logomachies at Gisors with the cardinals in the train of pope Calixtus, Malmesbury in his Fifth book gives so amusing an account.

[b] Aldwin was abbot of Ramsey from 1091 to 1103, in which year he was superseded by Bernard, a monk of St. Alban's, who sat till his death in 1107. Aldwin was then restored. On his death in 1113, the election fell on Reginald, who finished the abbey church in 1123, and died in 1133. Walter succeeded him, and sat to 1160. Of him says the Cottonian MS., Vesp. A. xviii., "Iste sustinuit multas "tribulationes tempore Willielmi

Turaldus abbas Burgensis, et Ernulfus, et Matthias, et Godricus, et Joannes, et Martinus,[a] quos omnes vidimus, exinaniti sunt, et ad nihilum devenerunt. Quæris autem, cur post mortuos et in fine vivos interponam, et jam ad nihilum devenisse dicam? Cujus causa hæc est. Sicut enim mortui ad nihilum devenerunt, ita et isti mox devenient: immo, ut liberius dicam, jam devenerunt. Nostra namque, quæ dicitur, vita, ut Tullius ait, mors est. Ex quo incipis vivere, incipis mori.[1] Prætereo viros clarissimos, scilicet Radulfum Basset, et filium ejus Ricardum, justitiarios totius Angliæ, et Galfridum Ridel, justitiarium totius Angliæ,[2] et alios absque numero; quibus jamdudum magni costamenti[3] servitium impendere jucundum esse mihi videbatur; nunc autem mortuis brevissimam scribendi operam vile videtur impendere.

Reflexions on the nothingness of life.

§ 18. Cogita igitur, Waltere, quam nihil sit hæc præsens vita. Cum namque videamus potentissimos, qui ejus divitias plenarie adepti sunt, nihil effecisse, ne et nos nihil efficiamus, quæramus aliud iter vitæ, in qua beatudinem speremus et[4] adipiscamur. Surge,

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[1] Scriptum est supra lineam in A., "hoc est, ad mortem festinare "non cessas."

[2] *et . . Angliæ*, om. Wh.

[3] *constamenti*, A⁵. Ach.; *custamenti*, Wh.

[4] A⁵.; deest, A.

"de Say et Galfridi de Mandevill, "qui apud Borewell interfecti fue- "runt." See above, p. 277.

[a] Turold, the first Norman abbot of Peterborough, to whom the authorship of the great epic poem of the *Chanson de Roland* has been with some probability assigned, governed the monastery from 1070 to 1098. Matthias was elected in 1102, but died the following year; then there was an interregnum for some years, and in 1107 Ernulfus (Sax. Chron.), who had been prior of Canterbury, was made abbot. In 1114 Ernulfus was raised against his will to the bishopric of Rochester, to the great sorrow of the monks. John a monk of Sieyes was then appointed abbot; he died in 1125; and in 1127 the king appointed one Henry, a relative of his, and a shameless pluralist. Henry was forced to surrender the abbey in 1132, and then the king gave it to Martin, the prior of St. Neot's. No Godric is mentioned in the Peterborough Chronicle.

frater, surge et quære; quia in hac vita quod quæsisti nunquam invenisti. Nonne rex Alexander, vir, ut ita dicam, plus quam potentissimus, parvo tandem veneno demollitus[1] est? Non invenit quod quæsivit. Nonne et Julius Cæsar, vir æque vel magis potens,[2] cum omnia subjugasset, stilo[3] exinanitus est? Quod quæsivit invenit.[4] Quære igitur quod invenias, quære vitam post vitam, quia vita non est in hac vita. O Deus magne, quam juste mortales dicimur?[5] Mors enim nostra, ex quo vivimus, continua est; illa autem quæ dicitur mors, finis nostræ mortis est. Quidquid enim agimus, quidquid dicimus, ex quo actum est vel dictum, statim moritur. Memoria quidem eorum, ut circa mortuum, aliquandiu vivit. Cum autem et illa deperierit, jam quasi secunda mors facta omnia et dicta nostra omnimode annihilavit. Ubi est quod heri feci? ubi quod dixi? Ad nihilum devenerunt. Ubi et quod præterito anno, hodierna die, feci vel dixi? Æterna morte oblivionis absorpta sunt. Optemus igitur in hac morte mortem; quia non evademus hanc vivendi mortem, nisi corporis morte;[6] quæ scilicet medius terminus est mortis et vitæ.

The author hears of the death of his correspondent.

§ 19. Sed antequam epistolam hanc perfinierim, nuntiatum est amicum meum, cui scribebam, mortis legibus concessisse. O mortalium sors abjecta nascendi, misera vivendi, dura moriendi. O mors, quam cito proruis? quam inopinate irruis? quam magnifice subruis? Ille igitur qui post mortem est medicus, donet tibi, Waltere, antidotum suæ pietatis ad capessendam vitam continuæ sanitatis. Jam tibi quidem epistola mitti non potest, sed epitaphium; breve scilicet monumentum cum lacrymis[7] scribendum est.

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[1] *demolitus*, Wh. Ach.
[2] A^5.; om. A.
[3] *stilis*, A^5.
[4] *non invenit*, A^5.
[5] *dicimus*, Wh.
[6] *mortem*, Wh.
[7] A^5.; om. A.

Henricus tibi serta gerens, epigrammata primum,
Prælia mox Veneris, gramina[1] deinde tuli.
Nunc, Waltere, tibi fero carmen funebre totus,
Alter ab Henrico qui tibi[2] serta tulit.
Dimidius perii: periit meus et decor et lux;
Formaque, mensque viri, mens caritura[3] pari:
Mens assueta viri[4] dare magna, tamen pudibunde;[5]
Mente minora sua se tribuisse videns.
Mens assueta viri quantumlibet alta parare;
Sed cum multa paret xenia, parva timet.
Mens assueta viri festivo tradere vultu,[6]
Lætitiaque pari congeminare datum.
Mens assueta viri dare sic, ne danda rogentur,
Præveniens vocem bina[7] ferente manu.
Nil medium nil par magnis vir summus habebat;
Summa Dei sit ei gratia, grata quies.

---

[1] *gaudia*, A[5].; *germina*, Wh.
[2] *tria*, A[5]. Wh.
[3] *caritate*, Wh.
[4] *viris*, Wh.
[5] *pudibunda*, Wh.
[6] A[5].; *dare sic ne danda ,rogentur*, A.; quæ tamen verba postmodum erasa sunt.
[7] A[5].; *binæ*, A.

GLOSSARY.

GLOSSARY.

AMIRALIUS, an emir (ameer) or prince, 224.

ANGARIATUS (*ἀγγαρεύειν*), lit. compelled to go a journey, hence, distressed, afflicted, 265, 300.

ASSIDUI, regular adherents, retainers, 272.

CALUMNIARI, to challenge, lay claim to, 173, 249.

CASSARE (cassus), to make void, to frustrate, 177.

CERVISIA, beer; the word is of Gaulish origin; 197.

CORRODIUM; other forms are *conredium* and *corredium;* food, board, alimony; here, a banquet, 197.

COSTAMENTUM (Low Latin *custus, costus*), cost, costliness, 318.

ELEGANS, distinguished, gallant, 262. Hence seems to have come, by a transposition of the letters, the French "galant," our "gallant." The original sense of "galant" (see the passages in Ducange) was "daring adventurer"; "galants de la feuillée," like our "knights of the road," or bushrangers. This sense could not have come from the old French verb *galer* to rejoice, or the Italian *gala*, one or other of which is the etymology of *galant* commonly received; but from such expressions as "vir elegans" it might easily have proceeded.

FIRMA, a farm, 197.

FRAMEA. Huntingdon, with other mediæval writers, probably means by it *a broadsword:* in Tacitus (Germ. 6) it is used for *a spear.* See Ducange. 56.

GAGAS (*γαγάτης*, because found in abundance near the river Gages in Lycia), an agate, 6.

GELDUM, GILDUM (A. S. geldan), a tax, 240.

GNATONICUS or GNATHONICUS, a parasite, a flatterer; the word is derived from Gnatho, the *parasitus* of Thraso in the Eunuchus of Terence; see John of Salisbury's *Nugæ Curialium*, VIII., i.; 316.

HALECIUM, HALECIUS (*halec* or *alec*, brine,?), properly, a cured herring; here, a herring, 5.

HIDA, a plough-land, *i.e.* as much land (about thirty acres) as one plough could cultivate in a year, with the woodland and pasture appertaining to it, 176, 207.

HOMINIUM, homage, 208.

HONOR, an honour, *i.e.*, a group of manors under one jurisdiction, 306.

Impetitio, an assault, 58.

Implacitare (*placitum* in the sense of plea), to implead, 300.

Isicium, pickled salmon, from *isox*, *esox*; but Beda, and Huntingdon following him, use the word as equivalent to *esox*, salmon, 5.

Mahumeria (Mahum, a corruption of Mohammed), a mosque, 224.

Medo (A.S. *meodo*), mead, 197.

Mireneheved, as if from A.S. *mire*, an ant, but the word is *Myran-heafod*, mare's head, 178.

Moratum (*morum*), a drink consisting of wine and mulberry juice, 197.

Patrinus (Fr. *parrain*), a godfather, 147.

Placitare, to plead, to institute suits, 260.

Placitator, a pleader, a promoter of suits, 232.

Placitum, an assembly of the estates of a kingdom, 189.

Prassinus, Prasinus (πράσον), green as a leek, 5.

Probitas (Fr. *prouesse*), a deed of valour, 273, etc.

Probus (Fr. *preu*, *prou*), valiant, *passim*.

Sagimen, fat, or more properly, dripping, 174.

Saisire (origin uncertain), to seize, 146.

Sextarius, a pint, sester, a measure both of dry objects and liquids. Its capacity varied in different places, but it could never have meant a "horse-load" of corn, 192.

Sicera (σίκερα), cider, strong drink, 197.

Taburcium, for Tamburcium (Arabic *tambor*), a tambour or drum, 221.

Toloneum, Teloneum, Theloneum (τελωνεῖον), a toll, 188, 208.

Tuf, Tuffa, Tufa (late Greek τοῦφα), a kind of standard made of plumes or *tufts* of feathers, 57.

Werra, guerra, war, 238.

INDEX.

INDEX.

A.

Aaron, a martyr, 29.

Abandune, *Abingdon*, abbey of, founded by bishop Athelwold, 165.

Acca, bishop of Hexham, 111; dies, 117.

Acemanecestria, *Bath*, 9.

Achard de Mont Merloy, a Crusader, 221.

Aclea, council at, 127; another, 129; battle fought near, 140.

Acra, now *Acre*, 229.

Ad Murum, *Walton* or *Walbottle*, 96.

Adelbold, Æthelbald, king of Mercia, 111; takes Somerton, 114; his power, 115; ravages Northumbria, 119; defeated at Burford, 121-2; killed at Seckington, 122.

Adelbricht, Æthelbriht, son of Æthelwulf, king of Kent, then of Wessex, 142.

Adelburth, daughter of king Anna, 94.

Adelered, Ethelhere, brother of king Anna, 97.

Adelgar, Æthelgar, archbishop of Canterbury, 168.

Adelida, Adelina, of Louvain, second queen of Henry I., 243; verses on, *ib.*

Adelred, Æthered, or Æthelred, son of Æthelwulf, 142; aids Burhred against Hinguar, 143; battles, 144; dies, 145.

Adelstan. *See* Athelstan.

Adelwold, Æthelwald, king of Sussex, 61.

Adelwold, Ethelwald, son of St. Oswald, 99.

Adelwulf, Æthelwulf, son of Egbert, 132, 134; his fights with the Danes, 139–141; his victory at Aclea, 141; aids Burhred, 141; tithes his kingdom, *ib.*; marries Judith and dies, *ib.*

Adgebrin, *Yeverin in Glendale*, 86.

Adilwalut, Ælwald, Adelwald, Æthelwalh, king of Sussex, 102.

Adrian, I., pope, 128.

Ædan, king of the Scots; defeated by Ethelfrid, 55.

Ædbert, for Cuthberht, archbishop of Canterbury, 119; his death, 125.

Ædbold, succeeds Æthelbert, 56, 80; dies, 58; 64, 82, 90.

Ædelbert, Æthelbert, son of Ermenric, king of Kent, 51; a Bretwalda, *ib.*, 52, 54; dies, 56; 64, 67, 72; his laws, 80.

.....,grants leave to Augustin to preach, 68; founds church of St. Andrew at Rochester, 77.

Ædeldrida, Æthelthryth, St. Awdry, wife of Egfrid of Northumbria, 63.

Ædelhard, Æthelheard, king of Wessex, 114; dies, 119.

Ædelwold, nephew of Alfred, 152; joins the Danes, 153; killed, 154.

Æglea, Iglea, 147.

Aegnesham, Eynsham, 52.

Aeilestreu, *Aylesford*, battle at, 41.

Aelesbury, *Aylesbury*, 52.

Ælfgar. *See* Algar.

Aelle, Ella, founds the kingdom of Sussex, 44, 46; dies, 47.

Æsesdune. *See* Escesdune.

Actius, 35.

Afena, the Bristol *Avon*, 156.

Agatha, niece of the emperor Henry III., 296.

Agatho, pope, 105.
Aidan, St., brought from Iona by Oswald, 91; founds see of Lindisfarne, 92; his friendship with Oswine, 95.
Ailbert, Agilbert, a French bishop, 93, 99.
Ailiva, Ælfgifu, reputed mother of Harold I., 189.
Alan of Britanny, 269.
Alaric, 34.
Alban, St., his martyrdom, 28.
Alban's, St.; church dedicated by Robert Bloet, 239 (note); Mandeville arrested there, 276.
Albani, the Scottish war cry; the old name for Scotland, 263.
Albemarle, *Aumale*, in Normandy, 215.
Alberic of Grantmaisnil, brother of William, 226.
Alberic, bishop of Ostia, papal legate, 265.
Albert the Lombard, archdeacon of Lincoln, 302.
Albinus of Anjou, master of Henry of Huntingdon, 301.
Alcmund, bishop of Hexham, 125.
Alcstan, Ealhstan, bishop of Sherborne, 140; dies, 143.
Aldclud (Dumbarton), 15, 34, 35.
Aldene. *See* Halfdene.
Aldhelm, St., bishop of Sherborne, 110.
Aldred, archbishop of York, 204.
Aldulf, Ealdulf, a Northumbrian, 126.
Aldulf, Ealdwulf, king of East Anglia, 88, 103.
Aldulf, bishop of Rochester, 112.
Aldwin, abbot of Ramsey, 317.
Alef, *Aleppo*, 223, 228.
Alemannia, South Germany, 220.
Alexander of Blois, bishop of Lincoln; prol. addr to him, 1.
....., encouraged the author to write, 3; his nomination to the see, 245; goes to Rome, 246; verses in praise of his munificence, *ib.*, 250; his quarrel with the archbishop, 253; goes to Normandy with Stephen, 260; seized and imprisoned by Stephen's order, 265; is with the king at Lincoln, 271; visits Rome, 278; repairs the minster, *ib.*; goes to Auxerre to see pope Eugenius, 280; dies soon after his return, *ib.*; his character, *ib.*, 316.
Alexander, king of Scotland, by grant of Henry I., 236, 297.
Alexander Severus, 26.
Alexius Comnenus, emperor of Constantinople, 219.
Alfege, Ælfeah, St., archbishop of Canterbury, 179; murdered by the Danes, *ib.* translation of his relics, 187.
Alfonsus VI., king of Castile, 211.
Alfredus, Aluredus, king of Wessex, a Bretwalda, 52; sent to Rome in early youth, 141; helps his brother Æthered against the Danes, 144; succeeds him, 145; his battles, *ib.*; is hard pressed, 146; his victory at Heddington, 147; sends gifts to pope Marinus, 148; builds ships of war, 151; dies, 152; verses upon, *ib.*
Alfred, Ælfred, son of Ethelred and Emma, 180; visits England, 191; is seized by order of Godwin and blinded, *ib.*; dies, *ib.*; 202, 295.
Alfric, Ælfric, archbishop of Canterbury, 170.
Alfric, Ælfric, ealdorman of Mercia, 168; his treason, 169, 175.
Alfrid, son of Oswi, 97; succeeds Egfrid, 106; dies, 111.
Alfward, Ælfweard, son of Edward the Elder, 159.
Alfwen, Ælfwyn, daughter of Æthelfled, the lady of Mercia, 158.
Alfwine, brother of Egfrid of Northumbria, 63.
Alfwold, king in Northumbria, 126; killed by Sigan, 129.
Algar, Ælfgar, son of Leofric, 193, 195; exiled for treason, 196; succeeds his father, *ib.*
Alle. *See* Ella.
Allectus, 28.
Alleluia, the victory so called, 42.

Almar, Ælfmær, betrays Canterbury to the Danes, 179.
Almaria, in Spain, 281.
Almer, Ælmær, Derling, 183.
Aloc, ancestor of Ida, 50.
Alred, Alhred, king of Northumbria, 125, 126.
Alric, a Northumbrian, 131.
Alwin, Egelwine, bishop of Durham, 205.
Ambrosius Aurelianus, 40.
Amphleot, *Ambleteuse*, 74.
Amphos. *See* Alfonsus.
Anacletus, an antipope, 252.
Anastasius, the emperor, 44.
Andeligum, *Andelys*, 94.
Andovre, *Andover*, 170.
Andredecester, Anderida, *Pevensey*, 44; taken by the Saxons, 45.
Andredeslaige, the weald of Kent and Sussex, 149; the ancient forest of Anderida, 44.
Andredeswald, the weald of Sussex, 123.
Andrew, St., reveals the holy lance to the Christians, 226.
Androgeus, a Briton, 18.
Andun, a South Saxon noble, 102.
Anfrid, Eanfrith, son of Æthelfrith, king of Bernicia, 91; relapses into idolatry, *ib.*
Anglecnescola, the English school at Rome, 145.
Angenwit, ancestor of Ida, 50.
Angles, the, 38; their settlements in Britain, 39; their national character, 131.
Angulani, or Augulani, part of the Moslem army, 221, 225.
Anlaf Cwiran, a Danish king, 163.
Anlaf, a Danish king, receives baptism, 162.
Anlaf, king in Ireland, 159, 160, 161, 162.
Anlaf, Olaf, St., attacks London, 169; receives baptism, 170; murdered by his subjects, 188.
Anna, king of East Anglia, 59; killed by Penda, *ib.*; succeeds Ecgrice, 96.
Anselm, St., archbishop of Canterbury 216; compelled to leave England by the tyranny of William II., 230; returns, 233; holds a council, 234; his death, 237, 314.
Anselm de Ribemont, a crusader, 221; his death at Arche, 228 (note).
Antenor, the legendary ancestor of the Franks, 248.
Antioch, 221, 223; besieged by the crusaders, 223; great battle under its walls, 224; it is taken, 225; the second siege, 225–7, 280.
Appeals to Rome, first came into use under Stephen, 282.
Apulia, conquered by the Normans, 262.
Arabs, in the Moslem army, 221, 225.
Aræ Philistinorum, 15.
Arcadius, the emperor, 33.
Arche, now *Tel Arka*, 228, 229.
Ardulf, Eardulf, king of Northumbria, 130, 132.
Arelas, *Arles*, 69.
Areth, 223.
Arian heresy, 31.
Arius, 29.
Armorica, *Britanny*, 32, 43.
Arthur, his victories over the Saxons, 48.
Arundel, 230, 266.
Arwald, king of the Isle of Wight, 103.
Ascalon, 230.
Ascelin, bishop of Rochester, 315.
Ascenminstre, *Axminster*, 128.
Athelnod, Æthelnoth, archbishop of Canterbury, 187; dies, 190.
Athelstan, Æthelstan, king of England, 159; overruns Scotland, *ib.*; his victory at Brunanburh, 159; 160; dies, 161.
Athelstan, son-in-law of Ethelred, 178.
Athena, now *Adana*, 222.
Attila, his conquests, 35.
Augustin, St., sent to preach to the English, 67; lands in Thanet, 68; interview with king Ethelbert, and removal to Canterbury, *ib.*, his life there, 69; goes to Arles and is consecrated archbishop, *ib.*; receives the pallium, 70; letter about his miracles, 72, 73; conference with

Augustin, St.—*cont.*
British bishops at Augustin's oak, 77; his prediction, 78; his death, 79; epitaph on the tomb, *ib.*
Augustine, St., bishop of Hippo, 33.
....., his death, 36.
Augustus Cæsar, 19.
Aurelian, the emperor, 27.
Aurelius Victor, quotation from, 20.
Awuldre, *Appledore*, 149, 150.
Azimitæ, part of Kerboga's army, 225.

B.

Babylon, the amiral or emir of, 224.
Badecestre. *See* Bathan.
Badonis mons, *Bath?* victory of Arthur at, 49.
Baiocum. *See* Bayeux.
Bakentun, *Bagington? Bathampton?* 259.
Baldulf, bishop of Whitherne, 129.
Baldwin of Edessa, 219; king of Jerusalem after Baldwin I., 230; dies, 253.
Baldwin, Fitz-Gilbert, his speech to the king's troops before the battle of Lincoln, 271; wounded and taken, 274.
Baldwin V., count of Flanders, 189, 192; dies, 205.
Baldwin VII., count of Flanders, 238, 239, 240; his death, 240 (note), 242.
Baldwin de Monte, brother of Godfrey de Bouillon, 219; at Antioch, 227; king of Jerusalem after Godfrey, 230.
Baldwin de Redvers, 259; deprived of his castles and exiled, *ib.*
Balesham, *Balsham*, incident at, 178.
Bamborough castle, 50, 169, 218.
Banchor, Brancor, *Bangor*, monastery of, 78.
Bangor, see of, 10.
Bardenie, *Bardney*, 109.
Baruth, now *Beirút*, 229.
Basing, battle at, 145.
Basreg, Bagseeg, a Danish king, 144, 175.
Bathan, *Bath*, 153; plundered, 214.
....., see of, 9.
Bath, bishops of. *See*—
John.
Godfrey.
Robert.
Battle abbey, 204 *note*, 210.
Bayeux, taken by Henry I., 235.
Beamfled, *Benfleet*, in Essex, 149.
Beandune, *Bampton*, battle of, 56.
Bebanburgh. *See* Bamborough.
Beda, a son of Port, 46.
....., St.; his *Eccl. Hist.* used by the author, 3; dedicates his history to Ceolwulf, 114; his death, 115; account of his life and writings, *ib;* state of the Anglo-Saxon Church in his time, 116.
Bedeford, *Bedford*, 52, 156, 178, 260.
Bedfordshire, 9.
Belinus, brother of Cassibellanus, 17.
Belli abbatia. *See* Battle abbey.
Belvacis, *Beauvais*, 6.
Benedict Biscop, St., founder of Wearmouth, 105.
Beneficia, the river *Beane*, 155.
Benetune, *Bensington*, battle at, 52, 126.
Beonoc, ancestor of Ida, 50.
Beornd, Beorn, cousin of Harold II., 192; killed by Sweyn, 193.
Beornred, king of Mercia, 123.
Beornwulf, king of Mercia, 132; killed, 133.
Beranburi, *Barbury*, battle at, 51.
Berct, Northumbrian general, 106; killed, 109.
Berctun, a South Saxon noble, 102.
Bereford, *Burford*, battle at, 121.
Berkelai, *Berkeley* in Gloucestershire, 214, 243.
Berkhampstead, 244.
Berkshire, 9.
Bernard, bishop of St. David's, 251; his contention with the bishop of Llandaff, 253.
Bernard, abbot of Ramsey, 317.
Betelon, now *Batroum*, 229.
Biedca, grandfather of Erchenwin, 49.

Birinus, sent by pope Honorius to the West Saxons, 93; founds the see of Dorchester, *ib.*
Bishoprics, list of English, seventeen in number, 9.
Blecca, the governor of Lincoln, 86.
Bleddà, brother of Attila, 35.
Boniface, third bishop of East Anglia, 96.
Boniface IV., pope, 80; his letter to Justus, sending the pall, 82; letters to Eadwine and Æthelburg, 83.
Bononia, *Boulogne*, 75.
Bosa, bishop of the Deiri, 101.
Bramtune, *Bramton*, near Huntingdon, 243.
Brecanammere, *Brecknock*, 157.
Bredune, *Bredon*, 114.
Brendforde, *Brentford*, battle at, 183.
Bretwaldas, list of the, 51.
Bricii festioitas, *St. Brice's day*, massacre upon, 174.
Brictric, Brihtric, Bridric, brother of Edric, 177; killed by Canute, 187.
Bridgnorth, a castle belonging to Robert de Belesme, 234.
Bridius, son of Meilocon, 92.
Brige. *See* Bruge.
Brihtric, king of Wessex, 128; dies, 131.
Brihtwold, archbishop of Canterbury, 108; dies, 114.
Brihtwulf, king of Mercia, 140.
Brimesbirih, *Bransby*, 157.
Bristol, 261.
Britain, description of, 5; the Romans leave it; 34.
British cities, list of, 7.
Britnod, Byrhtnoth, 168.
Britons, the; of Trojan ancestry, 13; numbers of them settle in Britanny, 32; they rally and expel Picts and Scots, 36; driven out of Kent, 41; defeat the Saxons with the aid of St. Germanus, 42; intestine strife among, 43; fight against the Saxons, 54; harassed by Ceolwulf, 55; defeated by Cynegils and Cwichelm, *ib.*; recover ground in Northumbria, 106; defeated by Cuthred and Æthelbald, 119; by Cuthred, 122; by Egbert, 132.
Brocmail, a British chief, 79.
Bruge. *See* Bridgnorth.
Bruge, *Bruges*, in Flanders, 189, 192, 247.
Bruge, Bruges, *Brie*, monastery of, 94.
Bruneburh, Brunanburh, *Bromborough* in Cheshire ?, 159; poem on battle of, 160.
Brutus, great grandson of Æneas, 13.
Buamund, Bohemond, count of Apulia, 219, 220, 221; takes Areth, 223, 224; at Antioch, 225, 227; his quarrel with the count of Toulouse, 228.
Buchingaham, *Buckingham*, 156, 178.
Buckinghamshire, 9.
Budingtune, *Buttington*, on Severn, 150.
Burch. *See* Peterborough.
Bures, castle of, 217.
Burg. *See* Peterborough.
Burhred, king of Mercia, 140, 141; driven away by the Danes, 145; dies at Rome, *ib.*
Byzantine emperors, contemporary with Ina, 113.

C.

Cadomum. *See* Caen.
Cadzi, *Chezy*, the Danes at, 149.
Caen, abbeys founded at, by Will. I. and Matilda, 210; taken by Henry I., 235, 257.
Caer-leon, an old archiepiscopal see, 7, 10.
Cæsar, Augustus, 19.
Cæsar, Julius, 16, 17, 18.
Cæsarea, now *Kaisariyeh*, 229.
Cahom. *See* Caen.
Caiphæ, now *Caifa*, 229.
Calixtus II., pope, 242.
Caligula, 20.
Calne, incident at, 167.
Cambridge, xxv., 165.
Cambridgeshire, 9; bravery of the men of, 177.
Camela, 229.
Camelegeac, a Welsh bishop, 155.
Candida Casa, *Whitherne*, see of, 92.

Candidan, a British king, 53.
Cantabrigia. *See* Cambridge.
Canterbury, ransomed, 177; sacked by the Danes, 179; St. Paul's minster at, 180; dedication of the new church, 251.
....., archbishops of. *See*—
Augustin, St.
Laurentius.
Mellitus.
Justus.
Honorius.
Deusdedit.
Theodore.
Britwold.
Tatwine.
Nothelm.
Ædbert (for Cuthbert).
Iambert.
Edelred.
Wulfred.
Ceolnod.
Plegmund.
Dunstan, St.
Adelgar.
Siric.
Alfric.
Alfege, St.
Lyfing.
Athelnod.
Eadsi.
Siward.
Robert.
Lanfranc.
Anselm, St.
Ralph.
William of Curbuil.
Theobald.
....., see of, 9.
Canute, 180; is chosen king, 181; Wessex submits to, 181; and Northumbria, 182; his battles with Edmund Ironside, 183; treaty with, 185; marries Emma, Ethelred's widow, 186; imposes heavy taxes, 187; expeditions, 187; subjugates Norway, 188; visits Rome, *ib.*; Malcolm of Scotland submits to him, *ib.*; his death, *ib.*; extent of his dominion, *ib.*; story of his ordering the tide to retire, 189; his humility, *ib.*; his policy about the Saxon princes, 295.
Canute IV., called the saint, king of Denmark, 207, 211.
Caracalla, 26.
Carausius, 28.
Carleol. *See* Carlisle.
Carlisle, rebuilt by William II., 216; made a bishop's see, 10, 253; taken by the Scots, 258; and retained by them, 259, 282.
Carlisle, see of, 10.
Carnotum. *See* Chartres.
Carrum, *Charmouth*, battles at, 133, 140.
Cassian, Turkish governor of Antioch, 225.
Cassibellanus, 17; his city taken, 18.
Castle Cary, 261.
Cataracta, *Catterick*, 86.
Catiger, son of Vortigern, 40, 41.
Ceadda, Cedd, bishop of the Mid-Angles, then of the East Saxons, 98; baptizes Swithhelm, 99; dies at Lastingham, *ib.*
Ceadda, St. Chad, bishop in Mercia, 99, 100; his see at Lichfield, 101.
Cealchide, Chalk-hythe, council at, 128.
Ceaulin, son of Cinric, 51, 52, 53; dies, 54.
Cedwalla, Ceadwalha, king of Wessex, 63; kills Æthelwalh king of Sussex. 102; conquers the Isle of Wight, 103, 105; sends Mul into Kent, 106; abdicates, 107; baptized at Rome, and dies there, *ib.*
Cedwalla, Cadwalla, a British king, 89, 90; slain at Denisesburn, 91.
Celestine, pope, 36.
Celestine II., pope, 277, 278.
Celibacy, enjoined by Council of London, 234.
Cenomannia, *Maine*, 196, 206; conquered by William I., 210.
Cenred, king of Mercia, 109; takes the cowl, *ib.*

Cenred—*cont.*
....., king of Northumbria, 111.
Cenwalh, succeeds Cynegils, 58; defeats the Britons at Penn, 60; defeated by Wulfere, 61; dies, *ib.*, 93.
Cenwine, Centwine, king of Wessex, 62; dies, 63.
Cenwulf, Ceolwulf, king of Mercia, 130; invades Kent, 131.
Cenwulf, king of Mercia, 132.
Ceolfrid, abbot of Wearmouth, Jarrow, 112.
Ceolnod, archbishop of Canterbury, 133.
Ceolred, king of Mercia, 110; engages the West Saxons at Wanborough, 111; dies, *ib.*
Ceolric, succeeds Ceaulin, 54; dies, *ib.*
Ceolfwulf, king of Mercia, 132.
Ceolwulf, king of Mercia under the Danes, 145.
....., king of Northumbria, Beda's patron, 114; resigns his crown, 117, 118; and becomes a monk, 119; dies, 125.
....., king of Wessex, succeeds Ceolric, 54; his genealogy, 55; dies, *ib.*
Cereburih, *Chirbury*, 157.
Certic, Cerdic, lands in Britain, 45; 46, 47, 50; dies, *ib.*
Certicesore, *Yarmouth?* 45; Stuf lands at, 47.
Certichesforde, *Charford*, battles at, 46, 48.
Cestria, *Chester*, 195.
Charlemagne, begins to reign, 125, 127; his death, 132, 248.
Charles the Fat, killed by a boar, 148.
Charles, count of Flanders, son of Canute IV., 242; assassinated, 247.
Chartres, 252.
Chateric, *Chatteris*, abbey of, founded in 980 for Benedictine nuns by Alfwen, wife of Athelstan Half-king, earl of East Anglia, 165.
Chedder hole, 12.
Chenewulf, Cynewulf, bishop of Lindisfarne, 117.
Cherlus, Cearl, succeeds Wippa, 54.
Cheshire (Ceastresyre), 10.
Chester, battle at, 55, 78.
Chester—*cont.*
....., see of, 10.
....., bishops of. *See*—
Robert I.
Robert II., surnamed Péché.
Chicce, *Chick St. Osyth*, in Essex, 245.
Chichelmeslaue, *Cuckhamsley*, 176.
Chichester, 8, 11.
....., bishops of *See*—
Ralph.
Sifrid Pelochin.
....., see of, 9.
Chiltern, the Chiltern hills, 177.
Chosam, *Corsham*, 181.
Christina, granddaughter of Edmund Ironside, a nun, 296.
Ciceastre, *Chichester*, 150.
Cilicienses, part of the Moslem army, 221.
Cineburga, Cyneburg, daughter of Penda, 96.
Cinric, Cynric, Kinric, son of Cerdic, 46, 48, 50; succeeds his father, 50; defeats the Britons, 50, 51; dies, *ib.*
Cipenham, *Chippenham*, 146, 147.
Cirencester, 53, 147; battle at, 57.
Cissa, son of Ella, 43; succeeds his father, 47.
Claudius, the emperor, 20, 21.
..... secundus, 27.
Clodoveus. *See* Clovis.
Clovis, king of the Franks, 248.
Cluni, monastery of, 242.
Clyht, *the Clyde*, 34.
Cneban, a Kentish noble, 52.
Cneburh, sister of Cudburh, 112.
Cnut. *See* Canute.
Coel, a British king, 29.
Coellec, Cellach, bishop in Mercia, 98.
Coifi, the Angle priest, 85; destroys the heathen altars, 86.
Colchester, 29, 30.
Coleseige, *Cholsey*, 176.
Colman, bishop of Lindisfarne, 99.
Colossus, the, 21, 25.
Columba, St., 92; converts the northern Picts, *ib.*
Columbanus, St., 80.

Comets, 114, 157, 166, 204, 230, 236, 237, 239.
Commagil, a British king, 53.
Commodus, the emperor, 25.
Compendium, *Compiègne*, 100.
Condé, occupied by the Danes, 148.
Conrad, emperor of Germany, joins the second crusade, 280.
Constance, sister of Louis VII., married to Eustace of Blois, 265.
Constantia, *Coutances*, 29.
Constantine, the emperor, 29, 30; builds churches in Rome, *ib.*; his character, 31; his religious zeal, 73.
Constantine, king of the Scots, 160.
Constantinople, 35, 280.
Constantinus, emperor in Britain, 34.
Constantius, a count, kills Constantinus, 34.
Constantius, the emperor, 29, 31.
Corn, high price of, 246.
Cornwall, 9.
Corvesgate, *Corfe Castle*, 167.
Council of Hatfield, 104.
Councils; at London, 234; at Westminster, 247; at London, 250; ditto, 265; ditto held by Henry of Blois, as papal legate, 276; its decrees for the protection of the clergy, *ib.*; ditto held at London by Theobald, 282.
Counties, thirty-five in England; their names, 9.
Coventry abbey, founded by Godiva, 196.
Coxa, now *Goysyn*, 223.
Creganford, *Crayford*, battle at, 41.
Crida, first king of Mercia, 53; dies, 54.
Crikelade, Cricalade, *Cricklade*, 153, 182.
Crowmarsh, a royal castle, attacked by Henry, 287; to be razed, 288.
Crulande, *Croyland*, 206.
Crusades: account of the first, 219–230; the second, 279; its failure, 280; the crusade which rescued Lisbon from the Moors, 281.
Cudburh, wife of Ecgfrid, founds abbey of Wimborne, 112.
Cudred, Cuthred, king of Kent, 132.
Cudred, king of Wessex, 119; defeats Æthelbald at Burford, 121; dies, 122.
Cumberland, reduced by Edmund, 162; ravaged by Ethelred, 170.
Cumbra, a West Saxon ealdorman, 122; put to death by Sigebert, 123.
Cundoet. *See* Condé.
Curbaran, Kerboga, general of the Soldan of Persia, 225; besieges the Christians in Antioch, *ib.*; defeated, 227.
Curtæ, part of Kerboga's army, 225.
Cutha, brother of Ceaulin, 52.
Cuthbert, St., bishop of Lindisfarne, warns Ecgfrid not to attack the Picts, 106.
Cuthwine, son of Ceaulin, 53; killed, *ib.*
Cwichelm, son of Cynegils, 55; is converted, 58, 83.
Cymen, son of Ella, 43.
Cymenesore, *Shoreham*, 44.
Cynegils, succeeds Ceolwulf, 55; dies, 58; baptized by St. Birinus, 93.
Cynewisse, a Mercian queen, 97.

D.

Dagan, a bishop of the Scots, 80.
Dagobert I., Frankish king, 90.
Dalreudini, the Scots so called, 14.
Damascus, 223; sieges of, 251, 281.
Damian, bishop of Rochester, 96.
Danegeld, instituted under Ethelred, 168; still endures, *ib.*
....., its amount, 258; Stephen promises to remit it, *ib.*
Danes, the, 8; their first raid in England, 128, 130; series of raids, 133, 137–155; settle in Northumbria and Mercia; raids in France, 148.
....., reduced to order by Edmund, 161.
....., raids in the time of Ethelred, 168–170, 174–185; treaty with, 180.
Daniel, bishop of Winchester, 110; his death, 120.

David, brother of bishop Alexander, archdeacon of Buckingham, 303.
David, king of Scotland, 196, 297 ; takes Newcastle and Carlisle, 258 ; comes to terms with Stephen, 259 ; had sworn fealty to Matilda, *ib.* ; his son does homage to Stephen, *ib.* ; he again invades England, 261 ; atrocities practised by his troops, *ib.* ; reaches Northallerton, 262 ; his behaviour in the battle, 264 ; 275 ; dubs Henry of Anjou a knight, 282.
David's, St., see of, 10.
Dearmao, *Durrogh*, monastery of, 92.
Decius, the emperor, 27.
Degsastan, Dawston ? 55.
Deiri, the, 76.
Demetrius, St., of Thessalonica, martyred under Maximian, 227.
Deomedum, Demetia, *S. Wales*, 156.
Deorham, *Dirham*, battle at, 53.
Derbyshire, 10.
Derebi, *Derby*, 157, 158 ; reduced by Edmund, 161.
Desem (Sem, Issem, Dessem), site unknown, 228.
Deusdedit, archbishop of Canterbury, 61, 96.
Devizes, seized by Stephen, 265.
Devonshire, 9.
Dilwald, Edilwald, a son of St. Oswald, 97.
Diocletian, the emperor, 28, 29.
Diuma, bishop of the Mid-Angles, 98.
Dol, in Britanny, 206.
Dolobellus, 16.
Domitian, the emperor, 22.
Donemuth, monastery of, *Jarrow*, 130
Dorchester, bishops of. *See*—
Birinus.
Hedde.
Ednod.
Ulf.
....., see of, 193 *n.*, 212 ; transferred to Lincoln, 301.
Dorcic, *Dorchester*, on the Thames, see of, 93.
Dore, in Northumbria, 133.
Dormeceastre, *Caistor*, 7.
Dorobernia. *See* Dover.
Dorovernensis civitas. *See* Canterbury.
Dorsetshire, 9.
Dorubrevis. *See* Rochester.
Dover, 217 ; the castle surrendered to Stephen's queen, 261.
Drache, Drake castle, near York, 291.
Dragon, the, standard of Wessex, 121, 184.
Driffeld, *Driffield*, 111.
Dudda, a Saxon leader, 133.
Duglas, victories of Arthur at the, 48.
Dun, bishop of Rochester, 119.
Dunecan, Duncan, son of Malcolm, king of Scotland, 217.
Dunelmia, Dunhelme. *See* Durham.
Dunstable, 244, 253, 260.
Dunstan, St., his escape at Calne, 167 ; crowns Ethelred, *ib.* ; dies, 168.
Dunster castle, 261.
Durham, 11 ; siege of, 215 ; 244.
....., see of, 10.
....., bishops of. *See*—
Alwin.
Walker or Walchere.
William de St. Carilef.
Ranulf Flambard.
Geoffrey.
William.
Duvenal (for Dunewal, Dunwald, Donald), brother of Malcolm III., expelled from the throne of Scotland, 217 ; reinstated, *ib.* ; again expelled, 230.

E.

Eadbald. *See* Ædbold.
Eadbert, king of Northumbria, becomes a monk, 124 ; dies, 125.

Eadbrict, Eadbert Pren, king of Kent, 130.
Eadhed, bishop of Lindsey, 101.
Eadmund, St., king of East Anglia, his martyrdom, 144.
Eadred, a kinsman of Cenwalh, 59.
Eadric, Edric, king of Kent, 106.
Eadsi, archbishop of Canterbury, 190, 192; resigns the see, *ib.*; dies, 193.
Eadwine, king of Northumbria, a Bretwalda, 52; succeeds Æthelfrid, 56; defeats Cynegils, 57; killed at Heathfield, 58, 89; story of his conversion, 83–86; builds St. Peter's church at York, 86, 87.
Eadwinesclive, *Eildon hills?* 125.
Eadwulf, Ealdulf, archbishop of York, 169.
Ealcswid, Ealcswith, wife of Alfred, 154.
Ealdbriht, a West Saxon exile, killed, 112.
Earpwald, son of Redwald, king of East Anglia, converted, 58; killed by Penda, *ib.*, 87; rather by Rigbert, 88.
Earthquakes; in 1089, 215; in 1117, 240.
East Anglia, 8, 48; beginning of kingdom, 52; lists of its kings, 65, 172; conversion of, 87; ravaged by th Danes, 178.
Eata, bishop of Lindisfarne, 99, 101.
Ebercurn, *Abercorn*, 106.
Eboracum. *See* York.
Ecgbrichtestan, *Brixton Deveril*, 147.
Ecgfrid, son of Oswi, a hostage in Mercia, 97; expels bishop Wilfrid, 101, 103; killed in Pictland, 106.
Ecgrice, king of East Anglia, slain by Penda, 59, 96.
Edbert, Æthelberht, archbishop of York, 127.
Edbrict, Eadbriht, king of Northumbria, 119.
Edbrit, Eadbriht, king of Kent, 120.
Edelbald, Æthelbald, son of Æthelwulf, king of Wessex, 140; dies, 142.
Edelbert, Æthelberht, bishop of Whitherne, 126.
Edelbricht, Æthelbriht, king of Kent, 125.
Edelbrict, Æthelbriht, St., murdered, 129; his church at Hereford, 196.
Edelburga, or Tate, Æthelburg, daughter of Æthelberht, wife of Eadwine, 83; takes refuge in Kent, 90; sends her children to France, *ib.*
Edelburh, wife of Ina, 112.
Edelfert, Æthelfrith, succeeds Edelric, 54; defeats the Scots, 55; and the Britons, *ib.*, 78; defeated and slain, 56, 85.
Edelfled, Æthelfled, Alfred's daughter, the "lady" of Mercia, 157; her conquests from the Danes, 157; dies, 158; verses on, *ib.*
Edelhelm, Æthelhelm, slain by the Danes, 139.
Edelhere, Æthelhere, succeeds Anna, 59.
Edelhun, Æthelhun, an ealdorman of Wessex, 120, 121.
Edelmund, Æthelmund, ealdorman of the Hwiccas, 131.
Edelred, Æthelred, king of Mercia, 62; ravages Kent, *ib.* 101, 103; fights with Egfrid, 63; has Ostrith to wife, *ib.*; becomes a monk, 109.
Edelred, (mistake for Ædelbert), 77.
Edelred, Æthelred, son of Moll, king of Northumbria, 126; expelled, *ib.*; restored, 129; murdered, 130.
Edelred, Æthelheard, archbishop of Canterbury, 129; dies, 131.
Edelred, Æthelred II., son of Edgar the Peaceful, 167; his cruelty, 169; ravages Cumberland, 170; marries Emma, 174; orders a massacre of the Danes, 174; sends his wife and children to Normandy, 180; goes there himself, *ib.*; ravages Lindsey, 181; dies, 182.
Edelric, Æthelric, succeeds Ella, 54.
Edelstan, Æthelstan, son of Egbert, 134; defeats the Danes, 141.
Edelwold, Athelwold, bishop of Winchester, 164; replaces the canons by monks, *ib.*; founds or restores several monasteries, 165; dies, 168.
Edendune, *Heddington in Wilts*, battle at, 147.
Edesbirih, *Eddesbury*, in Cheshire, 157.

Edgar, son of Edmund, 163; his prosperous reign, 163; too favourable to Danes and foreigners, *ib.*; crowned at Bath, 166; vassal kings, *ib.*; dies, *ib.*; verses on, *ib.*

Edgar Atheling, grandson of Edmund Ironside, 196, 199; his ineffectual attempts after battle of Hastings, 204; joins the Yorkshire rising, 205; is received into favour by William I., 206; sent to Scotland by William II., 230; his proceedings there, *ib.*; is thrown with his sisters on the coast of Scotland, 296.

Edgar, son of Malcolm III., king of Scotland, 230; dies, 236; 297.

Edgitha, daughter of Earl Godwin, 192; married to Edward the Confessor, *ib.*; sent away, 193; returns to court, 194; dies, 206.

Edilwold, Æthelwold, bishop of Lindisfarne, 117.

Edmund, Eadmund, brother of Æthelstan; at Brunanburh, 160; becomes king, 161; is sole king in Northumbria, 162; murdered, *ib.*

Edmund Ironside, marries the wife of Sigfert, 181; visits Uctred, 182; succeeds his father, *ib.*; his battles with the Danes, 183, 184; single combat with Canute (?), 185; assassinated, *ib.*; his arrangements about his kinsfolk and his kingdom, 295.

Edmund, son of Edmund Ironside, brought up in Hungary, 296; marries the king's daughter, *ib.*; dies, *ib.*

Edmund, St. *See* Eadmund.

Ednod, Eadnoth, bishop of Dorchester, 180.

Edred, ealdorman of Devonshire, 153.

Edred, Æthered, ealdorman of Mercia, dies, 155, 157.

Edred, son of Edward the Elder, 162; invades Scotland, *ib.*; paramount in Northumbria, 163; dies, *ib.*

Edric, ealdorman of Mercia, 176; his treason, 177, 181; joins Canute, 182; 183.

Edric—*cont.*

....., his conduct at Assandune, 184; beheaded by order of Canute, 186.

Edward the Confessor, son of Ethelred, 180, 181; visits Hardecnut, 190; is invited to England, 191; and chosen king, 192; marries Edgitha, *ib.*; banishes Godwine and his sons, 193; lets the Northumbrians have Morkar for their earl, 198; dies, *ib.*; his exile, 295, 296.

Edward, son of Edmund Ironside, comes to England and dies, 196; marries the emperor's niece, 296; his visit to England, *ib.*

Edward the Elder, son of Alfred, 152; his operations against the Danes, 153; victories, 156; disinherits Ælfwyn, 158; dies, 159.

Edward the Martyr, 166; murdered, 167; his body interred at Shaftesbury, 168.

Edwi, Edwy, son of Edmund, 163; dies, *ib.*

Edwi Ceorleking, Eadwig, king of the churls, banished, 186.

Edwi Adelinge, Eadwig the etheling, banished by Canute, 186.

Edwin, *i.e.*, Edilwin, employed to kill Oswine, 95.

Edwin, Ædwine, brother of Æthelstan, 159.

Edwin, son of Ælfgar, 198; opposes Tosti, 199, 200; killed, 205.

Edwin. *See* Eadwine.

Effic, Æfic, the high reeve, 174.

Egbert, Egbricht, Ecgberht, king of Wessex and Bretwalda, 52, 131; defeats Beornwulf of Mercia, 132; annexes Kent, Surrey, &c., *ib*; annexes Mercia and Northumbria, 133; fights with the Danes, *ib.*; his death, *ib.*

Egbert, Ecgberht, teaches the monks at Hii the right observance of Easter, 93, 112; dies, 112.

Egbert, archbishop of York, 125.

Egbriht, king of Kent, 61; dies, 62, 64.

Egfert, Ecgferth, son of Offa, made king of Kent, 128; succeeds his father, 130.

Egrice. *See* Ecgrice.
Egfrid, Ecgfrith, succeeds Oswi, 61; war with Mercia, 63.
Eilaf, Eglaf, 187.
Eilesford, *Aylesford*, 184.
Elafius, a Briton; his son healed by St. Germanus, 42.
Elfhere, Ælfhere, a destroyer of abbeys, 166, 168.
Elfleda, daughter of Oswi, a nun at Hartlepool, 97; abbess of Streoneshalch, 98.
(Hely), 13.
Ella, Alle, king of Northumbria, 51; his genealogy, *ib.*; dies, 54; 76.
Ella, Ælla, supplants Osbriht on the throne of Northumbria, 143; killed, *ib.*
Ella. *See* Aelle.
Ellendune, *Allington*, battle at, 132.
Ely, 11, 191, 205; church of, xxiv., 165; see of, 9.
Ely, bishops of. *See*—
Hervé.
Nigel.
Emma, sister of duke Richard II., marries Ethelred, 173, 174; sent to Normandy, 180; is established at Winchester, 189; banished by Harold I., and goes to Flanders, *ib.*; dies, 193.
Enbald, Eanbald, archbishop of York, 127; dies, 130.
Enbald, Eanbald II., archbishop of York, 130.
Englafeld, *Englefield*, battle at, 144.
Eoppa, father of Ida, 50.
Epernon; Henry I. encamps there, 247.
Eppa, a priest, preaches in Wight, 61.
Erachia, now *Eregli*, 222.
Erchenwald, St., bishop of London, 101.
Erchenwin, or Æscwine, king of Essex, 49.
Ercombert, king of Kent, 58; dies, 61; 64; his queen Sexburg, 94; he promotes Christianity, *ib.*
Ercungota, daughter of king Ercombert, 94.
Ermenric, Irmiric, a king of Kent, 49, 64.
Ermin Street, 12.
Ernulf, Arnulph, king of the Franks, 149.
Ernulf, Arnulph, count of Flanders, 205 *n.*
Ernulf, son of Geoffrey Mandeville, 277.
Ernulf, bishop of Rochester, 245, 315.
Erysipelas unknown in Britain, 11.
Esa, grandfather of Ida, 50.
Esc, son of Hengist, 41, 44, 46, 64.
Escesdune, *Ashdown*, battle at, 144.
Escwine, Æscwine, king of Wessex, 62.
Esesdune, Assandune, in Essex, battle at, 183.
Esingestoche, for Tefingstoce, *Tavistock*, 170.
Eslaford. *See* Sleaford.
Essex, kingdom of, 8; begins, 49; list of its kings, 65; conversion of, 77; London its capital, *ib.*
....., county of, 9.
Ethelbald. *See* Adelbold.
Ethelbert. *See* Ædelbert.
Etheldreda, St., xxiv.
Ethelfled. *See* Edelfled.
Ethelfrith. *See* Edelfert.
Ethelingeie, *Athelney*, 147.
Ethelred I. *See* Adelred.
Ethelred II. *See* Edelred.
Ethelwulf. *See* Adelwulf.
Etherius, Ætherius, archbishop of Arles, 69.
Eu, in Normandy, 217, 240.
Eubonia, or Man, 7.
Eugenius III., pope, 278, 280.
Eustace, son of king Stephen, 260, 297; marries Constance, sister of Louis le Jeune, 265; ravages the lands of the partizans of Henry of Anjou, 282; harasses Normandy with French aid, 283; dies, 288; buried at Feversham, *ib.*
Eustachius, Eustace, count of Boulogne, 215; assumes the cross, 219.
Eutropius, quotations from, 19, 21, 22, 23, 26.
Everard de Puisat, a crusader, 221.
Everard, bishop of Norwich, 251; his cruelty caused him to be deposed, 316.
Exanceastre, *Exeter*, 146, 149, 150; destroyed, 174.

Exanmutha, mouth of the Exe, 170.
Exeter, see of, 9.
Exeter, bishops of. *See*—
Geoffrey.
Robert (for William).
Robert.

F.

Famines, 175, 192, 209, 246.
Farinmagil, a British king, 53.
Farringdon castle, taken by Stephen, 278.
Fedhanlea, *Fretherne?* 53.
Felix, a Burgundian, sent by Honorius to preach in East Anglia, 88; assists Sigbert in founding schools, 96.
Fin, ancestor of Hengist, 39; of Ida, 50.
Finan, bishop, 96; builds a church at Lindisfarne, 99.
Finchamsted, in Berkshire, 231.
Five Burghs, 180.
Flocwald, ancestor of Hengist, 39.
Forthere, bishop of Sherborne, 117.
Foss Way, 12.
Franci, the Franks, or French, 38, 222, 224, 242.
Frealof, ancestor of Hengist, 39; of Ida, 50.
Fredulf, ancestor of Hengist, 39; of Ida, 50.
Frena, an English leader, 169.
French monarchy, the; lists of the kings of each dynasty, 248.
Fresi, the Frisians, aid the Danes in their raids, 139.
Fridebert, bishop of Hexham, 125.
Fridegida, queen, 117.
Fridwald, Frithewald, bishop of Whitherne, 125.
Fronmudha, Frothemutha, mouth of the *Frome*, 170, 181.
Fulenham, *Fulham*, 147, 148.
Fulk, count of Anjou, aids Henry I. against Robert, 235; seizes Maine, 237, 239.

G.

Gainsburh, *Gainsborough*, 180; Canute at, 181.
Gallienus, the emperor, 27.
Gant, *Ghent*, 148.
Gavelford, battle at, 133.
Geata, mythical ancestor of Ida, 50. *See* Ieta.
Gedingum, *Gilling*, 95.
Gelasius II., pope, 242.
Genealogies of kings, 49, 50, 51, 55, 57, 108, 109, 117, 123.
Genseric, king of the Vandals, 36.
Geoffrey Plantagenet, son of Fulk count of Anjou, 247; marries the empress Matilda, *ib.*; agrees to a truce with Stephen, 260; his death, 283.
Geoffrey, brother of Henry II., 297.
Geoffrey (for Fulk) of Anjou, king of Jerusalem, 230, 250, 253.
Geoffrey (for Baldwin III., son of Fulk), king of Jerusalem, 230.
Geoffrey de Clinton, 252 and note.
Geoffrey, or Gosfrith, bishop of Coutances, plunders Bath, 214.
Geoffrey, bishop of Durham, 253, 316.
Geoffrey, bishop of Exeter, 211.
Geoffrey Mandeville, arrested by Stephen's order, 276; surrenders his castle as the price of his liberation, *ib.*; seizes Ramsey abbey, 277; being wounded slightly he dies, *ib.*
Geoffrey Ridel, justiciary, 318.
Geolcil, brother of Uhter, 156.
George, St., 227.
George, St., channel of, the *Dardanelles*, 219.
Georgii, Sti, Vicus, now *Ramla*, 229.
Gerard, archbishop of York, 237, 316.
Gerberie, *Gerberoi*, battle of, 206.
Gerente, king of Wales, 111.
Germanus, St., 39, 42; dies, 43.
Gewissi, or West Saxons, 81, 93, 102.
Gessoriacum, *Boulogne*, 6.
Gibel, now *Djebeli*, 229.
Gilbert, archdeacon of Buckingham, 302.

Gilbert of Clare, lord of Tunbridge, rebels against William II., 214.
Gilbert de Lacy, 264.
Gilbert the Universal, bishop of London, 247, 251, 307; dies, 253; his avarice, 308.
Gildas (Nennius), 49.
Gillinges, *Gillingham*, 183.
Gipeswic. *See* Ipswich.
Girdh, Gyrth, son of earl Godwine, 204.
Gisors, 242.
Glademuth, mouth of the *Cleddy*, Milford Haven, 159.
Glamorgan (Llandaff), see of, 10.
Glastinbirh, *Glastonbury*, abbey of, 165, 186; monks slaughtered, 207.
Gloucester, 10, 53, 158, 232.
Gloucestershire, 10.
Godefridus, Godfrey de Bouillon, 219, 220, 222; his prowess, 224; besieged in Antioch, 226; at Jerusalem, 229; is elected king, 230.
Godefridus de Rusinole, Godfrey, count of Roussillon, 227.
Godefridus de Monte Scabioso, Godfrey de Ribemont, a crusader, 222.
Godfrey, bishop of Bath, 245, 251, 316.
Godiva, wife of earl Leofric, 196.
Godmundcestre, *Godmanchester*, 178.
Godmundingeham, *Goodmanham*, 86.
Godrun, a Danish king, 145; agrees to become a Christian, 147; retires into East Anglia, 148; his death, 149.
Godwine, bishop of Rochester, 179.
Godwine, earl, attends Canute on an expedition, 187; opposes the election of Harold I., 189, 192; banished, 193; takes to piracy, 194; is reinstated, *ib.*; his perjury and death, 195.
Godwulf, ancestor of Ida, 50.
Gordian, the emperor, 26.
Gortimer, son of Vortigern, 40, 41.
Goths, the, 32, 33, 36; allied to the Danes, 139.
Gratian, emperor in Britain, 33.
Gratian, the emperor, 32.
Grantebrige. *See* Cambridge.
Gregory the Great, pope, 23, 54; sends Augustin to England, 67; and other missionaries, 69; his letter to Augustin granting him the pallium, 70; writes to Mellitus, *ib.*; and again to Augustin, concerning his miracles, 72; and to Ethelbert, with presents, *ib.*; dies, 75; his writings and character, *ib.*; story of the English boys, 76.
Gregory the Great, pope—*cont.*
Grenewic, *Greenwich*, 180, 181, 182.
Grenta, the river *Cam*, 165.
Griffin, king of North Wales, 196; killed by the Welsh, 197.
Gudfrid, father of Reginald, 159.
Guerno, precentor of Lincoln, 301.
Guidi, a town in Scotland, 34.
Guido, archbishop of Vienne (Calixtus II.), 242.
Guthlac, St., of Croyland, 113.

H.

Hadfeld, Heathfield, battle of, 89, 90.
Hadrian, the emperor, 24.
Haldene, a Danish king, killed, 154.
Halfdene, a Danish king, 144; winters in Lindsey, 145; seizes the land near the Tyne, 146; his brother killed in Devonshire, 147.
Hampshire, 9.
Hamton. *See* Northampton.
Hamtona. *See* Southampton.
Hamtonia. *See* Northamptonshire.
Hamptune. *See* Southampton.
Hamstude, Finchamstead, in Berkshire? 234.
Harald I., son of Canute, 189; dies, 190.
Harald Gille, mutilates his uncle the king of Norway, 313.
Harald, Harold II., son of Godwine, 192; an exile in Ireland, 193; shipwrecked on French coast, 196; his oath to William, 197; his successful invasion of Wales, *ib.*; his cruelty and rapacity, *ib.*; employed between the king and the Northumbrians, 198; seizes the crown, 199; defeats Tosti and Harald Hardrada,

Harald, Harold II.—*cont.*
200 ; marches back to Hastings, *ib.*, 202 ; slain in the battle, 204.

Harald Hardrada, king of Norway, 199 ; attacks York, 200 ; slain at Stanfordbridge, *ib.*

Hardecnut, 189 ; son of Emma, 190 ; chosen king, *ib.* ; dies, *ib.* ; his love of good living, *ib.*

Haselberge, *Haslebury-Plucknett*, in Somersetshire, xxix.

Hasting, a Danish king, 149 ; his treachery, *ib.* ; an ancestor of the dukes of Normandy, 201.

Hastings, 200 ; battle of, 202.

Hatfeld, *Hatfield*, 104.

Hatfield, council held at, A.D. 680, 63.

Heahmund, bishop, slain, 145.

Hedde, Headda, bishop of Dorcic or Dorchester ; transfers the see to Winchester, 93, 113.

Helena, the empress, 29, 30.

Helhun, Ælfhun, bishop in Essex, 180.]

Helias, or Elias, count of Maine, 231 ; dies, 237.

Hellespont, the *Dardanelles*, 219.

Hely. *See* Ely.

Hengist, 39, 40, 41, 43 ; his death, 44, 64.

Hengistesdune, *Hingston Down*, battle at, 133.

Hengwrt MS., account of, 295 ; passages from, 295-297.

Henricus, Henry I., king of France, 188, 192, 195; dies, 196.

Henry I., son of the Conqueror, 61 ; made a knight, 208 ; treasure left him by his father, 211 ; at Domfront, 218 ; succeeds William II., 232 ; marries Matilda, 233 ; his treaty with duke Robert, *ib.*; conquers Caen and Bayeux, 235 ; his victory at Tenchebrai, *ib.* ; takes possession of Normandy, 236 ; his unexpected rise to power and fame, *ib.* ; makes war on Louis VI., 62, 237 ; gives his daughter in marriage to the emperor, *ib.* ; war with Fulk of Anjou, 238 ; fresh quarrel with France, 239 ; imposes heavy taxes, 240 ; defeats the king of France, 241 ;

Henry I.—*cont.*
his danger, 241 ; meets Pope Calixtus at Gisors, 242 ; comes to terms with the Welsh, 243 ; marries Adelaide of Louvain, *ib.* ; quarrels with Waleran de Mellent, 245 ; his severity against coiners, 246 ; makes a long stay in Normandy, 247 ; gives the empress to Geoffrey Plantagenet, *ib.* ; invades France, *ib.* ; supports Thierry of Alsace, 249 ; has an interview with Innocent II. at Chartres, 252 ; returns to England, *ib.* ; falls sick at Windsor, 253 ; is at Oxford castle, *ib.* ; then in Normandy, *ib.* ; troubled by the quarrels of his daughter with her husband, 254 ; his death and its causes, *ib.* ; verses on, *ib.* ; popular opinions concerning him, 255 ; his cruelty, *ib.*, 311 ; his remains taken to Rouen, 256 ; the attempt to embalm them fails, 257 ; they are taken to Caen and thence to England, *ib.* ; and buried at Reading abbey, 258 ; he causes his grandchildren to be blinded, 311 *note* ; his faithlessness and avarice, 312 ; a prey to terror and anxiety, *ib.* ; his reign will soon be at an end, 314.

Henry II., son of Geoffrey Plantagenet and the empress Matilda ; knighted by his great uncle, David of Scotland, 282 ; succeeds his father, 283 ; marries the divorced wife of Louis VII., *ib.* ; summoned to the help of his partizans in England, 284 ; poetical address to, *ib.* ; sensation caused by his arrival, 285 ; takes Malmesbury castle, 286 ; relieves Wallingford, 287 ; terms of peace, 288 ; takes Stamford and Nottingham, *ib.* ; is displeased that all the castles of the robber barons are not destroyed, 290 ; returns to Normandy, *ib.* ; endeavours are made to sow dissension between him and Stephen, *ib.* ; on Stephen's death he is summoned to England, 291 ; where the people welcome him with joy, *ib.* ; verses on the happiness of his reign, *ib.*

Henry V., emperor of Germany, 237 ; dies, 246.

Henry, son of king David of Scotland, 259; his gallantry at Northallerton, 264; nearly killed at Ludlow, 265.
Henry of Blois, bishop of Winchester, 266; intercedes for the imprisoned bishops, *ib.*; espouses the cause of the empress, 275; papal legate, *ib.*; turns against Matilda, and is besieged in Winchester castle. *ib.*; goes to Rome, 277; introduces appeals, 282; his endeavours for peace, 289; a compound of monk and knight, 315.
Henry, archdeacon of Huntingdon, account of his life and writings, xxx–xxxvi; his *Historia Anglorum*, ix–xxx; his epigrams and amatory pieces, 298; brought up by bishop Bloet, 299; appointed archdeacon, 302.
Henry, earl of Warwick, 317.
Heraclius, the emperor, 55, 89.
Herbert de Losinga, bishop of Norwich, xix, 316; an author, 316.
Hereford, *Hertford*, 155; fortified by Edward, *ib.*
Hereford, 196, 197; held by Geoffrey Talbot, 261.
Hereford, bishops of. *See*—
Richard.
Hereford, see of, 10.
Herefordshire, 10.
Hereward, his valiant defence at Ely, 205.
Hertfordshire, 9.
Hervé, bishop of Ely, 251; dies, 252, 316.
Hexham, 129.
Hexham, bishops of. *See*—
Acca.
Trumbert.
Fridebert.
Alcmund.
Tilbeth.
Hide, definition of, 176; basis of taxation, 207.
Higebald, a West-Saxon general, 111.
Higebriht, archbishop in Mercia, 128.
Hinguar, a Danish leader, 143.
Hispania. *See* Spain.
Hocheneretune, *Hook Norton*, 155.
Holme, *the Holme Stone ?*, battle at, 156.
Homer, 1.
Honorius, the emperor, 33, 34; his character, 35.
Honorius, pope, writes to king Eadwine, 87; to archbishop Honorius, 88; to the Scots on the observance of Easter, 89.
Honorius, archbishop of Canterbury, sends Felix iuto East Anglia, 88; consecrated by Paulinus at Lincoln, 88; 90; dies, 96.
Horace, quoted, 1.
Horsa, 39, 40; killed, 41.
Hugh Capet, founder of the Capetian line, 249.
Hugo de Bigod, earl of Norfolk, 259, 270, 278, 288.
Hugo, Fitz-Gervase, 245.
Hugo, a priest of Lincoln, 301.
Hugo Lupus, earl of Chester, 214.
Hugo Magnus, brother of Philip I. of France, 219, 221, 227, 249.
Hugo, count de Montfort, 245.
Hugo, Norman sheriff of Exeter, 174.
Hugo de Paiens, Master of the Temple, 250, 251.
Hugo, earl of Shrewsbury, 231.
Hungary, the king of, receives and adopts the children of Edmund Ironside, 296.
Huns, the, 31, 32.
Huntendune, *Huntingdon*, description of, 178.
Huntingdon, Henry earl of, son of David of Scotland, 259.
Huntingdonshire, 9.
Hunwald, betrays Oswine, 95.
Hyre, Yric, Eric, king in Northumbria, 163.
Hyre, placed by Canute over Northumbria, 182; banished, 186.

I.

Iambeth, Ianbryht, archbishop of Canterbury, 125; loses part of his province, 128; dies, 129.
Ida, first king of Northumbria, 50; dies, 51.

Idle, the river, battle near, 56.
Idolatry; pope Gregory directs Mellitus how to deal with it, 71.
Ieta, *Geat*, 39.
Ii, *Iona*, monastery of, 92; granted to St. Columba, *ib.*; privileges of its abbots, *ib.*
Ikenild Street, 12.
Ine, Ina, king of Wessex, 108; invades Kent, 109; defeats Gerente, king of Wales, 110; battle with Ceolred, 111; raid in Sussex, 112; resigns his crown, *ib.*
Ingirvum, *Jarrow*, 112.
Ingui, ancestor of Ida, 50.
Ingulf, bishop of Rochester, 315.
Innocent II., pope, 252, 277.
Iorna, the *Yonne*, 149.
Ipswich, 168, 177; taken by Stephen from Hugo de Bigod, 288.
Ireland, description of, 14; Columba sets out from it to preach to the Picts, 92; Danes retire to, 156; invaded by Berct, 106.
Italy, occupied by the Lombards, 54.
Itamar, Ithamar, bishop of Rochester, 95, 96.
Ithamcestre, in Essex, near the Blackwater, 98.
Itingforde, *Ifford?* treaty made at, 154.
Ivo, Ives, St., church of; built in 1001 in honour of St. Yvo by Ednoth, abbot of Ramsey.

J.

Jacobus, a deacon, administers the see of York, 90.
Jaruman, bishop in Mercia, 100.
Jermarc, a Scottish king, 188.
Jerome, St., quotation from, 26.
Jerusalem, 30, 219, 223; besieged and taken by the Christians, 229; English crusaders proceed thither, 250.
Jews, the, 24.
Jocelin, bishop of Salisbury, 316.
John, the arch-chanter, 105; dies at Tours, *ib.*
John the archdeacon, bishop of Rochester, 245, 251, 315.
John, bishop of Bath, 244, 316.
John, St., of Beverley, 113.
John of Crema, cardinal-legate, 245; holds a synod in London, *ib.*; harangues against married priests, 246; scandalous conduct attributed to him, *ib.*
John IV. pope, writes to the Scots about Easter, 80.
Jordanus, holds a tower against Prince Henry, 286; surrenders it, 287.
Jovian, the emperor, 31.
Juheta, Judith, daughter of Charles the Bold, 148.
Julian the apostate, 31.
Julianus Campanensis, 33.
Julianus, Didius, 25.
Julius, a martyr, 29.
Justin, the emperor, 47, 51.
Justus, sent by pope Gregory to England, 69; ordained by Augustin to Rochester, 77; departs with Mellitus to Gaul, 81; is recalled, 82; succeeds Mellitus at Canterbury, 82; his death, 88.
Jutes, the, 38.
Juvenal, quotation from, 21.

K.

Kaerlegion, Chester, battle at, 55.
Kala, Cale, *Chelles*, 94.
Karolus Magnus. *See* Charlemagne.
Kent, 8, 9; beginning of the kingdom, 41; Æthelbert driven into, 52; king and people of converted, 54; lists of kings, 64, 134, 171; ruled by Ecgferth, son of Offa, 128; the Kentishmen will not obey the empress Maude, 275.
Kineard, Cyneheard, brother of Sigebert king of Wessex, 127; kills Cynewulf, *ib.*

Kinebold, bishop of Lindisfarne, 127.
Kinegils. *See* Cynegils.
Kinemeresford, Kempsford, battle at, 131.
Kinewulf, Cynewulf, king of Wessex, 123; battle with Offa, 126; banishes Cyneheard, 127; who kills him, *ib.*
Kingstun, *Kingston-on-Thames*, 159, 167.
Kinric. *See* Cinric.
Kinric, son of Cuthred, killed in a mutiny, 120.

L.

Labienus, 16, 17.
Lambertus Pauper, his cowardice, 226.
Lamhuthe, *Lambeth*, 190.
Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, 211; holds a council at London, *ib.*; his death, 215; 314.
Laurentius, sent to Rome by Augustin, 69; succeeds the latter in the primacy, 79; writes to the Celtic churches on the observance of Easter, 80; is prevented by a vision from quitting his see, 81; dies, 82.
Lefric, Leofric, earl of Mercia, 189; dies, 196.
Lefsi, Leofsig, exiled by Ethelred, 174.
Lefwine, abbot of Ely, 187.
Lefwine, for Leofrune, abbess of St. Mildred's, 179.
Lefwing, Lyfing, archbishop of Canterbury, 180; dies, 187.
Legecestria, *Chester*, Danes besieged in, 150; Edgar's court there, 166.
Legecestria, *Leicester*, 101, 155, 158, 161.
Leicestershire, 9.
Leo III., pope, 131.
Leo IV., blesses and adopts the young Alfred, 141.
Leo IX., pope, 193.
Lestingaeu, *Lastingham*, 99.
Leutherius, bishop of the West Saxons, 94.
Lewine, Leofwine, son of Earl Godwine, 204.
Liceffeld, *Lichfield*, 101.
Lichfield, bishops of. *See*—
Aldwine.
Lideford, *Lidford*, 170.
Lidwicum, *Britanny*, 155.
Lienberig, *Leighton?* 52.
Ligetune, *Leighton*, 155.
Limene, *Lympne*, 149.
Lincoln, 9, 11, 12; belongs to Mercia, 86.
....., see of, *ib.*; extent of the diocese, *ib.*; cathedral church built by Paulinus, 86; Honorius consecrated there, 88; reduced by Edmund, 161, 212; the minster finished, 216, 237; besieged by Stephen, 268; battle of, 271; plundered by the victors, 275; again besieged, 277; surrendered to Stephen, 279; 281.
Lincoln, bishops of. *See*—
Remigius.
Robert Bloct.
Alexander.
Robert de Querceto.
....., the clergy of, in the time of bishop Remigius, 301–302.
Lincolnshire, 9.
Lindisfarne, bishops of. *See*—
Aidan.
Finan.
Colman.
Tuda.
Eata.
Cuthbert, St.
Kinebold.
...., see of, founded by St. Aidan, 92; destroyed by the Danes, 130.
Lindisse. *See* Lindsey.
Lindisse, district of Lindsey, 169, 180, 181.
Lindisse, province of, converted by Paulinus, 86.
Lindsey, 212; line of its bishops, 101.
Lisbon, taken by the English crusaders, 281.
Liud, a British prince, 17.
Lodovius. *See* Louis.

Loenenses. *See* Lothian.
London, 11, 33; capital of Essex, 77; the people will not receive Mellitus back, 82; 145, 148; repaired by Alfred, *ib.*, 150, 155; Olaf and Swein repulsed from, 169; the citizens submit to Sweyn, 180; 182, 177; relieved by Edmund Ironside, 183; occupied by Canute, 185; 232, 234, 247; sides with the empress, 275; expels her, *ib.*; sends a large force to the aid of Stephen, 278.
....., see of, 9, 70, 77; founding of St. Paul's, 77.
London, bishops of. *See*—
Mellitus.
Erchenwald, St.
Maurice.
Richard.
Gilbert.
Longobardi, occupy Italy, 54.
Lotar, Hlothere, king of Kent, 62, 64, 103; dies, 105.
Lotaringa, *Lorraine*, 201.
Lothen, a Danish freebooter, 192.
Lothian, the men of, claim the privilege of beginning the battle at Northallerton, 263; they are utterly routed, 264.
Louis VI., king of France; defeated at Brenville, 62, 241; 237, 239, 240; his incapacity, 249; has his son crowned, 250; 312.
Louis VII., joins the second crusade, 279; besieges Damascus without success, 281; returns to France, *ib.*; takes Neuf Marché, 283.
Lucan, quotation from, 18.
Lucheman, a Saxon admiral, slain, 151.
Lucius II., pope, 278.
Ludecan, king of Mercia, 133.
Ludhard, a French bishop, 68.
Ludlow castle, 261.
Lupus, bishop of Troyes, 42.
Luye, the *Lea*, 150, 155.

M.

Maante. *See* Mantes.
Macrinus, 26.
Magnus, IV., king of Norway, mutilated by his uncle, 313.
Maine, 231; conquered by William Rufus, *ib.*; seized by Fulk of Anjou, 237. *See* Cenomannia.
Malculm, Malcolm I., Scottish king, 162.
Malmesbury castle, taken by Prince Henry, 286.
Malua, a supposed river, 15.
Malveisin, castle of, 218.
Man, Isle of, 7.
Mantes, burnt down with all the churches by the Conqueror, 209.
Manuscripts of the *Historia Anglorum*, xxxvi–xliii.
Manustra, in Syria, 222.
Maraclea, now *Marakia*, 229.
Marasis, now *Marasch*, 223.
Marchere, Morkar, son of Ælfgar, chosen earl of Northumbria, 198; defeated by Tosti, 200; goes to Ely, 205.
Marcus Aurelius, 24.
Margaret, St., queen of Scotland, 196, 204; her death, 217; comes with her parents to England, 296; her marriage to Malcolm, 296; her children and grandchildren, 297.
Maria, daughter of St. Margaret, 297; marries the count of Boulogne, *ib.*
Marianus Scotus; compilation ascribed to him, xlvi, l.
Marinus, pope, sends gifts to Alfred, 148.
Marna, the *Marne*, 149.
Marra, now *Marrah*, 228.
Masefeld, battle at, 95.
Matilda, daughter of the count of Boulogne, Stephen's queen, 297; recovers Dover, 261; holds Kent against the empress, 275.
Matilda, daughter of Henry I., 297; married to the emperor, 237; and afterwards to Geoffrey Plantagenet, 247; reconciled to her husband, 252; comes to England, 266; is allowed to go to

Matilda—*cont.*
Bristol, *ib.*; is recognised all over England, except in Kent, 275; her pride, *ib.*; the Londoners expel her; she besieges Winchester castle, *ib.*; is besieged in Oxford, 276; escapes by night, *ib.*
Matildis, Matilda, of Flanders, wife of the Conqueror, 207; founds a church at Caen, 210.
Matildis, Matilda, queen of Henry I., 196, 233; dies, 240; verses on, 241; her parentage, 297.
Maurice, bishop of London, 208, 211, 233, 316; dies, 236.
Mauritania, 15.
Mauritania. *See* Moretaigne.
Mauritius, the emperor, 70, 73.
Maxentius, 30.
Maximian, the emperor, 26, 29.
Maximin, the emperor, 28, 30.
Maximus, the emperor, 32, 34.
Mealdune, *Maldon*, 155.
Meampari, the *Meanware* in Hants, 102.
Medes, the, part of the Moslem army, 221.
Medewei, the *Medway*, 170.
Megla, son of Port, 46.
Meilocon, a Pictish king, 92; grants Isle of Iona to St. Columba, *ib.*
Melbeathe, Macbeth, 188.
Melcolm, Malcolm III., king of Scotland, 204; does homage to William, 205; ravages the Tyne valley, 206; does homage to William II., 216; killed, 217.
Mellent. *See* Robert and Waleram de Mellent.
Mellitus; sent to England by Pope Gregory, 69; converts the East Saxons and is made bishop of London, 77; visits Rome, 80; is expelled from his see, 81; departs to Gaul, *ib.*; is recalled, but cannot return to London, 82; succeeds Laurentius at Canterbury, *ib.*; power of his prayers, *ib.*
Melmim, Melmin, *Millfield* in Northumberland, 86.
Mercia, 9, 48; beginning of kingdom under Crida, 53; conversion of the people, 60, 96; lists of the kings, 65, 136, 172.
Mercredesburne, battle at, 44.
Mercsware, Merscware, people of Romney Marsh, 139.
Mercurius, St., a Cappadocian soldier martyred under Decius, 227.
Meredune, *Marden*, battle at, 145.
Mereseige, *Mersea*, in Essex, 150.
Meretune, *Merton* or *Marden*, 127.
Meroveus, founder of the Merovingian line, 248; his successors, *ib.*
Merton castle, 261.
Mese, the *Meuse*, 148.
Mevaniæ Insulæ, 83.
Middlesex, 9.
Middletune, *Milton*, in Kent, 149.
Mimera, river *Maran*, 155.
Mirmanda, Milmandum, in Burgundy, 201*n*.
Mol Edelwold, Moll Æthelwold, king of Northumbria, 125.
Montgomery, castle of, 218.
Morchere, Morcar, 181.
Moretaigne, count of. *See* Stephen.
Morini, 16.
Mortemer, battle of, 195; French defeated, 202.
Mul, brother of king Cedwalla, killed, 107.
Mungumeri. *See* Montgomery.

N.

Naiton, king of the Picts, 112.
Nazaleod, a British king, 46.
Nazaleoi, *Netley*, 46.
Nennius, his history quoted, 15, 39, 40, 41, 48,
Nero, 21.
Nerva, the emperor, 23.
Nesse, *Dungeness*, 194.
Nevers; Gilbert the Universal presided in the schools there, 307.
Newark castle, 266.
Newbury, 284.
Newcastle; taken by William II., 218; taken by the Scots, 258; restored, 259.

New Forest, formed by the destruction of villages and churches, 210; 231; William Rufus killed there, 232; Henry II. lands there, 291.
Nicæa, siege of, by the crusaders, 219; 226.
Nicholas, the father of Henry of Huntingdon, his death, 237; verses on, *ib.*
Nicolas, archdeacon of Bedford, 303.
Nicolas, archdeacon of Huntingdon, 302.
Nigel, archdeacon of Northampton, 302.
Nigel, bishop of Ely, 253, 316; exiled by king Stephen, 267.
Ninian, St., founds the see of Whitherne.
Niverni. *See* Nevers.
Nogent, battle of Breuville fought near, 242.
Nordmutha, the *Nore*, 194.
Nordwic, *Norwich*, 175.
Norfolk, 8, 9, 52.
Norhamtune. *See* Northampton.
Norman, Northman, son of Leofwine, 186.
Normans, the, 8; origin of their claim upon England, 173; never conquered in war, 202; their character for cruelty, rapacity, and turbulence, 208.
Northampton, 155, 156, 178, 244; great council held at, 252; 279; surrounding country ravaged, 198.
Northamptonshire, 9.
Northumberland, 10.
Northumbria, 9; kingdom founded by Ida, 50; conversion of, 83; lists of its kings, 65, 135, 172.
Norwagenses, the Norwegians, 139.
Norwegia, *Norway*, conquered by Canute, 187; cruelty of a king of, 313.
Norwich, 206, 243, 259.
Norwich, bishops of. *See*—
Herbert.
Everard.
William.
Norwich, see of, 9.
Nothelm, archbishop of Canterbury, 117.
Nottingham, 161, 288; the town burnt, 288.
Nottinghamshire, 10.
Noves-forest. *See* New Forest.
Novum Castellum. *See* Newcastle.
Nugensis campus. *See* Nogent.

O.

Octa, king of Kent, 64.
Odo, bishop of Bayeux, half-brother to William I., 207, 211; heads a rising in Kent, 214; banished, 215.
Odo, Eudes count of Champagne, 218.
Offa, father of Erchenwin, 49.
Offa, king of Mercia, 123; his victories, 124; founds monastery of St. Alban's, and institutes Peter's Pence, *ib.*; battles, 126, 128; puts to death S. Ethelbriht 129; his death, 130; 131.
Offa, son of Sighere, king of Essex, 109.
Offrid, Osfrith, son of Eadwine, 90.
Olanie, island of *Olney*, 185.
Omens, 128, 129.
Orcades, their position and number, 6.
Ordulf, his monastery at Tavistock, 170.
Origen, his numerous works, 26.
Orthography of Huntingdon, liii.
Osbert, Osbearn, a Danish prince, 204.
Osbert, archdeacon of Bedford, 303.
Osbriht, king of Northumbria, 143.
Oslaf, a Kentish noble, 52.
Osmund, bishop of Salisbury, 232, 316.
Osred, king of Northumbria, 111, 129; killed, *ib.*
Osric, succeeds Eadwine in Deira, 91; relapses into idolatry, *ib.*
Osric, king of Northumbria, 111, 114.
Ostrith, Osthryth, queen of Mercia, 63; murdered, 109.
Osulf, Oswulf, king of Northumbria, 124; treacherously slain, 125.
Oswald, St., king of Northumbria, a Bretwalda, 52, 58, 93; finishes St. Peter's church at York, 86, 90; his victory at Denisesburn, 91; brings Aidan from Iona, *ib.*, 93; slain in battle, 95.
....., translation of his relics, 157.
Oswald, a West Saxon prince, 114.
Oswald, St., archbishop of York, 169.
Oswi, succeeds St. Oswald, a Bretwalda, 52, 95; defeats Penda, 69, 97; dies, 61, 101.

Oswine, king of Deira, murdered, 95.
Oswine, a Northumbrian rebel, 125.
Ottanford, *Otford*, battle at, 126.
Ou. *See* Eu.
Oxfordshire, 9.
Oxineford, *Oxford*, 10, 155, 159; burnt, 177; 180; Edmund Ironside murdered at, 185; assembly at, 189; 190, 253, 265; surrenders to Stephen, 276.

P.

Paganel, holds Ludlow against Stephen, 261.
Palladius sent to preach in Ireland, 36.
Pantheon, the, transformed into a church, 80.
Parisius, *Paris*, 148, 149, 201.
Parthians, the, now called Turks, 221, 224.
Paschal controversy, 78; letter of Laurentius upon, 80, 91.
Paul, St., the apostle, 21.
Paul's, St., church, London, 196; rebuilt by bishop Maurice, 208, 236.
Paulinus, sent to England by pope Gregory, 69; goes with Ethelburga to Northumbria, 83; baptizes great multitudes there, 86; tradition of his look and carriage, 87; escapes into Kent, 90; takes the diocese of Rochester, 90; dies, *ib.*
Peartaneig, *Partney*, near Spilsby, 87.
Peda, Peada, succeeds Penda, 60; becomes a Christian, 96; murdered, 98.
Pedredesmuth, mouth of river Parret, battle near, 140.
Pelagius, 33; his heresy, 42, 89.
Pelochin, bishop of Chichester, 316.
Penda, king of Mercia, 57; his genealogy, *ib.*, 58; his victories, 59; killed by Oswi, 60, 97; 93; his attitude towards Christianity, 96.
Peneltune, *Kinneel*, 35.
Penho, *Pinho*, near Exeter, 170.
Penta, the river Freshwell, in Essex, 98.
Penwihtstrict, *The Lands End*, 170.
Penn, battle at, 60.
Peonna, *Penn* in Kent, battle at, 183.
Persæ, 221; part of Kerboga's army, 225.
Pertinax, the emperor, 25.
Peter, St., 21; martyrdom of, *ib.*
Peter, first abbot of Canterbury, 74; drowned in crossing to France, *ib.*; his body found and buried at Boulogne, 75.
Peter de Alpibus, Pierre de Aliphi, a crusader, 223.
Peter de Leves. *See* Anacletus.
Peter de Rosa, a crusader, 223.
Peterborough, succession of the abbots, 318.
.. .., abbey of, 165; its patron saints, xxvii.
Pevense, *Pevensey*, 192, 194, 214, 215.
Philip, the emperor, 26.
Philip I., king of France, 196, 205, 217; dies, 237; became a monk, 249; 312.
Philip, son of Louis VI., accidentally killed, 251, 252.
Philip de Brahuse, 237.
Phocas, the emperor, 55, 75, 80.
Picts, the, 8; have utterly perished, 12; of Scythian origin, 13; settle in Scotland, 14; invade Britain, 34; driven out, 36; renew their attacks, 37; defeated at Stamford, 38, 55; grant island of Hii to Scottish monks, 92; St. Columba preaches to, *ib.*; invaded by Ecgfrid, 106; kill Beret, 109; defeated by Berfrid, 111; attacked by Halfdene, 146.
Pipin le Bref, king of the Franks, 125.
Pipin, founder of the Karling or Carlovingian line, 248; his successors and progenitors, *ib.*
Pirrus, a Turkish emir, betrays Antioch to the Christians, 225.
Plaisseiz. *See* Plessis.
Plessis castle, in Essex, 276.
Pleumund, Plegmund, archbishop of Canterbury, 149.
Podiensis. *See* Puy.
Pontica, provincia, *Ponthieu*, 6, 196.
Popes, contemporary with Ina, list of, 113.
Port; lands in Britain, 46.

Portesmudham. *See* Portsmouth.
Portlocan, *Porlock*, 156, 194.
Portsmouth, 46; battle at, 139; 233.
Portus S. Simeonis, the ancient port of Antioch, 224, 226.
Predictions, 173, 174.
Probus, the emperor, 27.
Prosper, St., 33.
Provincia, *Provence*, 220.
Publicani, a tribe of Asia Minor, 221.
Puntaldemer, *Pont Audemer*, in Normandy, 245.
Purveyance, abuse of, under William II., 230.
Putta, bishop of Rochester, 100, 101.
Puy, Ademar bishop of, 219, 220, 222, 223; at Antioch, 227.

Q.

Quadruge, *Quat*, near Bridgnorth, 150.

R.

Raculf, *Reculver*, 108.
Radulfus, Ralph de Guader, his plot, 206; it fails, *ib.*
Radulphus, the chamberlain, 195 *note*, 202.
Radulphus, chancellor of Henry I., 244; his miserable end, *ib.*, 308.
Rainer, son of Redwald, killed at the Idle, 56, 85.
Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, 238, 314; dissension with Thurstan of York, 238; dies, 244.
Ralph, bishop of Chichester, 316.
Ralph, bishop of the Orkneys; his speech before the battle of the Standard, 262.
Ralph, bishop of Rochester, 315.
Ralph Basset, justiciary, 318.
Ralph Lovel, rebels against Stephen, 261.
Ramesei, *Ramsey*, abbey of, founded by Ailwin and St. Oswald of York in 969, 165; seized by Mandeville, 277; a portent there, *ib.*
Randulf, archdeacon of Leicester, 302.
Randulf, dean of Lincoln, 301.
Ranulf, earl of Chester, revolts against Stephen, 268; addresses the army before Lincoln, *ib.*; character imputed to him, 272; 274, 277; arrested by Stephen and forced to surrender Lincoln, 279; his fruitless attempt to recover it, *ib.*
Ranulf, or Ralph, Flambard, bishop of Durham, 232, 316; imprisoned by Henry I., 234; escapes and joins Duke Robert, *ib.*; dies, 250.
Raven, the Danish standard, 147.
Ravenna, 43.
Raymund, count of St. Gilles or of Toulouse, 219, 220, 222, 224; quarrels with Bohemond about Antioch, 228; at Jerusalem, 229, 230.
Raymund Pilet, 227; takes Talamannia, 228.
Red Sea, the, 15.
Redford, *Redbridge*, 103.
Redinges, *Reading*, battle at, 144.
Redlesham, *Rendlesham*, 99.
Redwald, king of East Anglia, a Bretwalda, 51, 53; defeats Æthelfrid of Northumbria, 56, 84; his imperfect conversion, 87.
Reginald, Regnold, king of Northumbria, 159; becomes a Christian, 162.
Reginald, abbot of Ramsey, 252, 317.
Reinaldus, Raynald, count of Toul, 227.
Reiner, a satellite of Geoffrey Mandeville; his miserable fate, 278.
Reiner, treasurer of Lincoln, 301; his piety, *ib.*
Remi. *See* Rheims.
Remigius, bishop of Lincoln, 211; a monk of Fecamp, 212; appointed to the see of Dorchester, *ib.*, 301; removes the see to Lincoln, *ib.*; his personal appearance, 212; his death, 216.
Repandune, Rependune, *Repton*, 122, 145.
Reptacestir. *See* Rutubi portus.

Reuda, a Scottish leader, 14.
Rheims, council held at, 242.
Ricardus de Principatu, Richard of Principato in Italy, a crusader, grandson of Robert Guiscard, 221, 227.
Richard I., duke of Normandy, 169, 173.
Richard II., succeeds Richard I. as duke, 169, 180; his death, 187
Richard III., son of duke Richard II., 187, 201.
Richard, natural son of Henry I., 242; drowned, *ib.*, 304; brought up by bishop Bloct, 304.
Richard, abbot of St. Alban's, 239.
Richard, son of Ralph Basset, justiciary, 318.
Richard, earl of Chester, drowned in the White ship, 242, 304.
Richard Fitz Urse, taken prisoner at Lincoln, 274.
Richard, bishop of Hereford, 247.
Richard, archdeacon of Lincoln, 302.
Richard, bishop of London, 247, 316.
Rigbert, Ricberct, murders Earpwald, 88.
Robert, eldest son of the Conqueror, 206, 207, 211; attempts to seize the kingdom, 214; the enterprise fails, 215; treaty with William II., 216; mortgages Normandy to him, and takes the cross, 219, 220; his bravery at the battle of Dorylæum, 221, 223; at Antioch, 224, 227; at Jerusalem, 229; rejects the crown of Jerusalem, 230; returns to Normandy, 233; makes a treaty with Henry I., *ib.*; again in England, 234; defeated at Tenchebrai, 235; and made prisoner, 236.
Robert duke of Normandy, father of the Conqueror, 187; dies on pilgrimage, 188.
Robert, the Frisian, count of Flanders, 205, 207.
Robert II., count of Flanders, 219, 222, 223, 227; at Jerusalem, 229, 230; dies, 238.
Robert of Gloucester, natural son of Henry I., 261; holds his castle against Stephen, *ib.*; marches to relieve Lincoln, 268; his speech to the troops, *ib.*;
Robert of Gloucester—*cont.*
character imputed to him by his enemies, 272; aids the empress, 275; is taken prisoner and exchanged for Stephen, *ib.*; loses Farringdon castle, 278.
Robert de Ansa, a crusader, 221.
Robert de Bakentun, 259.
Robert, bishop of Bath, 316.
Robert de Belesme, earl of Shrewsbury, 231; driven out of England by Henry I., 234, 235; taken in Normandy and imprisoned at Warham, 238; his crimes and their punishment, 310.
Robert, archbishop of Canterbury, a Norman, 193; banished, 194.
Robert I., bishop of Chester, 211, 316.
Robert II., bishop of Chester, 247, 316.
Robert, bishop of Exeter, nephew of bishop Warlewast, 316.
Robert (for William) Warlewast, bishop of Exeter, 316.
Robert Fitz Gerard, a crusader, 224.
Robert Bloct, bishop of Lincoln, 216; purchases the immunity of his see from William II., *ib.*; consecrates the church at St. Alban's, 239; his sudden death at Woodstock, 244, 300; verses on, 244; his wealth, 299; and misfortunes, 300; his character, *ib.*
Robert the younger, archdeacon of Lincoln, 302; his wealth, *ib.*
Robert Marmiun, seizes Coventry abbey, 277; slain, *ib.*
Robert de Mellent, a statesman under Henry I., 240; his death, *ib.*; his commanding ability and influence, 306; calamity overtakes him, 307; manner of his death, *ib.*
Robert Mowbray, killed by the men of Northumbria, 204.
Robert Mowbray, earl of Northumberland, 218; rebels against William Rufus, *ib.*
Robert de Nicole, 261.
Robert, archdeacon of Northampton, 302.
Robert Péché, bishop of Chester, 316.
Robert de Querceto (de Chesney), archdeacon of Leicester, 302; elected bishop of Lincoln, 281.
Robert de Sigillo, bishop of London, 316.

Rochester, 11, 148; destroyed, 62; 170; siege of, 215.
....., see of, 9; Justus first bishop, 77; see suppressed by Ethelred II., 168.
Rochester, bishops of. *See*—
Justus.
Romanus.
Paulinus.
Itamar.
Putta.
Tobias.
Aldulf.
Dun.
Godwine.
Ingulf.
Ralph.
Ernulf.
John.
Ascelin.
Roger, bishop of Salisbury and chief justiciary, 245, 250; supports the pretensions of Stephen, 256; seized and imprisoned by Stephen's order, 265; compelled to give up his castles, *ib.*; his death, 266; educated his nephew, bishop Alexander, in luxury, 280; 316.
Roger de Clinton, archdeacon of Buckingham, 303.
Roger, earl of Hereford, son of William Fitz Osbern, 206.
Roger, earl of Moretuil, 214, 215.
Roger, earl of Norfolk, rebels against William II., 214.
Roger of Poitou, 217.
Roheis, *i.e.* Edessa, 279.
Rollo, first duke of Normandy, 161.
Roman pontiff, the, appeals to, 282.
Roman roads, 12.
Romania, Roum in Asia Minor, 219.
Romans, the, 8; quit Britain, 35.
Romanus, bishop of Rochester, drowned, 90.
Rome, sack of by Alaric, 34.
Rome-scot, assigned to the Roman see by Canute, 188.
Rotomagus. *See* Rouen.
Rou, Rollo, first duke of Normandy, 201.
Rouen, battle of birds there, 61; 201, 242, 256.
Roveceastria. *See* Rochester.
Ruffinianus, 69.
Rumcoven, *Runcorn*, 157.
Rumene, *Romney*, 194.
Rusa, now *Ruiath*, near Antioch, 223.
Russicada, 15.
Rutubi portus, *Richborough*, 6.

S.

Sagitta, now *Saida, i.e.* Sidon, 229.
Salisbury, 8, 175; battle at, 50.
Salisbury, bishops of. *See*—
Osmund.
Roger.
Jocelin.
....., see of, 9.
....., bishops of. *See* Osmund Roger.
Samson, bishop of Worcester, 316.
Sandwic, *Sandwich*, Danes defeated near, 141; 175, 176, 177, 181, 192.
Saracens, ravages of, 114, 221, 225.
Saverne. *See* Severn.
Saxnat, ancestor of the East-Saxon kings, 49.
Saxones Antiqui, *Old Saxons*, 39; converted, 126, 127.
Saxons, their heptarchy, 8; called in by the Britons, 37; arrive in Britain, 38; their settlements there, 39.
Scaftesbirh, *Shaftesbury*, 168.
Scanlauda, *St. Lo*, 149.
Scat, the *Scheldt*, 148.
Sceorstan, *Sherston*, battle at, 183.
Scobrih, *Shoebury*, 150.
Scoriate, *Shergate*, 157.
Scotland, invaded by earl Siward, 194.
Scots, the, 8, 13, 14; their origin, 15; settle in Ireland, *ib.*; their inroads into Britain, 34; driven out, 36; renew their attacks, 37; defeated at Stamford, 38, 55; submit to Edred, 162; and to Edgar, 166.
Sebbi, king of Essex, takes the cowl, 118.
Secana, the *Seine*, 148, 149, 151.

Secandune, *Seckington*, battle at, 122.
Sedrid, stepdaughter of king Anna, 94.
Selesheu, *Selsey*, 102.
Seleuude, *Selwood*, 147.
Selred, king of East Anglia, 120.
Sepeige, *Isle of Sheppey*, 133; Danes there, 142.
Sergius, pope, 107.
Severn, the river, 10, 155.
Severus, the Emperor, 25; his wall, 26, 34.
Severus, bishop of Treves, 42.
Sexburg, daughter of king Anna, 94.
Sexburgh, succeeds Cenwalh in Wessex, 61.
Sherborne, bishops of. *See*—
Aldhelm.
Forthere.
Alcstan.
Sherborne, taken by Stephen, 265.
Ship-tax, imposed by Ethelred, 176.
Shooting stars, 219.
Shropshire (Salopsyre), 10.
Siberct, Sæberht, king of Essex, 50, 57; converted, 77; dies, 80.
Sidric, Sihtric, king of Northumbria, 159.
Sidroc, a Danish jarl, 144.
Sifrid, bishop of Chichester, surnamed Pelochin, 245, 251.
Sigan, Sigga, a Northumbrian, 129, 130.
Sigbert, king of East Anglia, converted by St. Felix; 58, 59, 88, 95; establishes schools, 96; receives St. Fursey, *ib.*; becomes a monk, *ib.*; slain in battle, *ib.*
Sigebert, succeeds Siberct, 57.
Sigebert II., succeeds Sigebert I., 57; converted, 60, 98.
Sigebert, king of Wessex, 122; expelled by his people, 123; killed by a swineherd, *ib.*
Sigeferd, Sigfert, 181.
Sigewulf, ancestor of Erchenwin, 49.
Sighere, king of Essex, 100, 109.
Silchester (Kair Segent), 7.
Silver, imported into Britain from Germany, 5.
Simeon, a crusader, 223.
Simon, bishop of Worcester, 245, 316.
Simon, son of bishop Bloet, dean of Lincoln, his character and fall, 306.
Simon de Senlis, earl of Northampton, at the battle of Lincoln, 270; dies, 288.
Sion, Mount, 229.
Siricius, Siric, or Sigeric, archbishop of Canterbury, 168; dies, 170.
Siward, earl of Northumbria, 194; anecdotes of, 194, 195; his death, 196.
Sleaford castle, 266.
Slede, a king of Essex, 49.
Slede castle, 261, 265.
Snotingeham. *See* Nottingham.
Soliman, a Saracen general, 222.
Solinus, quotation from, 18.
Somersetshire, 9.
Sources of the *Historia Anglorum*, liii–lxi.
Southampton, battle near, 139; 168, 169.
Spain, the Scots settle there, 15.
....., war in, between Alfonso VI. and the Moslems, 211.
....., successes of the crusaders in, 281.
Spalding, abbey of, founded in 1052 as a cell to Croyland by Thorold brother of the Lady Godiva, 165.
Sparnum. *See* Epernon.
Speon, for Sweon, the *Swedes*, 187.
Stafford, 157.
Staffordshire, 10.
Stamford, battle at, 38; 161, 182, 288.
Standard, the, 184, 203.
....., battle of the, 262–5.
Steinfordesbrige, Stanford bridge, battle at, 200.
Stepen, *Steep Holms*, 156.
Stephen, count of Blois, 219, 222.
Stephen of Blois, count of Moretaigne, brother of Theobald, 256; claims the English crown, *ib.*; attends the funeral of Henry I., 258; promises reforms, *ib.*; marches against David of Scotland, *ib.*; comes to terms, 259; reduces Bakentun, Exeter, and the Isle of Wight, *ib.*; is at Brampton near Huntingdon, 260; in Normandy, *ib.*; his son does homage to Louis VI., *ib.*; he returns to England, *ib.*; takes Bedford, *ib.*; marches north

Stephen of Blois—*cont.*
to repel the Scottish invasion, 261; he ravages the Lowlands, 265; treaty, *ib.*; he seizes and imprisons the bishops Roger and Alexander, *ib.*; makes them surrender their castles, 265, 266; banishes bishop Nigel, 267; rapine and disorder prevail everywhere, *ib.*; Stephen lays siege to Lincoln, 268; gives battle to the earls of Chester and Gloucester, 271; evil omens, *ib.*; he is defeated and taken after a gallant resistance, 274; imprisoned at Bristol, 275; put in fetters, *ib.*; is exchanged for Robert of Gloucester, *ib.*; at Wilton, 276; besieges the empress in Oxford, *ib.*; besieges Lincoln without effect, 277; takes Farringdon castle, 278; arrests the Earl of Chester, and makes him surrender his castles, 279; at Lincoln, *ib.*; occupies York, 282; takes and burns Worcester, *ib.*; wishes to crown his son Eustace, 283; his resentment at the refusal of the bishops, 284; never loved the clergy, *ib.*; takes Newbury, and presses the siege of Wallingford, *ib.*; marches against prince Henry, 286; the armies facing each other, *ib.*; deluge of rain, *ib.*; the king returns to London, 287; marches to the relief of Crowmarsh, *ib.*; negotiation for peace, 288; conference with Henry, *ib.*; whom he adopts for his son, 289; they enter London amidst general rejoicing, *ib.*; conference at Oxford, *ib.*; and at Dunstable, 290; he takes Drake and other castles, 291; his death, *ib.*
Stigand, bishop of East Anglia, 192; takes also the see of Winchester, *ib.*; is made primate, 194.
Stonehenge, account of, 12.
Stow Abbey, near Lincoln, 196.
Streneshalh, *Whitby*, abbey of, royal persons buried there, 98.
Stuf, nephew of Cerdic, 47, 50.
Sturemutha, mouth of the *Stour*, 148.
Suain, Swein, Danish king, 169; burns Norwich, 175; enters the Humber, 180; his death, 181.
Suain, Sweyn, son of Godwine, 192, 193.
Sualua, the river Swale, 86.
Suathedi, Swani, the Swedes, 139, 296.
Suevi, the, break into Gaul, 33.
Suffolk, 8, 9, 52.
Surh, now *Soor*, the ancient Tyre, 229.
Surrey, 9.
Sussex, kingdom of, 8; founded, 44; decline, 47; list of the kings, 65; conversion of, 102.
....., county of, 9, 55.
Swanawic, *Swanwich*, 146.
Sweden, the sons of Edm. Ironside, sent there by Canute, 296.
Swein, king of Denmark, 204, 206.
Swithhelm, king of Essex, 99.
Sylvester, Pope, 30.
Symmachus, 35.

T.

Tacitus, the emperor, 27.
Taillefer, the Norman jongleur, story of, 202.
Talamannia, now *Tel Amania*, 228.
Talbot, Geoffrey, rebels against Stephen, 261.
Tamesis, Tamese, the *Thames*, 10, 149, 150, 177, 180.
Tamewrthe, *Tamworth*, 157, 158.
Tamremutha, mouth of the *Tamar*, 170.
Tancred, the crusader, 219, 221; towns in Cilicia granted to him, 222; at Antioch, 225, 227,; at Jerusalem, 229.
Tantune, *Taunton*, 112.
Tarsus, 222.
Tatwine, archbishop of Canterbury, 114; dies, 115.
Taxation under Henry I., 237, 240.
Tedbald, Theobald, brother of Ethelfrid, killed, 55.
Tedbald. *See* Theobald.
Tedforde, *Thetford*, 144, 165; burnt, 175; 178.
Temesford, *Tempsford*, 178.
Temple, knights of the, 250, 251, 281.

Tenet, *Thanet*, isle of, 41, 67, 141, 166; battle at, *ib.*, 142.[1]
Tenerchebrai, *Tenchebrai*, 235.
Teulf, bishop of Worcester, 245, 316.
Theobald (abbot of Bec), archbishop of Canterbury, 265; intercedes for the imprisoned bishops, 266; goes to Rome, 277; 282; refuses to crown Stephen's son Eustace, 283; negotiates a peace between Stephen and Henry, 289; on Stephen's death he sends for Henry to come and assume the government, 291; worthy of all praise, 314.
Theobald, count of Blois, grandson of the Conqueror, 339; aids Henry I. against the confederates, 240; with Henry at Bramton, 243.
Theodore, archbishop, 61, 63; sent by pope Vitalian, 100; holds a council at Heathfield, 101, 104; dies, 108.
Theodoricus. *See* Thierry.
Theodosius, the emperor, 32.
Theodosius, the younger, 33, 35, 36.
Thierry, of Alsace, 249; lays claim to Flanders, *ib.*; joins the second crusade, 279.
Thomas, St., in India, 148.
Thomas I., archbishop of York, 211, 216; dies, 233.
Thomas II., archbishop of York, 237; dies, 238; 316.
Thomas, bishop of East Anglia, 96.
Thomas, of Laon; a monster of cruelty, 308; his wretched end, 310.
Thorney, abbey of, founded in 972 by bishop Ethelwold, 165.
Thule, 6.
Thurstan, archbishop of York, 238; visits Rome, 246, 250; raises an army to oppose the Scots, 262; 316.
Tiberius Cæsar, 20.
Tilaburt, *Tilbury*, 98.
Tilbeth, Tilberht, bishop of Hexham, 127.
Tine, the *Tyne*, 206.
Tinemutha, *Tynemouth*, 129.
Titilus, son of Uffa, 53.
Titus, the emperor, 22.
Tobias, bishop of Rochester, 108; dies, 112.
Torcheseige, *Torksey*, 145.
Tortosa, in Syria, 229.
Tostig, son of Earl Godwine, 192; Siward's earldom given to him, 196; anecdote about his quarrel with Harold, 197; exiled, 198; makes a descent in the Humber, 199; joins Harold Hardrada, 200; slain at Stanford bridge, *ib.*
Totanhale, *Tettenhall*, battle at, 157.
Trajan, the emperor, 23, 33.
Trent, the river, 266; battle near, 63; 87, 98.
Trinovantum, 18.
Tripolis, in Syria, 229.
Trumbert, bishop of Hexham, 101.
Trumhere, bishop in Mercia, 98.
Trumwine, bishop among the Picts, 101; escapes to Streoneshalch, 106.
Tuda, bishop of Lindisfarne, 99.
Tudda. *See* Tuda.
Tunebrioge, *Tunbridge*, 214.
Turald, abbot of Peterborough, 318.
Turcetil, Thurcytel, his cowardice, 178.
Turchetel, Thurcytel, a Danish earl, 156.
Turchil, a Dane, 180; banished, 186.
Turstan, abbot of Glastonbury, 207.
Turks, the, defeated at Nicæa, 220; 223.
Tuuelfingecestre, *Torksey?* 87.
Tynemouth, castle of, 218.
Tyrel, Walter, 232.

U.

Ubba, a Danish leader, 143.
Uethred, ealdorman of Northumbria, 180; deposed, 182.
Uffa, ancestor of the East Anglian kings, 53.
Uhter, a Danish viking, 155.
Uithred, Wihtred, king in Kent, 108, 109; dies, 112.
Ulf, attacked by Canute in Denmark, 187.
Ulf, bishop of Dorchester, 193.
Ulixisbona. *See* Lisbon.
Uundalum, *Oundle*, 110.

Urban II., pope, 207, 219.
Usa, the Bedfordshire *Ouse*, 153, 165; description of, 178.
Usuard de Nulsione, or Musione, Osoars de Mouson, a Crusader, 222.

V.

Valens, the emperor, 31, 32.
Valentinian, the emperor, 31.
Valentinian II., murdered at Ravenna, 43.
Valerian, the emperor, 27.
Valery, St., 215.
Vandals, the, 33, 36.
Vecta, ancestor of Hengist, 39.
Verolamium, *St. Alban's*, 28.
Verzelei, *Vercelli*, council of, 193.
Vespasian, 21.
Vineyards in England, 10.
Virgil, quotations from, 19, 142, &c.
Vortigern, king, 37; marries the daughter of Hengist, 39; his death, 40.

W.

Walden castle, in Essex, surrendered by Mandeville, 276.
Waledene. *See* Walden.
Waleram, count of Mellent, quarrels with Henry I., 245; taken by William de Tankervile, *ib.*; at the battle of Lincoln, 270; his character, *ib.*; 282.
Walerici, Sti., Castellum. *See* Valery, St.
..... portus, *St. Valery*, 199.
Wales; subdued by William I., 210; invaded by William II., 218, 230; by Henry I., 238, 243.
....., North, 196.
Wales—*cont.*
....., three dioceses in, 10; desolate state of, *ib.*
Walesdune, Vallium Dunæ, 192.
Walingeford. *See* Wallingford.
Walkeline, bishop of Winchester, 211, 315; dies, 231.
Walker, Walchere, bishop of Durham, killed, 207.
Wallia, Walia. *See* Wales.
Wallingford; 176, 180; the empress escapes thither, 276, 279; hard pressed by Stephen, 284; relieved, 287.
Walo, or Gualo, a poet, 250, note.
Walter, abbot of Ramsey, 317.
Walter, archdeacon of Leicester, 302.
Walter (archdeacon of Leicester?); letter *De Contemptu* addressed to him, 297; his death, 319; his elegy, 320.
Walter Calenius, archdeacon of Oxford, 302.
Walter Espech, 264.
Waltheof, son of earl Siward, 195; joins the Yorkshire insurgents, 204; submits to the king, 205; engages in the East Anglian plot, 206; executed, *ib.*
Wandali, the Wends? 139, 187.
Wantsamu, the river *Wensome*, 68.
Wardebirh, 157.
Warham, *Wareham*, 167, 168.
Warram, *Warham*, in Norfolk, near Walsingham, 238.
Warwickshire, 10.
Watling Street, 12, 180.
Webhard, king in Kent, 108.
Weced, Wecedport, *Watchet*, 156, 168 170.
Wellehare, *Whalley*, battle at, 131.
Welsh, the, 268, 273; rise against Egbert, 133.
Werham, *Wareham*, 146.
Wessex, kingdom of, 8; founded by Cerdic, 47, 54; lists of its kings, 65, 135, 171; conversion of, 93.
Westminster, St. Peter's church at, consecrated, 198; William I. crowned at, 204.
Westminster Hall, opened by William Rufus, 231.

Whitherne, bishops of *See*—
Fridwald.
Witwine.
Edelbert.
Baldulf.
Wic. *See* Ipswich.
Wiccii, the people of Worcestershire, 77.
Wicingi (Wilcinges), vikings, various reading for *Hibernenses*, 231.
Wicstan, Weohstan, ealdorman of Wilts, 131.
Wicta, grandfather of Hengist, 39.
Widgils, father of Hengist, 39.
Wido. *See* Guido.
Wienbeorne, Wembury, battle at, 141.
Wighard, sent to Rome to be consecrated; dies there, 61.
Wight, Isle of, 7, 21, 38, 50; occupied by Wulfhere, 61; given to Æthelwalh, *ib.*; the people converted by St. Wilfrid, 102; conquered by Cedwalla, 103; Danes in, 170, 175, 177; Ethelred goes to, 180; plundered by Godwine, 194.
Wilaf, Wiglaf, viceroy of Mercia, 133.
Wilfaresdune, near Catterick, 95.
Wilfrid, St., bishop in Northumbria, 100; converts the South Saxons, 102; and the people of Wight, *ib.*; dies at Oundle, 110.
Wiliam the Bastard, succeeds his father duke Robert, 188; 192; reduces Maine, 196; his grievances against Harold, 199; supposed speech to his men before battle of Hastings, 200; his tactics, 203; crowned at Westminster, 204; devastates Yorkshire, 205; reduces Isle of Ely, *ib.*; receives Malcolm's homage, *ib.*; his danger at Gerberoi, 206; invades Wales, 207; appoints a commission of inquiry, *ib.*; compilation of Domesday Book, 208; obliges all men to do homage, *ib.*; dies, *ib.*; his last raid in France, burns Mantes, 209; his character, *ib.*; verses on, 213.
William Rufus, 206; succeeds his father, 211; rising against put down, 214, 215; his promises, 214; rebuilds Carlisle, 216; appoints St. Anselm to the primacy, *ib.*; his quarrels with Robert Curthose, 217; campaign in Normandy, *ib.*; marches to Newcastle, 218; captures Robert Mowbray, *ib.*; settles Normandy, 230; invades Wales, *ib.*; engaged in building Westminster Hall, *ib.*; sends Edgar Atheling to Scotland, *ib.*; opens the Hall, 231; his witty sayings, *ib.*; conquers Maine, *ib.*; killed by Walter Tyrel, 232; his character, *ib.*; buried at Winchester, 233.
William, son of Henry I., 239; drowned, 242, 304; his vanity and luxury, 303.
William, brother of Henry II., 297.
William, son of Robert duke of Normandy, 239; at Brenville, 241; made count of Flanders, 247; resists count Thierry, 249, 305; mortally wounded, 250, 305; verses on, 250.
William Longue-Épée, duke of Normandy, 161.
William, St., the treasurer, archbishop of York, 316.
William of Curbuil, archbishop of Canterbury, 245; visits Rome, 246; holds a synod, 247, 250; his simplicity, 251; 253; supports Stephen, 256, 258; deserves no praise, 314.
William, bishop of Durham, 316.
William de St. Carilef, bishop of Durham, 211; joins the rising against William II., 214; banished, 215; killed (William named by mistake for Walchere), 316.
William Giffard, bishop of Winchester, 233; dies, 250; 315.
William, bishop of Norwich, 316.
William, bishop of Thetford, 211.
William of Bayeux, archdeacon of Lincoln, 302.
William, archdeacon of Northampton, 302.
William earl of Albemarle, 264; character imputed to him, 270.
William Bainard, 237.
William Crispin, 238; at Brenville, 241 (note).
William of Eu, 218.

William Fitz Osbern, a Norman, 199; killed, 205.
William of Grantmaisnil, 226; his cowardice during the second siege of Antioch, *ib.*
William of Kahaines, makes Stephen prisoner at Lincoln, 274.
William Malet, 237.
William Martel, 276; gives up Sherborne castle, *ib.*
William of Montpellier, crusader, 227.
William of Moretuil, 235 (note); made prisoner at Tenchebrai, 236; blinded by order of Henry I., 255.
William the Picard, a crusader, 229.
William Piperel, earl of Nottingham, 264.
William, brother of Tancred, a crusader, killed, 222.
William de Tankervile, 245.
William earl of Warrenne, son of Stephen, 297.
William, for Wido Tursellus, 226, note *a.*
William of Ypres, 273; escapes from the field of Lincoln, 274; holds Kent for Stephen, 275; aids Henry of Winchester, *ib.*
Wilton, capital of Wessex, 8; its nunnery, *ib.*; 175; battle at, 145.
Wiltshire, 9.
Winburnham, *Wimborne*, 145, 152.
Wincenhale, *Finchale*, council at, 129.
Winchester, 8, 127, 141; sacked by the Danes, 142; Danes hanged at, 152; 159, 164, 176, 180, 188, 190, 192, 206, 211, 232, 233, 245, 247; royal meeting at, 289.
....., see of, 9; founded, 93.
Winchester, bishops of. *See*—
Hedde.
Daniel.
Edelwold or Ethelwold, St.
Stigand.
Walkeline.
William Giffard.
Henry of Blois.
Windleshores, *Windsor*, 194 *note*, 197, 218, 230, 236; the new buildings, 237; 243, 244, 247.
Wine, a bishop in Wessex, 94; his simony, *ib.*
Winwed, the river, battle at, 97.
Wipandune, *Wimbledon*, 52.
Wipha, son of Crida, 54.
Wipped, a Jute, 43.
Wippedfleet, victory at, 43.
Wirengewic, *Warwick*, 157.
Wirus, the *Wear*, 105.
Witgar, Wihtgar, nephew of Cerdic, 47, 50; dies, *ib.*
Witsand, *Wissant*, near Boulogne, 218.
Witwine, or Pyhtwine, bishop of Whitherne, 125, 126.
Witham, in Essex, 155.
Wlencing, son of Ella, 43.
Wlnod. *See* Wulstan.
Woden, heroic ancestor of Hengist, 39 and of Ida, 50; and of Ella, 51; and of Penda, 57.
Wodnesbirue, *Wednesbury*, 54.
Wonebirih, Wodnesbeorge, *Wanborough?* 111.
Woodstock, 244, 247.
Worcester, Wigornia, see of, 10.
Worcester, bishops of. *See*—
Wulstan, St.
Samson.
Teulf.
Simon.
Worcestershire, 10.
Wulfhard, an ealdorman, 129.
Wulfhere, king of Mercia, 60; battle with Escwine, 62; dies, *ib.*; dislodges Oswi from the Mercian throne, 98; sends Jaruman into Essex, 100; persuades Edilwalch to become a Christian, 102.
Wulfketel, ealdorman of Norfolk, 175, 177.
Wulfred, archbishop of Canterbury, 132.
Wulfric, or Walfric, the anchorite of Haslebury, in Somersetshire, xxix.
Wulnod, Wulfnoth, the child, 176.
Wulstan, archbishop of York, 163.
Wulstan, St., bishop of Worcester, 211; defends the city against the rebels, 214.

Y.

York, 9, 29; submits to Ethelfled, 158.
....., see of, 10; Pope Gregory's intentions respecting it, 70; its claim to jurisdiction over Lindsey, 212, 216; dissension with Canterbury, 238 (*note*).
....., attacked by Hinguar and Ubba, 143; 159, 182, 198; battle at, 200; Harold's banquet at, *ib.*, 204; occupied by Stephen, 282.
....., archbishops of. *See*—
Paulinus.
Wilfrid, St.
Chad, St. (Ceadda).
Edbert.
Enbald.
York, archbishops of—*cont.*
Wulstan.
Oswald, St.
Eadwulf or Ealdulf.
Thomas I.
Gerard.
Thomas II.
Thurstan.
William, St.
Yorkshire, 10.
Yrcingafeldas, *Forest of Dean?* 155.

Z.

Zephaila, Kephalia in the *Gesta Francorum*, now *Djebail* (?), 228.

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CONTENTS.

	Page
Calendars of State Papers, &c.	2
Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages	9
Publications of the Record Commissioners, &c.	27
Works Published in Photozincography	31
Scotch Record Publications	33
Irish Record Publications	34

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The above Papers connected with the affairs of the Treasury comprise petitions, reports, and other documents relating to services rendered to the State,

grants of money and pensions, appointments to offices, remissions of fines and duties, &c. They illustrate civil and military events, finance, the administration in Ireland and the Colonies, &c., and afford information nowhere else recorded.

CALENDAR OF THE CAREW PAPERS, preserved in the Lambeth Library. *Edited by* J. S. BREWER, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London; and WILLIAM BULLEN, Esq. 1867–1873.

Vol. I.—1515–1574.
Vol. II.—1575–1588.
Vol. III.—1589–1600.
Vol. IV.—1601–1603.
Vol. V.—Book of Howth; Miscellaneous.
Vol. VI.—1603–1624.

The Carew Papers relating to Ireland, deposited in the Lambeth Library, are unique, and of great importance. The Calendar cannot fail to be welcome to all students of Irish history.

CALENDAR OF LETTERS, DESPATCHES, AND STATE PAPERS, relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain, preserved in the Archives at Simancas, and elsewhere. *Edited by* G. A. BERGENROTH. 1862–1868.

Vol. I.—Hen. VII.—1485–1509.
Vol. II.—Hen. VIII.—1509–1525.
Supplement to Vol. I. and Vol. II.

Mr. Bergenroth was engaged in compiling a Calendar of the Papers relating to England preserved in the archives of Simancas in Spain, and the corresponding portion removed from Simancas to Paris. Mr. Bergenroth also visited Madrid, and examined the Papers there, bearing on the reign of Henry VIII. The first volume contains the Spanish Papers of the reign of Henry VII.; the second volume, those of the first portion of the reign of Henry VIII. The Supplement contains new information relating to the private life of Queen Katharine of England; and to the projected marriage of Henry VII. with Queen Juana, widow of King Philip of Castile, and mother of the Emperor Charles V.

CALENDAR OF LETTERS, DESPATCHES, AND STATE PAPERS, relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain, preserved in the Archives at Simancas, and elsewhere. *Edited by* DON PASCUAL DE GAYANGOS. 1873–1879.

Vol. III., Part 1.—Hen. VIII.—1525–1526.
Vol. III., Part 2.—Hen. VIII.—1527–1529.
Vol. IV., Part 1.—Hen. VIII.—1529–1530.

Upon the death of Mr. Bergenroth, Don Pascual de Gayangos was appointed to continue the Calendar of the Spanish State Papers. He has pursued a similar plan to that of his predecessor, but has been able to add much valuable matter from Brussels and Vienna, with which Mr. Bergenroth was unacquainted.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS AND MANUSCRIPTS, relating to ENGLISH AFFAIRS, preserved in the Archives of Venice, &c. *Edited by* RAWDON BROWN, Esq. 1864–1877.

Vol. I.—1202–1509.
Vol. II.—1509–1519.
Vol. III.—1520–1526.
Vol. IV.—1527–1533.
Vol. V.—1534–1554.
Vol. VI., Part I.—1555–1556.

Mr. Rawdon Brown's researches have brought to light a number of valuable documents relating to various periods of English history; his contributions to historical literature are of the most interesting and important character.

SYLLABUS, IN ENGLISH, OF RYMER'S FŒDERA. *By* Sir THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. Vol. I.—Will. I.–Edw. III.; 1066–1377. Vol. II.—Ric. II.–Chas. II.; 1377–1654. 1869–1873.

The "Fœdera," or "Rymer's Fœdera," is a collection of miscellaneous documents illustrative of the History of Great Britain and Ireland, from the Norman

Conquest to the reign of Charles II. Several editions of the "Fœdera" have been published, and the present Syllabus was undertaken to make the contents of this great National Work more generally known.

REPORT OF THE DEPUTY KEEPER OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS AND THE REV. J. S. BREWER TO THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS, upon the Carte and Carew Papers in the Bodleian and Lambeth Libraries. 1864. *Price* 2*s.* 6*d.*

REPORT OF THE DEPUTY KEEPER OF THE PUBLIC RECORDS TO THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS, upon the Documents in the Archives and Public Libraries of Venice. 1866. *Price* 2*s.* 6*d.*

In the Press.

SYLLABUS, IN ENGLISH, OF RYMER'S FŒDERA. *By* Sir THOMAS DUFFUS HARDY, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. Vol. III.—Appendix and Index.

CALENDAR OF LETTERS AND PAPERS, FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC, OF THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, the British Museum, &c. *Edited by* J. S. BREWER, M.A., Preacher at the Rolls, and Rector of Toppesfield. Vol. V.—1531–1532.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, COLONIAL SERIES, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, and elsewhere. *Edited by* W. NOEL SAINSBURY, Esq. Vol. V.—America and West Indies, 1661–1670.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS relating to IRELAND, OF THE REIGN OF JAMES I., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, and elsewhere. *Edited by* the Rev. C. W. RUSSELL, D.D., and JOHN P. PRENDERGAST, Esq., Barrister-at-Law. Vol. V.—1615–1625.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS AND MANUSCRIPTS, relating to ENGLISH AFFAIRS, preserved in the Archives of Venice, &c. *Edited by* RAWDON BROWN, Esq. Vol. VI., Part II.—1556–1558.

CALENDAR OF STATE PAPERS, DOMESTIC SERIES, DURING THE COMMONWEALTH, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* MARY ANNE EVERETT GREEN. Vol. VI.—1653, &c.

In Progress.

Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, and elsewhere. *Edited by* W. Noel Sainsbury, Esq. Vol. VI.—East Indies, 1625, &c. Vol. VII.—America and West Indies, 1671, &c.

Calendar of State Papers, Foreign Series, of the Reign of Elizabeth, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* Allan James Crosby, Esq., M.A., Barrister-at-Law. Vol. XI.—1575, &c.

Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of Charles I., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* William Douglas Hamilton, Esq., F.S.A. Vol. XVI.—1640.

Calendar of State Papers relating to Ireland, of the Reign of Elizabeth, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* Hans Claude Hamilton, Esq., F.S.A. Vol. IV.—1588, &c.

Calendar of Treasury Papers, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* Joseph Redington, Esq. Vol. V.—1714, &c.

Calendar of Letters, Despatches, and State Papers, relating to the Negotiations between England and Spain, preserved in the Archives at Simancas, and elsewhere. *Edited by* Don Pascual de Gayangos. Vol. IV., Part 2.—Hen. VIII.

Calendar of Home Office Papers of the Reign of George III., preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office. *Edited by* Richard Arthur Roberts, Esq., Barrister-at-Law. Vol. III.—1770, &c.

Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland, preserved in Her Majesty's Public Record Office, London. *Edited by* Henry Savage Sweetman, Esq., B.A., Trinity College, Dublin, Barrister-at-Law (Ireland). Vol. IV.—1293, &c.

THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

[ROYAL 8vo. half-bound. *Price* 10*s.* each Volume or Part.]

On 25 July 1822, the House of Commons presented an address to the Crown, stating that the editions of the works of our ancient historians were inconvenient and defective; that many of their writings still remained in manuscript, and, in some cases, in a single copy only. They added, "that an "uniform and convenient edition of the whole, published under His Majesty's "royal sanction, would be an undertaking honourable to His Majesty's reign, "and conducive to the advancement of historical and constitutional know- "ledge; that the House therefore humbly besought His Majesty, that He "would be graciously pleased to give such directions as His Majesty, in His "wisdom, might think fit, for the publication of a complete edition of the "ancient historians of this realm, and assured His Majesty that whatever "expense might be necessary for this purpose would be made good."

The Master of the Rolls, being very desirous that effect should be given to the resolution of the House of Commons, submitted to Her Majesty's Treasury in 1857 a plan for the publication of the ancient chronicles and memorials of the United Kingdom, and it was adopted accordingly. In selecting these works, it was considered right, in the first instance, to give preference to those of which the manuscripts were unique, or the materials of which would help to fill up blanks in English history for which no satisfactory and authentic information hitherto existed in any accessible form. One great object the Master of the Rolls had in view was to form a *corpus historicum* within reasonable limits, and which should be as complete as possible. In a subject of so vast a range, it was important that the historical student should be able to select such volumes as conformed with his own peculiar tastes and studies, and not be put to the expense of purchasing the whole collection; an inconvenience inseparable from any other plan than that which has been in this instance adopted.

Of the Chronicles and Memorials, the following volumes have been published. They embrace the period from the earliest time of British history down to the end of the reign of Henry VII.

1. The Chronicle of England, by John Capgrave. *Edited by* the Rev. F. C. Hingeston, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford. 1858.

   Capgrave was prior of Lynn, in Norfolk, and provincial of the order of the Friars Hermits of England shortly before the year 1464. His Chronicle extends from the creation of the world to the year 1417. As a record of the language spoken in Norfolk (being written in English), it is of considerable value.

2. Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, M.A., of University College, Durham, and Vicar of Leighton Buzzard. 1858.

   This Chronicle traces the history of the great Benedictine monastery of Abingdon in Berkshire, from its foundation by King Ina of Wessex, to the reign of Richard I., shortly after which period the present narrative was drawn up by an inmate of the establishment. The author had access to the title-deeds of the house; and incorporates into his history various charters of the Saxon kings, of great importance as illustrating not only the history of the locality but that of the kingdom. The work is printed for the first time.

3. Lives of Edward the Confessor. I.—La Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei. II.—Vita Beati Edvardi Regis et Confessoris. III.—Vita Æduuardi Regis qui apud Westmonasterium requiescit. *Edited by* Henry Richards Luard, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1858.

   The first is a poem in Norman French, containing 4,686 lines, addressed to Alianor, Queen of Henry III., and probably written in the year 1245, on the occasion of the restoration of the church of Westminster. Nothing is known of the author. The second is an anonymous poem, containing 536 lines, written between the years 1440 and 1450, by command of Henry VI., to whom it is dedicated. It does not throw any new light on the reign of Edward the Confessor, but is valuable as a specimen of the Latin poetry of the time. The third, also by an anonymous author, was apparently written for Queen Edith, between the years 1066 and 1074, during the pressure of the suffering brought on the Saxons by the Norman conquest. It notices many facts not found in other writers, and some which differ considerably from the usual accounts.

4. Monumenta Franciscana; scilicet, I.—Thomas de Eccleston de Adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam. II.—Adæ de Marisco Epistolæ. III.—Registrum Fratrum Minorum Londoniæ. *Edited by* J. S. Brewer, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. 1858.

   This volume contains original materials for the history of the settlement of the order of Saint Francis in England, the letters of Adam de Marisco, and other papers connected with the foundation and diffusion of this great body. It has been the aim of the editor to collect whatever historical information could be found in this country, towards illustrating a period of the national history for which only scanty materials exist. None of these have been before printed.

5. Fasciculi Zizaniorum Magistri Johannis Wyclif cum Tritico Ascribed to Thomas Netter, of Walden, Provincial of the Carmelite Order in England, and Confessor to King Henry the Fifth. *Edited by* the Rev. W. W. Shirley, M.A., Tutor and late Fellow of Wadham College, Oxford. 1858.

   This work derives its principal value from being the only contemporaneous account of the rise of the Lollards. When written the disputes of the school-

men had been extended to the field of theology, and they appear both in the writings of Wycliff and in those of his adversaries. Wycliff's little bundles of tares are not less metaphysical than theological, and the conflict between Nominalists and Realists rages side by side with the conflict between the different interpreters of Scripture. The work gives a good idea of the controversies at the end of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th centuries.

6. The Buik of the Croniclis of Scotland ; or, A Metrical Version of the History of Hector Boece ; by William Stewart. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* W. B. Turnbull, Esq., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law. 1858.

This is a metrical translation of a Latin Prose Chronicle, and was written in the first half of the 16th century. The narrative begins with the earliest legends, and ends with the death of James I. of Scotland, and the "evil ending of the traitors that slew him." Strict accuracy of statement is not to be looked for in such a work as this ; but the stories of the colonization of Spain, Ireland, and Scotland are interesting if not true ; and the chronicle is valuable as a reflection of the manners, sentiments, and character of the age in which it was composed. The peculiarities of the Scottish dialect are well illustrated in this metrical version, and the student of language will find ample materials for comparison with the English dialects of the same period, and with modern lowland Scotch.

7. Johannis Capgrave Liber de Illustribus Henricis. *Edited by* the Rev. F. C. Hingeston, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford. 1858.

This work is dedicated to Henry VI. of England, who appears to have been, in the author's estimation, the greatest of all the Henries. It is divided into three distinct parts, each having its own separate dedication. The first part relates only to the history of the Empire, and extends from the election of Henry I., the Fowler, to the end of the reign of the Emperor Henry VI. The second part is devoted to English history, and extends from the accession of Henry I. in the year 1100, to the year 1446, which was the twenty-fourth year of the reign of King Henry VI. The third part contains the lives of illustrious men who have borne the name of Henry in various parts of the world.

Capgrave was born in 1393, in the reign of Richard II., and lived during the Wars of the Roses, for the history of which period his work is of some value.

8. Historia Monasterii S. Augustini Cantuariensis, by Thomas of Elmham, formerly Monk and Treasurer of that Foundation. *Edited by* Charles Hardwick, M.A., Fellow of St. Catharine's Hall, and Christian Advocate in the University of Cambridge. 1858.

This history extends from the arrival of St. Augustine in Kent until 1191. Prefixed is a chronology as far as 1418, which shows in outline what was to have been the character of the work when completed. The only copy known is in the possession of Trinity Hall, Cambridge. The author was connected with Norfolk, and most probably with Elmham, whence he derived his name.

9. Eulogium (Historiarum sive Temporis) : Chronicon ab Orbe condito usque ad Annum Domini 1366 ; a Monacho quodam Malmesbiriensi exaratum. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* F. S. Haydon, Esq., B.A. 1858–1863.

This is a Latin Chronicle extending from the Creation to the latter part of the reign of Edward III., and written by a monk of the Abbey of Malmesbury, in Wiltshire, about the year 1367. A continuation, carrying the history of England down to the year 1413, was added in the former half of the fifteenth century by an author whose name is not known. The original Chronicle is divided into five books, and contains a history of the world generally, but more especially

of England to the year 1366. The continuation extends the history down to the coronation of Henry V. The Eulogium itself is chiefly valuable as containing a history, by a contemporary, of the period between 1356 and 1366. The notices of events appear to have been written very soon after their occurrence. Among other interesting matter, the Chronicle contains a diary of the Poitiers campaign, evidently furnished by some person who accompanied the army of the Black Prince. The continuation of the Chronicle is also the work of a contemporary, and gives a very interesting account of the reigns of Richard II. and Henry IV. It is believed to be the earliest authority for the statement that the latter monarch died in the Jerusalem Chamber at Westminster.

10. MEMORIALS OF HENRY THE SEVENTH: Bernardi Andreæ Tholosatis Vita Regis Henrici Septimi; necnon alia quædam ad eundem Regem spectantia. *Edited by* JAMES GAIRDNER, Esq. 1858.

The contents of this volume are—(1) a life of Henry VII., by his poet laureate and historiographer, Bernard André, of Toulouse, with some compositions in verse, of which he is supposed to have been the author; (2) the journals of Roger Machado during certain embassies on which he was sent by Henry VII. to Spain and Brittany, the first of which had reference to the marriage of the King's son, Arthur, with Catharine of Arragon; (3) two curious reports by envoys sent to Spain in the year 1505 touching the succession to the Crown of Castile, and a project of marriage between Henry VII. and the Queen of Naples; and (4) an account of Philip of Castile's reception in England in 1506. Other documents of interest in connexion with the period are given in an appendix.

11. MEMORIALS OF HENRY THE FIFTH. I.—Vita Henrici Quinti, Roberto Redmanno auctore. II.—Versus Rhythmici in laudem Regis Henrici Quinti. III.—Elmhami Liber Metricus de Henrico V. *Edited by* CHARLES A. COLE, Esq. 1858.

This volume contains three treatises which more or less illustrate the history of the reign of Henry V., viz.: A Life by Robert Redman; a Metrical Chronicle by Thomas Elmham, prior of Lenton, a contemporary author; Versus Rhythmici written apparently by a monk of Westminster Abbey, who was also a contemporary of Henry V. These works are printed for the first time.

12. MUNIMENTA GILDHALLÆ LONDONIENSIS; Liber Albus, Liber Custumarum, et Liber Horn, in archivis Gildhallæ asservati. Vol. I., Liber Albus. Vol. II. (in Two Parts), Liber Custumarum. Vol. III. Translation of the Anglo-Norman Passages in Liber Albus, Glossaries, Appendices, and Index. *Edited by* HENRY THOMAS RILEY, Esq., M.A., Barrister-at-Law. 1859–1862.

The manuscript of the *Liber Albus*, compiled by John Carpenter, Common Clerk of the City of London in the year 1419, a large folio volume, is preserved in the Record Room of the City of London. It gives an account of the laws, regulations, and institutions of that City in the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and early part of the fifteenth centuries.

The *Liber Custumarum* was compiled probably by various hands in the early part of the fourteenth century during the reign of Edward II. The manuscript, a folio volume, is also preserved in the Record Room of the City of London, though some portion in its original state, borrowed from the City in the reign of Queen Elizabeth and never returned, forms part of the Cottonian MS. Claudius D. II. in the British Museum. It also gives an account of the laws, regulations, and institutions of the City of London in the twelfth, thirteenth, and early part of the fourteenth centuries.

13. CHRONICA JOHANNIS DE OXENEDES. *Edited by* Sir HENRY ELLIS, K.H. 1859.

Although this Chronicle tells of the arrival of Hengist and Horsa in England in the year 449, yet it substantially begins with the reign of King Alfred, and

comes down to the year 1292, where it ends abruptly. The history is particularly valuable for notices of events in the eastern portions of the kingdom, which are not to be elsewhere obtained, and some curious facts are mentioned relative to the floods in that part of England, which are confirmed in the Friesland Chronicle of Anthony Heinrich, pastor of the Island of Mohr.

14. A Collection of Political Poems and Songs relating to English History, from the Accession of Edward III. to the Reign of Henry VIII. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* Thomas Wright, Esq., M.A. 1859–1861.

These Poems are perhaps the most interesting of all the historical writings of the period, though they cannot be relied on for accuracy of statement. They are various in character; some are upon religious subjects, some may be called satires, and some give no more than a court scandal; but as a whole they present a very fair picture of society, and of the relations of the different classes to one another. The period comprised is in itself interesting, and brings us, through the decline of the feudal system, to the beginning of our modern history. The songs in old English are of considerable value to the philologist.

15. The "Opus Tertium," "Opus Minus," &c., of Roger Bacon. *Edited by* J. S. Brewer, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. 1859.

This is the celebrated treatise—never before printed—so frequently referred to by the great philosopher in his works. It contains the fullest details we possess of the life and labours of Roger Bacon: also a fragment by the same author, supposed to be unique, the "*Compendium Studii Theologiæ.*"

16. Bartholomæi de Cotton, Monachi Norwicensis, Historia Anglicana; 449–1298: necnon ejusdem Liber de Archiepiscopis et Episcopis Angliæ. *Edited by* Henry Richards Luard, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1859.

The author, a monk of Norwich, has here given us a Chronicle of England from the arrival of the Saxons in 449 to the year 1298, in or about which year it appears that he died. The latter portion of this history (the whole of the reign of Edward I. more especially) is of great value, as the writer was contemporary with the events which he records. An Appendix contains several illustrative documents connected with the previous narrative.

17. Brut y Tywysogion; or, The Chronicle of the Princes of Wales. *Edited by* the Rev. John Williams ab Ithel, M.A. 1860.

This work, also known as "The Chronicle of the Princes of Wales," has been attributed to Caradoc of Llancarvan, who flourished about the middle of the twelfth century. It is written in the ancient Welsh language, begins with the abdication and death of Caedwala at Rome, in the year 681, and continues the history down to the subjugation of Wales by Edward I., about the year 1282.

18. A Collection of Royal and Historical Letters during the Reign of Henry IV. 1399–1404. *Edited by* the Rev. F. C. Hingeston, M.A., of Exeter College, Oxford. 1860.

This volume, like all the others in the series containing a miscellaneous selection of letters, is valuable on account of the light it throws upon biographical history, and the familiar view it presents of characters, manners, and events. The period requires much elucidation; to which it will materially contribute.

19. The Repressor of over much Blaming of the Clergy. By Reginald Pecock, sometime Bishop of Chichester. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* Churchill Babington, B.D., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1860.

The "Repressor" may be considered the earliest piece of good theological disquisition of which our English prose literature can boast. The author was born

about the end of the fourteenth century, consecrated Bishop of St. Asaph in the year 1444, and translated to the see of Chichester in 1450. While Bishop of St. Asaph, he zealously defended his brother prelates from the attacks of those who censured the bishops for their neglect of duty. He maintained that it was no part of a bishop's functions to appear in the pulpit, and that his time might be more profitably spent, and his dignity better maintained, in the performance of works of a higher character. Among those who thought differently were the Lollards, and against their general doctrines the "Repressor" is directed. Pecock took up a position midway between that of the Roman Church and that of the modern Anglican Church; but his work is interesting chiefly because it gives a full account of the views of the Lollards and of the arguments by which they were supported, and because it assists us to ascertain the state of feeling which ultimately led to the Reformation. Apart from religious matters, the light thrown upon contemporaneous history is very small, but the "Repressor" has great value for the philologist, as it tells us what were the characteristics of the language in use among the cultivated Englishmen of the fifteenth century. Pecock, though an opponent of the Lollards, showed a certain spirit of toleration, for which he received, towards the end of his life, the usual mediæval reward—persecution.

20. Annales Cambriæ. *Edited by* the Rev. John Williams ab Ithel, M.A. 1860.

These annals, which are in Latin, commence in the year 447, and come down to the year 1288. The earlier portion appears to be taken from an Irish Chronicle, which was also used by Tigernach, and by the compiler of the Annals of Ulster. During its first century it contains scarcely anything relating to Britain, the earliest direct concurrence with English history is relative to the mission of Augustine. Its notices throughout, though brief, are valuable. The annals were probably written at St. Davids, by Blegewryd, Archdeacon of Llandaff, the most learned man in his day in all Cymru.

21. The Works of Giraldus Cambrensis. Vols. I., II., III., and IV. *Edited by* J. S. Brewer, M.A., Professor of English Literature, King's College, London. Vols. V., VI., and VII. *Edited by* the Rev. James F. Dimock, M.A., Rector of Barnburgh, Yorkshire. 1861–1877.

These volumes contain the historical works of Gerald du Barry, who lived in the reigns of Henry II., Richard I., and John, and attempted to re-establish the independence of Wales by restoring the see of St. Davids to its ancient primacy. His works are of a very miscellaneous nature, both in prose and verse, and are remarkable chiefly for the racy and original anecdotes which they contain relating to contemporaries. He is the only Welsh writer of any importance who has contributed so much to the mediæval literature of this country, or assumed, in consequence of his nationality, so free and independent a tone. His frequent travels in Italy, in France, in Ireland, and in Wales, gave him opportunities for observation which did not generally fall to the lot of mediæval writers in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and of these observations Giraldus has made due use. Only extracts from these treatises have been printed before, and almost all of them are taken from unique manuscripts.

The Topographia Hibernica (in Vol. V.) is the result of Giraldus' two visits to Ireland. The first in the year 1183, the second in 1185–6, when he accompanied Prince John into that country. Curious as this treatise is, Mr. Dimock is of opinion that it ought not to be accepted as sober truthful history, for Giraldus himself states that truth was not his main object, and that he compiled the work for the purpose of sounding the praises of Henry the Second. Elsewhere, however, he declares that he had stated nothing in the Topographia of the truth of which he was not well assured, either by his own eyesight or by the testimony, with all diligence elicited, of the most trustworthy and authentic men in the country; that though he did not put just the same full faith in their reports as in what he had himself seen, yet, as they only related what they had themselves seen, he could not but believe such credible witnesses. A very interesting portion of this treatise is devoted to the animals of Ireland. It shows that he was a very accurate and acute observer, and his descriptions are given in a way that a scientific naturalist of the present day could hardly improve upon. The Expugnatio Hibernica was written about the year 1188 and may be regarded rather

as a great epic than a sober relation of acts occurring in his own days. No one can peruse it without coming to the conclusion that it is rather a poetical fiction than a prosaic truthful history.

Vol. VI. contains the Itinerarium Kambriæ et Descriptio Kambriæ: and Vol. VII., the lives of S. Remigius and S. Hugh.

22. Letters and Papers illustrative of the Wars of the English in France during the Reign of Henry the Sixth, King of England. Vol. I., and Vol. II. (in Two Parts). *Edited by* the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, M.A., of University College, Durham, and Vicar of Leighton Buzzard. 1861–1864.

The letters and papers contained in these volumes are derived chiefly from originals or contemporary copies extant in the Bibliothèque Impériale, and the Depôt des Archives, in Paris. They illustrate the line of policy adopted by John Duke of Bedford and his successors during their government of Normandy, and such other provinces of France as had been acquired by Henry V. We may here trace, step by step, the gradual declension of the English power, until we are prepared to read of its final overthrow.

23. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, according to the several Original Authorities. Vol. I., Original Texts. Vol. II., Translation. *Edited and translated by* Benjamin Thorpe, Esq., Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Munich, and of the Society of Netherlandish Literature at Leyden. 1861.

This Chronicle, extending from the earliest history of Britain to the year 1154, is justly the boast of England; for no other nation can produce any history, written in its own vernacular, at all approaching it, either in antiquity, truthfulness, or extent, the historical books of the Bible alone excepted. There are at present six independent manuscripts of the Saxon Chronicle, ending in different years, and written in different parts of the country. In this edition, the text of each manuscript is printed in columns on the same page, so that the student may see at a glance the various changes which occur in orthography, whether arising from locality or age.

24. Letters and Papers illustrative of the Reigns of Richard III. and Henry VII. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* James Gairdner, Esq. 1861–1863.

The Papers are derived from MSS. in the Public Record Office, the British Museum, and other repositories. The period to which they refer is unusually destitute of chronicles and other sources of historical information, so that the light obtained from these documents is of special importance. The principal contents of the volumes are some diplomatic Papers of Richard III.; correspondence between Henry VII. and Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain; documents relating to Edmund de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk; and a portion of the correspondence of James IV. of Scotland.

25. Letters of Bishop Grosseteste, illustrative of the Social Condition of his Time. *Edited by* Henry Richards Luard, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1861.

The Letters of Robert Grosseteste (131 in number) are here collected from various sources, and a large portion of them is printed for the first time. They range in date from about 1210 to 1253, and relate to various matters connected not only with the political history of England during the reign of Henry III., but with its ecclesiastical condition. They refer especially to the diocese of Lincoln, of which Grosseteste was bishop.

26. Descriptive Catalogue of Manuscripts relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland. Vol. I. (in Two Parts); Anterior to the Norman Invasion. Vol. II.; 1066–1200. Vol. III.; 1200–1327. *By* Sir Thomas Duffus Hardy, D.C.L., Deputy Keeper of the Public Records. 1862–1871.

The object of this work is to publish notices of all known sources of British history, both printed and unprinted, in one continued sequence. The materials, when historical (as distinguished from biographical), are arranged under the year in which the latest event is recorded in the chronicle or history, and not

under the period in which its author, real or supposed, flourished. Biographies are enumerated under the year in which the person commemorated died, and not under the year in which the life was written. This arrangement has two advantages; the materials for any given period may be seen at a glance; and if the reader knows the time when an author wrote, and the number of years that had elapsed between the date of the events and the time the writer flourished, he will generally be enabled to form a fair estimate of the comparative value of the narrative itself. A brief analysis of each work has been added when deserving it, in which the original portions are distinguished from those which are mere compilations. When possible, the sources are indicated from which such compilations have been derived. A biographical sketch of the author of each piece has been added, and a brief notice has also been given of such British authors as have written on historical subjects.

27. Royal and other Historical Letters illustrative of the Reign of Henry III. Vol. I., 1216–1235. Vol. II., 1236–1272. *Selected and edited by* the Rev. W. W. Shirley, D.D., Regius Professor in Ecclesiastical History, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford. 1862–1866.

The letters contained in these volumes are derived chiefly from the ancient correspondence formerly in the Tower of London, and now in the Public Record Office. They illustrate the political history of England during the growth of its liberties, and throw considerable light upon the personal history of Simon de Montfort. The affairs of France form the subject of many of them, especially in regard to the province of Gascony. The entire collection consists of nearly 700 documents, the greater portion of which is printed for the first time.

28. Chronica Monasterii S. Albani.—1. Thomæ Walsingham Historia Anglicana; Vol. I., 1272–1381: Vol. II., 1381–1422. 2. Willelmi Rishanger Chronica et Annales, 1259–1307. 3. Johannis de Trokelowe et Henrici de Blaneforde Chronica et Annales, 1259–1296; 1307–1324; 1392–1406. 4. Gesta Abbatum Monasterii S. Albani, a Thoma Walsingham, regnante Ricardo Secundo, ejusdem Ecclesiæ Præcentore, compilata; Vol. I., 793–1290: Vol. II., 1290–1349: Vol. III., 1349–1411. 5. Johannis Amundesham, Monachi Monasterii S. Albani, ut videtur, Annales; Vols. I. and II. 6. Registra quorundam Abbatum Monasterii S. Albani, qui sæculo XV^mo^ floruere; Vol. I., Registrum Abbatiæ Johannis Whethamstede, Abbatis Monasterii Sancti Albani, iterum susceptæ; Roberto Blakeney, Capellano, quondam adscriptum: Vol. II., Registra Johannis Whethamstede, Willelmi Albon, et Willelmi Walingforde, Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani, cum Appendice, continente quasdam Epistolas, a Johanne Whethamstede Conscriptas. 7. Ypodigma Neustriæ, a Thoma Walsingham, quondam Monacho Monasterii S. Albani, conscriptum. *Edited by* Henry Thomas Riley, Esq., M.A., Cambridge and Oxford; and of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law. 1863–1876.

In the first two volumes is a History of England, from the death of Henry III. to the death of Henry V., by Thomas Walsingham, Precentor of St. Albans, from MS. VII. in the Arundel Collection in the College of Arms, London, a manuscript of the fifteenth century, collated with MS. 13 E. IX. in the King's Library in the British Museum, and MS. VII. in the Parker Collection of Manuscripts at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

In the third volume is a Chronicle of English History, attributed to William Rishanger, who lived in the reign of Edward I., from the Cotton. MS. Faustina B. IX. in the British Museum, collated with MS. 14 C. VII. (fols. 219–231) in the King's Library, British Museum, and the Cotton MS. Claudius E. III., fols. 306–331: an account of transactions attending the award of the kingdom of Scotland to John Balliol, 1291–1292, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI., also attributed to William Rishanger, but on no sufficient ground: a short Chronicle of English History, 1292 to 1300,

by an unknown hand, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.: a short Chronicle, Willelmi Rishanger Gesta Edwardi Primi, Regis Angliæ, from MS. 14 C. I. in the Royal Library, and MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI., with Annales Regum Angliæ, probably by the same hand: and fragments of three Chronicles of English History, 1285 to 1307.

In the fourth volume is a Chronicle of English History, 1259 to 1296, from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.: Annals of Edward II., 1307 to 1323, by John de Trokelowe, a monk of St. Albans, and a continuation of Trokelowe's Annals, 1323, 1324, by Henry de Blaneforde, both from MS. Cotton. Claudius D. VI.: a full Chronicle of English History, 1392 to 1406, from MS. VII. in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge; and an account of the Benefactors of St. Albans, written in the early part of the fifteenth century, from MS. VI. in the same Library.

The fifth, sixth, and seventh volumes contain a history of the Abbots of St. Albans, 793 to 1411, mainly compiled by Thomas Walsingham, from MS. Cotton. Claudius E. IV., in the British Museum: with a Continuation, from the closing pages of Parker MS. VII., in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

The eighth and ninth volumes, in continuation of the Annals, contain a Chronicle, probably by John Amundesham, a monk of St. Albans.

The tenth and eleventh volumes relate especially to the acts and proceedings of Abbots Whethamstede, Albon, and Wallingford, and may be considered as a memorial of the chief historical and domestic events during those periods.

The twelfth volume contains a compendious History of England to the reign of Henry V., and of Normandy in early times, also by Thomas Walsingham, and dedicated to Henry V. The compiler has often substituted other authorities in place of those consulted in the preparation of his larger work.

29. Chronicon Abbatiæ Eveshamensis, Auctoribus Dominico Priore Eveshamiæ et Thoma de Marleberge Abbate, a Fundatione ad Annum 1213, una cum Continuatione ad Annum 1418. *Edited by* the Rev. W. D. Macray, M.A., Bodleian Library, Oxford. 1863.

The Chronicle of Evesham illustrates the history of that important monastery from its foundation by Egwin, about 690, to the year 1418. Its chief feature is an autobiography, which makes us acquainted with the inner daily life of a great abbey, such as but rarely has been recorded. Interspersed are many notices of general, personal, and local history which will be read with much interest. This work exists in a single MS., and is for the first time printed.

30. Ricardi de Cirencestria Speculum Historiale de Gestis Regum Angliæ. Vol. I., 447–871. Vol. II., 872–1066. *Edited by* John E. B. Mayor, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1863–1869.

The compiler, Richard of Cirencester, was a monk of Westminster, 1355–1400. In 1391 he obtained a licence to make a pilgrimage to Rome. His history, in four books, extends from 447 to 1066. He announces his intention of continuing it, but there is no evidence that he completed any more. This chronicle gives many charters in favour of Westminster Abbey, and a very full account of the lives and miracles of the saints, especially of Edward the Confessor, whose reign occupies the fourth book. A treatise on the Coronation, by William of Sudbury, a monk of Westminster, fills book iii. c. 3. It was on this author that C. J. Bertram fathered his forgery, *De Situ Brittaniæ*, in 1747.

31. Year Books of the Reign of Edward the First. Years 20–21, 21–22, 30–31, 32–33, and 33–35. *Edited and translated by* Alfred John Horwood, Esq., of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law. 1863–1879.

The volumes known as the "Year Books" contain reports in Norman-French of cases argued and decided in the Courts of Common Law. They may be considered to a great extent as the "lex non scripta" of England, and have been held in the highest veneration by the ancient sages of the law, and were received by them as the repositories of the first recorded judgments and dicta of the great legal luminaries of past ages. They are also worthy of the attention of the general reader on account of the historical information and the notices of public and private persons which they contain, as well as the light which they throw on ancient manners and customs.

32. Narratives of the Expulsion of the English from Normandy, 1449–1450.—Robertus Blondelli de Reductione Normanniæ: Le Recouvrement de Normendie, par Berry, Hérault du Roy: Conferences between the Ambassadors of France and England. *Edited, from MSS. in the Imperial Library at Paris, by* the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, M.A., of University College, Durham. 1863.

This volume contains the narrative of an eye-witness who details with considerable power and minuteness the circumstances which attended the final expulsion of the English from Normandy in the year 1450. The history commences with the infringement of the truce by the capture of Fougères, and ends with the battle of Formigny and the embarkation of the Duke of Somerset. The whole period embraced is less than two years.

33. Historia et Cartularium Monasterii S. Petri Gloucestriæ. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* W. H. Hart, Esq., F.S.A., Membre correspondant de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie. 1863–1867.

This work consists of two parts, the History and the Cartulary of the Monastery of St. Peter, Gloucester. The history furnishes an account of the monastery from its foundation, in the year 681, to the early part of the reign of Richard II., together with a calendar of donations and benefactions. It treats principally of the affairs of the monastery, but occasionally matters of general history are introduced. Its authorship has generally been assigned to Walter Froucester, the twentieth abbot, but without any foundation.

34. Alexandri Neckam de Naturis Rerum libri duo; with Neckam's Poem, De Laudibus Divinæ Sapientiæ. *Edited by* Thomas Wright, Esq., M.A. 1863.

Neckam was a man who devoted himself to science, such as it was in the twelfth century. In the "De Naturis Rerum" are to be found what may be called the rudiments of many sciences mixed up with much error and ignorance. Neckam was not thought infallible, even by his contemporaries, for Roger Bacon remarks of him, "this Alexander in many things wrote what was true and useful; "but he neither can nor ought by just title to be reckoned among authorities." Neckam, however, had sufficient independence of thought to differ from some of the schoolmen who in his time considered themselves the only judges of literature. He had his own views in morals, and in giving us a glimpse of them, as well as of his other opinions, he throws much light upon the manners, customs, and general tone of thought prevalent in the twelfth century. The poem entitled "De Laudibus Divinæ Sapientiæ" appears to be a metrical paraphrase or abridgment of the "De Naturis Rerum." It is written in the elegiac metre; and though there are many lines which violate classical rules, it is, as a whole above the ordinary standard of mediæval Latin.

35. Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Starcraft of Early England; being a Collection of Documents illustrating the History of Science in this Country before the Norman Conquest. Vols. I., II., and III. *Collected and edited by* the Rev. T. Oswald Cockayne, M.A., of St. John's College, Cambridge. 1864–1866.

This work illustrates not only the history of science, but the history of superstition. In addition to the information bearing directly upon the medical skill and medical faith of the times, there are many passages which incidentally throw light upon the general mode of life and ordinary diet. The volumes are interesting not only in their scientific, but also in their social aspect. The manuscripts from which they have been printed are valuable to the Anglo-Saxon scholar for the illustrations they afford of Anglo-Saxon orthography.

36. Annales Monastici. Vol. I.:—Annales de Margan, 1066–1232; Annales de Theokesberia, 1066–1263; Annales de Burton, 1004–1263. Vol. II.:—Annales Monasterii de Wintonia, 519–1277; Annales Monasterii de Waverleia, 1–1291. Vol. III.:—Annales Prioratus de Dunstaplia, 1–1297; Annales Monasterii de Bermundeseia 1042–

1432. Vol. IV. :—Annales Monasterii de Oseneia, 1016–1347; Chronicon vulgo dictum Chronicon Thomæ Wykes, 1066–1289; Annales Prioratus de Wigornia, 1–1377. Vol. V. :—Index and Glossary. *Edited by* Henry Richards Luard, M.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, and Registrary of the University, Cambridge. 1864–1869.

The present collection of Monastic Annals embraces all the more important chronicles compiled in religious houses in England during the thirteenth century. These distinct works are ten in number. The extreme period which they embrace ranges from the year 1 to 1432, although they refer more especially to the reigns of John, Henry III., and Edward I. Some of these narratives have already appeared in print, but others are printed for the first time.

37. Magna Vita S. Hugonis Episcopi Lincolniensis. From Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and the Imperial Library, Paris. *Edited by* the Rev. James F. Dimock, M.A., Rector of Barnburgh, Yorkshire. 1864.

This work contains a number of very curious and interesting incidents, and being the work of a contemporary, is very valuable, not only as a truthful biography of a celebrated ecclesiastic, but as the work of a man, who, from personal knowledge, gives notices of passing events, as well as of individuals who were then taking active part in public affairs. The author, in all probability, was Adam Abbot of Evesham. He was domestic chaplain and private confessor of Bishop Hugh, and in these capacities was admitted to the closest intimacy. Bishop Hugh was Prior of Witham for 11 years before he became Bishop of Lincoln. His consecration took place on the 21st September 1186; he died on the 16th of November 1200; and was canonized in 1220.

38. Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard the First. Vol. I. :—Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi. Vol. II. :—Epistolæ Cantuarienses; the Letters of the Prior and Convent of Christ Church, Canterbury; 1187 to 1199. *Edited by* William Stubbs, M.A., Vicar of Navestock, Essex, and Lambeth Librarian. 1864–1865.

The authorship of the Chronicle in Vol. I., hitherto ascribed to Geoffrey Vinesauf, is now more correctly ascribed to Richard, Canon of the Holy Trinity of London. The narrative extends from 1187 to 1199; but its chief interest consists in the minute and authentic narrative which it furnishes of the exploits of Richard I., from his departure from England in December 1189 to his death in 1199. The author states in his prologue that he was an eye-witness of much that he records; and various incidental circumstances which occur in the course of the narrative confirm this assertion.

The letters in Vol. II., written between 1187 and 1199, are of value as furnishing authentic materials for the history of the ecclesiastical condition of England during the reign of Richard I. They had their origin in a dispute which arose from the attempts of Baldwin and Hubert, archbishops of Canterbury, to found a college of secular canons, a project which gave great umbrage to the monks of Canterbury, who saw in it a design to supplant them in their function of metropolitan chapter. These letters are printed, for the first time, from a MS. belonging to the archiepiscopal library at Lambeth.

39. Recueil des Croniques et anchiennes Istories de la Grant Bretaigne a present nomme Engleterre, par Jehan de Waurin. Vol. I. Albina to 688. Vol. II., 1399–1422. *Edited by* William Hardy, Esq., F.S.A. 1864–1868.

40. A Collection of the Chronicles and ancient Histories of Great Britain, now called England, by John de Wavrin. Albina to 688. (Translation of the preceding Vol. I.) *Edited and translated by* William Hardy, Esq., F.S.A. 1864.

This curious chronicle extends from the fabulous period of history down to the return of Edward IV. to England in the year 1471, after the second deposition

Henry VI. The manuscript from which the text of the work is taken is preserved in the Imperial Library at Paris, and is believed to be the only complete and nearly contemporary copy in existence. The work, as originally bound, was comprised in six volumes, since rebound in morocco in 12 volumes, folio maximo, vellum, and is illustrated with exquisite miniatures, vignettes, and initial letters. It was written towards the end of the fifteenth century, having been expressly executed for Louis de Bruges, Seigneur de la Gruthuyse and Earl of Winchester, from whose cabinet it passed into the library of Louis XII. at Blois.

41. Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden, with Trevisa's Translation. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* Churchill Babington, B.D., Senior Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Vols. III., IV., V., and VI. *Edited by* the Rev. Joseph Rawson Lumby, B.D., Vicar of St. Edward's, Fellow of St. Catharine's College, and late Fellow of Magdalene College, Cambridge. 1865–1876.

This is one of the many mediæval chronicles which assume the character of a history of the world. It begins with the creation, and is brought down to the author's own time, the reign of Edward III. Prefixed to the historical portion, is a chapter devoted to geography, in which is given a description of every known land. To say that the Polychronicon was written in the fourteenth century is to say that it is not free from inaccuracies. It has, however, a value apart from its intrinsic merits. It enables us to form a very fair estimate of the knowledge of history and geography which well-informed readers of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries possessed, for it was then the standard work on general history.

The two English translations, which are printed with the original Latin, afford interesting illustrations of the gradual change of our language, for one was made in the fourteenth century, the other in the fifteenth. The differences between Trevisa's version and that of the unknown writer are often considerable.

42. Le Livere de Reis de Brittanie e Le Livere de Reis de Engletere. *Edited by* John Glover, M.A., Vicar of Brading, Isle of Wight, formerly Librarian of Trinity College, Cambridge. 1865.

These two treatises, though they cannot rank as independent narratives, are nevertheless valuable as careful abstracts of previous historians, especially "Le Livere de Reis de Engletere." Some various readings are given which are interesting to the philologist as instances of semi-Saxonized French.

It is supposed that Peter of Ickham must have been the author, but no certain conclusion on that point has been arrived at.

43. Chronica Monasterii de Melsa, ab Anno 1150 usque ad Annum 1406. Vols. I., II., and III. *Edited by* Edward Augustus Bond, Esq., Assistant Keeper of the Manuscripts, and Egerton Librarian, British Museum. 1866–1868.

The Abbey of Meaux was a Cistercian house, and the work of its abbot is both curious and valuable. It is a faithful and often minute record of the establishment of a religious community, of its progress in forming an ample revenue, of its struggles to maintain its acquisitions, and of its relations to the governing institutions of the country. In addition to the private affairs of the monastery, some light is thrown upon the public events of the time, which are however kept distinct, and appear at the end of the history of each abbot's administration. The text has been printed from what is said to be the autograph of the original compiler, Thomas de Burton, the nineteenth abbot.

44. Matthæi Parisiensis Historia Anglorum, sive, ut vulgo dicitur, Historia Minor. Vols. I., II., and III. 1067–1253. *Edited by* Sir Frederic Madden, K.H., Keeper of the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum. 1866–1869.

The exact date at which this work was written is, according to the chronicler, 1250. The history is of considerable value as an illustration of the period during which the author lived, and contains a good summary of the events which followed the Conquest. This minor chronicle is, however, based on another work (also

written by Matthew Paris) giving fuller details, which has been called the "Historia Major." The chronicle here published, nevertheless, gives some information not to be found in the greater history.

45. Liber Monasterii de Hyda: a Chronicle and Chartulary of Hyde Abbey, Winchester, 455–1023. *Edited, from a Manuscript in the Library of the Earl of Macclesfield, by* Edward Edwards, Esq. 1866.

The "Book of Hyde" is a compilation from much earlier sources which are usually indicated with considerable care and precision. In many cases, however, the Hyde chronicler appears to correct, to qualify, or to amplify—either from tradition or from sources of information not now discoverable—the statements, which, in substance, he adopts. He also mentions, and frequently quotes from writers whose works are either entirely lost or at present known only by fragments.

There is to be found, in the "Book of Hyde," much information relating to the reign of King Alfred which is not known to exist elsewhere. The volume contains some curious specimens of Anglo-Saxon and Mediæval English.

46. Chronicon Scotorum: a Chronicle of Irish Affairs, from the Earliest Times to 1135; with a Supplement, containing the Events from 1141 to 1150. *Edited, with a Translation, by* William Maunsell Hennessy, Esq., M.R.I.A. 1866.

There is, in this volume, a legendary account of the peopling of Ireland and of the adventures which befell the various heroes who are said to have been connected with Irish history. The details are, however, very meagre both for this period and for the time when history becomes more authentic. The plan adopted in the chronicle gives the appearance of an accuracy to which the earlier portions of the work cannot have any claim. The succession of events is marked, year by year, from A.M. 1599 to A.D. 1150. The principal events narrated in the later portion of the work are, the invasions of foreigners, and the wars of the Irish among themselves. The text has been printed from a MS. preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, written partly in Latin, partly in Irish.

47. The Chronicle of Pierre de Langtoft, in French Verse, from the earliest Period to the Death of Edward I. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* Thomas Wright, Esq., M.A. 1866–1868.

It is probable that Pierre de Langtoft was a canon of Bridlington, in Yorkshire, and that he lived in the reign of Edward I., and during a portion of the reign of Edward II. This chronicle is divided into three parts; in the first is an abridgment of Geoffrey of Monmouth's "Historia Britonum," in the second, a history of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman kings, down to the death of Henry III., and in the third a history of the reign of Edward I. The principal object of the work was apparently to show the justice of Edward's Scottish wars. The language is singularly corrupt, and a curious specimen of the French of Yorkshire.

48. The War of the Gaedhil with the Gaill, or, The Invasions of Ireland by the Danes and other Norsemen. *Edited, with a Translation, by* James Henthorn Todd, D.D., Senior Fellow of Trinity College, and Regius Professor of Hebrew in the University, Dublin. 1867.

The work in its present form, in the editor's opinion, is a comparatively modern version of an undoubtedly ancient original. That it was compiled from contemporary materials has been proved by curious incidental evidence. It is stated in the account given of the battle of Clontarf that the full tide in Dublin Bay on the day of the battle (23 April 1014) coincided with sunrise; and that the returning tide in the evening aided considerably in the defeat of the Danes. The fact has been verified by astronomical calculations, and the inference is that the author of the chronicle, if not himself an eye-witness, must have derived his information from those who were eye-witnesses. The contents of the work are sufficiently described in its title. The story is told after the manner of the Scandinavian Sagas, with poems and fragments of poems introduced into the prose narrative.

49. Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbatis. The Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II. and Richard I., 1169–1192; known

under the name of BENEDICT OF PETERBOROUGH. Vols. I. and II. *Edited by* WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, Oxford, and Lambeth Librarian. 1867.

This chronicle of the reigns of Henry II. and Richard I., known commonly under the name of Benedict of Peterborough, is one of the best existing specimens of a class of historical compositions of the first importance to the student.

50. MUNIMENTA ACADEMICA, OR, DOCUMENTS ILLUSTRATIVE OF ACADEMICAL LIFE AND STUDIES AT OXFORD (in Two Parts). *Edited by* the Rev. HENRY ANSTEY, M.A., Vicar of St. Wendron, Cornwall, and lately Vice-Principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford. 1868.

This work will supply materials for a History of Academical Life and Studies in the University of Oxford during the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries.

51. CHRONICA MAGISTRI ROGERI DE HOUEDENE. Vols. I., II., III., and IV. *Edited by* WILLIAM STUBBS, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 1868–1871.

This work has long been justly celebrated, but not thoroughly understood until Mr. Stubbs' edition. The earlier portion, extending from 732 to 1148, appears to be a copy of a compilation made in Northumbria about 1161, to which Hoveden added little. From 1148 to 1169—a very valuable portion of this work—the matter is derived from another source, to which Hoveden appears to have supplied little, and not always judiciously. From 1170 to 1192 is the portion which corresponds with the Chronicle known under the name of Benedict of Peterborough (*see* No. 49); but it is not a copy, being sometimes an abridgment, at others a paraphrase; occasionally the two works entirely agree; showing that both writers had access to the same materials, but dealt with them differently. From 1192 to 1201 may be said to be wholly Hoveden's work; it is extremely valuable, and an authority of the first importance.

52. WILLELMI MALMESBIRIENSIS MONACHI DE GESTIS PONTIFICUM ANGLORUM LIBRI QUINQUE. *Edited, from William of Malmesbury's Autograph MS., by* N. E. S. A. HAMILTON, Esq., of the Department of Manuscripts, British Museum. 1870.

William of Malmesbury's "Gesta Pontificum" is the principal foundation of English Ecclesiastical Biography, down to the year 1122. The manuscript which has been followed in this Edition is supposed by Mr. Hamilton to be the author's autograph, containing his latest additions and amendments.

53. HISTORIC AND MUNICIPAL DOCUMENTS OF IRELAND, FROM THE ARCHIVES OF THE CITY OF DUBLIN, &c. 1172–1320. *Edited by* JOHN T. GILBERT, Esq., F.S.A., Secretary of the Public Record Office of Ireland. 1870.

A collection of original documents, elucidating mainly the history and condition of the municipal, middle, and trading classes under or in relation with the rule of England in Ireland,—a subject hitherto in almost total obscurity. Extending over the first hundred and fifty years of the Anglo-Norman settlement, the series includes charters, municipal laws and regulations, rolls of names of citizens and members of merchant-guilds, lists of commodities with their rates, correspondence, illustrations of relations between ecclesiastics and laity; together with many documents exhibiting the state of Ireland during the presence there of the Scots under Robert and Edward Bruce.

54. THE ANNALS OF LOCH CÉ. A CHRONICLE OF IRISH AFFAIRS, FROM 1014 to 1590. Vols. I. and II. *Edited, with a Translation, by* WILLIAM MAUNSELL HENNESSY, Esq., M.R.I.A. 1871.

The original of this chronicle has passed under various names. The title of "Annals of Loch Cé" was given to it by Professor O'Curry, on the ground that it was transcribed for Brian Mac Dermot, an Irish chieftain, who resided on the island in Loch Cé, in the county of Roscommon. It adds much to the materials for the civil and ecclesiastical history of Ireland; and contains many curious references to English and foreign affairs, not noticed in any other chronicle.

55. Monumenta Juridica. The Black Book of the Admiralty, with Appendices. Vols. I., II., III., and IV. *Edited by* Sir Travers Twiss, Q.C., D.C.L. 1871–1876.

This book contains the ancient ordinances and laws relating to the navy, and was probably compiled for the use of the Lord High Admiral of England. Selden calls it the "jewel of the Admiralty Records." Prynne ascribes to the Black Book the same authority in the Admiralty as the Black and Red Books have in the Court of Exchequer, and most English writers on maritime law recognize its importance.

56. Memorials of the Reign of Henry VI.:—Official Correspondence of Thomas Bekynton, Secretary to Henry VI., and Bishop of Bath and Wells. *Edited, from a MS. in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, with an Appendix of Illustrative Documents, by* the Rev. George Williams, B.D., Vicar of Ringwood, late Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. Vols. I. and II. 1872.

These curious volumes are of a miscellaneous character, and were probably compiled under the immediate direction of Bekynton before he had attained to the Episcopate. They contain many of the Bishop's own letters, and several written by him in the King's name; also letters to himself while Royal Secretary, and others addressed to the King. This work elucidates some points in the history of the nation during the first half of the fifteenth century.

57. Matthæi Parisiensis, Monachi Sancti Albani, Chronica Majora. Vol. I. The Creation to A.D. 1066. Vol. II. A.D. 1067 to A.D. 1216. Vol. III. A.D. 1216 to A.D. 1239. Vol. IV. A.D. 1240 to A.D. 1247. *Edited by* Henry Richards Luard, D.D., Fellow of Trinity College, Registrary of the University, and Vicar of Great St. Mary's, Cambridge. 1872–1877.

This work contains the "Chronica Majora" of Matthew Paris, one of the most valuable and frequently consulted of the ancient English Chronicles. It is published from its commencement, for the first time. The editions by Archbishop Parker, and William Wats, severally begin at the Norman Conquest.

58. Memoriale Fratris Walteri de Coventria.—The Historical Collections of Walter of Coventry. Vols. I. and II. *Edited, from the MS. in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, by* William Stubbs, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History, and Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. 1872–1873.

This work, now printed in full for the first time, has long been a *desideratum* by Historical Scholars. The first portion, however, is not of much importance, being only a compilation from earlier writers. The part relating to the first quarter of the thirteenth century is the most valuable and interesting.

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